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THE  
DYNASTIC  
HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA  
(EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD)

With a Foreword

By

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KEEPER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTED BOOKS AND MSS.  
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By


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CALCUTTA

VOLUME I

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*Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
University of London.* 

## FOREWORD

“ Histories,” says Bacon, “ make men wise.” To read with understanding the record of men’s strivings in the past for good and for evil, of the ambitions of individuals and the struggles of masses in their play and counter-play, is often saddening, but always helpful for the knowledge of the present. Most of the worst errors of society might be avoided if its leaders had knowledge of its past and power to use it. Even the driest bones of historical fact are precious: they reveal conditions and forces in the past which have still a significance for the present, for man changes little, and “ bleibt stets von gleichem Schlag,” even the most sweeping revolutions being unable to destroy the bonds which unite him to former generations.

Indian culture has produced singularly few works of genuine historiography; but it has preserved abundant materials for the historian in the form of inscriptions, literary data, and documents of various kinds. By judicious use of these, it is possible to construct a record of the political and social experiences of many centuries. The story is indeed very incomplete: great gaps yawn in many parts of it, and even where the facts are visible, the causes which brought them about are often obscure. But the main lines of Indian history are now certain, thanks to the patient and skilful labours of generations of scholars, and, in the present work, Dr. Ray has rendered a service of immense value by supplying a complete critical survey of them as they run through the North from the latter end of the classical period down to the beginnings of the modern era. He has not only collected all the relevant materials and arranged them in lucid connexion, but he has likewise

examined them in the spirit of judicious and constructive historiography, emending where possible their errors, discounting their exaggerations, and endeavouring to interpret obscurities by the light of sober sense. No such comprehensive work in the domain of Indian history has yet appeared, and Dr. Ray deserves credit as much for the boldness of his design as for the skill and industry with which he has executed it.

L. D. BARNETT.

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

21-iv-30.

## PREFACE

In the present work an attempt has been made to give an account of the dynasties that ruled in Northern India during the period of transition intervening between the decline of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire and the Muslim conquest. The history of Northern India between *c.* 916 and 1196 A.D. only very roughly covers the *period* of this transition. In my account of the dynasties I had often to go beyond these limits for the reason that the history of some of the dynasties began before 916 A.D.; and in other cases some of them were not conquered by the Muslims till considerably after 1196 A.D. As the work was really intended to bridge the gulf between the Hindu and the early Muslim (better called Turkish and Afghan) periods, I have, acting on the advice of Dr. Barnett, taken the liberty of overstepping the limits whenever necessary.

The idea of the present work suggested itself to me as early as 1920-21 when I was faced with the task of delivering lectures on the Hindu period of Indian History to the Post-Graduate students of the University of Calcutta. The first two volumes of the work were however actually planned and completed during my stay in Europe during the years 1927-29. These two volumes mainly contain the political history of the 'Dynasties.' The third volume which is in course of preparation will deal with the following topics : (i) Minor Dynasties, (ii) Administrative History, (iii) Economic History, (iv) Social and Religious History, (v) Literary History, (vi) Monuments and Coins, (vii) Origin of the Rajputs, and (viii) The Causes of the Decline and Downfall of the Hindu Dynasties in Northern India.

Within the limited time at my disposal, I have spared no pains to make the Index and the Synchronistic Table as full and

accurate as possible. In some cases I have tried to indicate in the Index alternative forms of the spelling of names, so that the reader may find the name from whatever angle of transliteration he approaches the book. I have thus sometimes given the same name twice under different forms. As a general rule modern place names are spelt as they appear in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India (Atlas)*, Vol. XXVI. One important exception is 'Bihar' for Behar. As to ancient Sanskrit names, I have followed the system adopted by Profs. Macdonell and Keith in the *Vedic Index*. Any want of uniformity in the spelling of Arabic and Persian names will, I hope, be rectified to some extent by the Index.

The importance of Maps in the study of History is recognised in all countries. In the case of Ancient and Mediaeval Indian History, however, the task of preparing maps is rendered extremely difficult by the lack of detailed information concerning the exact areas indicated by the various geographical and topographical names in Indian records. Moreover, there is evidence to show that in some cases the same geographical term indicated different regions not only in different periods but also within the same period. I have, therefore, taken some risk in preparing the ten maps which are included in the first volume. Moreover, to save time and cost I have prepared the maps by my own hand and therefore they may not be found to be so accurate as mechanical reproductions of Survey of India maps. But within these limitations I have spared no labour to make the maps useful to the reader. In this task I have received considerable assistance from Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri. The printing of Ancient and Mediaeval names in red will, I hope, increase the value of the maps.

At various stages of my work I have received occasional suggestions and help from the late Sir T. W. Arnold, Sir E. Denison Ross, Sir Wolseley Haig, Prof. H. H. Dodwell, Mr. H. A. R. Gibb, Dr. Margaret Smith (all of the School of Oriental Studies, London), Prof. F. W. Thomas (Oxford

University), Mr. C. A. Storey (Librarian, India Office), Mr. John Allan (British Museum), Mr. J. Van Manen (Asiatic Society of Bengal), Prof. R. C. Majumdar (Dacca University), Dr. M. W. Mirza (Lucknow University), Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri and Prof. M. Z. Siddiqi (of the University of Calcutta). I take this opportunity to express my gratefulness for their kind assistance. To Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, the Offg. Registrar and Mr. A. C. Ghatak I am thankful for the help rendered to me in the printing and publication of this volume. Acknowledgment is also due to Mr. Benoy Krishna Ray for assistance in preparing the Index. To Messrs. H. C. Chakladar and J. N. Bannerji I am indebted for the permission to use an excellent snapshot of the porch of the temple of Mukteśvara at Bhuvaneswar, which is reproduced on the cover. To Messrs. Aga Kazim Shirazi and S. N. Mitra I am indebted for occasional help in proof reading. I must also express my appreciation of the courtesy and consideration shown to me by the officers in charge of the various European libraries, specially those attached to the School of Oriental Studies (London), the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. But above all, I am indebted to Dr. L. D. Barnett, who with unfailing kindness and great patience has gone through every chapter of the first two volumes of the present work and suggested corrections and alterations most of which I have incorporated in the body of my thesis. It was also due to his intercession that the High Commissioner of India made a grant of £30 towards the expenses of the publication of this work. Dr. Barnett has further increased my debt of gratitude to him by adding a kind Foreword to this work.

It was the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who first offered me facilities for research in Indian History. The irreparable loss which the University of Calcutta has suffered by his untimely death is too well-known to require any mention here. But I take this opportunity to dedicate this volume of my work to his memory as a token of the gratitude and admiration I shall ever cherish for him.

In conclusion I must add that I am fully conscious of the many lapses and omissions in this volume inspite of my best efforts to make it useful to the reader. I can only hope :

सर्वदोषसुत्सृज्य गुणम् गृह्णन्ति साधवः ।

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,  
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.  
25th December, 1930.

}

HEMCHANDRA RAY.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett ...	v
Dedication ...	vii
Author's Preface ...	ix
List of Bibliographies ...	xv
Genealogical Tables ...	xvii
List of Maps ...	xix
List of Contractions ...	xxi
Introduction ...	xxix
Chapter I : Dynastic History of Sind ...	1
Chapter II : Śāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab ...	55
Chapter III : Dynastic History of Kashmir ..	107
Chapter IV : Dynastic History of Nepal ...	185
Chapter V : Dynastic History of Assam ...	235
Chapter VI : ✓ Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar ...	271
Chapter VII : Dynasties of Orissa . .	391
Chapter VIII : ✱ Gāhaḍavālas (Gaharwars) of Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja . .	504
Chapter IX : ✓ Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Northern India ...	550
Chapter X : ✱ Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj ..	569
Coins of the Arab Governors of Sind ...	13 fn. 5
Appendix : Coins of the Śāhis ...	102
Index ... ° ...	615
Corrigenda ...	665
Synchronistic Table ...	<i>in pocket at end of volume.</i>





## LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

				PAGE
Chapter I	...	...	...	52
Chapter II	...	...	...	104
Chapter III	...	...	...	183
Chapter IV	...	...	...	233
Chapter V	...	...	...	269'
Chapter VI	...	...	...	388
Chapter VII	...	...	...	502
Chapter VIII	...	...	...	549
Chapter IX	...	...	...	568
Chapter X	...	...	...	612

---



## GENEALOGICAL TABLES

				PAGE
Chapter I	...	...	...	47
Chapter II	...	...	...	103
Chapter III	...	...	...	181
Chapter IV	...	...	...	229
Chapter V	...	...	...	268
Chapter VI	...	...	...	384
Chapter VII	...	...	...	499
Chapter VIII	...	...	...	548
Chapter IX	...	...	...	566
Chapter X	...	...	...	610

---



## LIST OF MAPS

No.	For	Page
1.	Dynastic History of Sind ...	<i>before p. 1</i>
2.	Sāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab ...	<i>between pp. 54 and 55</i>
3.	Dynastic History of Kashmir ...	<i>between pp. 106 and 107</i>
4.	Dynastic History of Nepal ...	<i>between pp. 184 and 185</i>
5.	Dynastic History of Assam ...	<i>between pp. 234 and 235</i>
6.	Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar ...	<i>between pp. 270 and 271</i>
7.	Dynasties of Orissa ...	<i>between pp. 390 and 391</i>
8.	Gāhaḍavālas (Gaharwars) of Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja ...	<i>between pp. 504 and 505</i>
9.	Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Northern India	<i>between pp. 550 and 551</i>
10.	Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj ...	<i>between pp. 568 and 569</i>

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## LIST OF CONTRACTIONS

<b>AAK</b>	<i>Ā'in-ī-Akbarī</i> Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett.
<b>ABOI</b>	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute</i> , Poona (India).
<b>AGI</b>	<i>The Ancient Geography of India</i> by Alexander Cunningham, 2nd edition. Edited by S. N. Majumdar, Sastri, Calcutta, 1924.
<b>AO</b>	<i>Antiquities of Orissa</i> by Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta, 1875 and 1880.
<b>AR</b>	<i>Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan</i> . Edited by William Crooke.
<b>ARB</b>	<i>Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency</i> .
<b>ASI</b>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India</i> . Annual Report.
<b>ASI, WC</b>	<i>Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle</i> .
<b>ASR</b>	<i>Archaeological Survey Reports</i> by Cunningham.
<b>ASWI</b>	<i>Archaeological Survey of Western India</i> .
<b>BEFEO</b>	<i>Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient</i> .
<b>BG</b>	<i>Bombay Gazetteer</i> .
<b>BHG</b>	<i>History of Gujarat</i> by Sir Edward Clive Bayley, London, 1886.



<b>BI</b>	<i>Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar;</i> published by the Bhavnagar Archaeo- logical Department, Bhavnagar.
<b>BR</b>	<i>Buddhist Record of the Western World</i> by S. Beal.
<b>Caliphate</b>	<i>The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall</i> by William Muir.
<b>CBMC</b>	<i>Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge,</i> by Bendall, Cambridge, 1883.
<b>CCIM</b>	<i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I,</i> by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
<b>CHI</b>	<i>Cambridge History of India.</i>
<b>CI</b>	Central India (Province).
<b>CIC</b>	<i>Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras and Kṣatrapas)</i> by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.
<b>CMI</b>	<i>Coins of Medieval India</i> by Cunningham
<b>CP</b>	Central Provinces of India.
<b>CPMDN</b>	<i>Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal,</i> by H. P. Sastri, with a Historical Introduction by Prof. C. Bendall, 1905, Calcutta.
<b>CSBM</b>	<i>Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum</i> by C. Bendall, London, 1902.
<b>DLI</b>	<i>Descriptive List of Inscriptions in C. P. &amp; Berar</i> by Hiralal, Nagpur, 1916.

<i>EHl</i>	<i>Early History of India</i> , 4th edition, by V. A. Smith.
<i>EI</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> .
<i>EIA*</i>	<i>Essays on Indian Antiquities</i> by James Prinsep. Ed. by Edward Thomas, London, 1858.
<i>Elliot</i>	<i>The History of India as told by its own Historians</i> by Sir H. M. Elliot.
•	
<i>GDI</i>	<i>Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India</i> , by N. Dey, Luzac, 1927.
<i>GI</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , Vol. III, <i>Gupta Inscriptions</i> by John Faithful Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.
<i>GOS</i>	<i>Gaekwad Oriental Series</i> .
<i>HA</i>	<i>History of Assam</i> by Sir Edward Gait, 2nd Ed., 1926, Calcutta, Thacker Spink & Co.
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Rajputana</i> by Ojha (Rai Bahadur Pandit G. H.), Ajmer.
<i>I</i>	<i>Ibn</i> .
<i>IA</i>	<i>Indian Antiquary</i> .
<i>IB</i>	<i>Inscriptions of Bengal</i> , Vol. III, Edited with Translations and Notes by N. G. Majumdar, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1929.
<i>IGI</i>	<i>Imperial Gazetteer of India</i>
<i>IHQ</i>	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i> .
<i>IHT</i>	<i>Ancient Indian Historical Tradition</i> by F. E. Pargiter, London, 1922.

<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of American Oriental Society.</i>
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
<i>JBORS</i>	<i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i>
<i>JBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>JBTS</i>	<i>Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.</i>
<i>JL</i>	<i>Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.</i>
<i>Journey</i>	<i>A Journey in Nepal and Northern India</i> by C. Bendall, Cambridge University Press, 1886.
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.</i>
<i>KFB</i>	<i>Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān</i> of Balādhurī, Trans. by Hitti and Murgotten.
<i>KH</i>	<i>Kitāb ul-Hind</i> of al-Bīrūnī.
<i>KY</i>	<i>Kitāb-i-Yamīnī</i> of 'Utbī Translated by Reynolds from the Persian version, London.
<i>KZA</i>	<i>Kitāb Zain ul-Akhhbār</i> of Abū Sa'īd 'Abd ul-Ḥayy b. ad-Dahhāk b. Muḥammad Gardīzī (c. 440 A.H.). Ed. by Muḥammad Naẓīm, Itranschahr, Berlin, 1928.
<i>LEC</i>	<i>Lands of the Eastern Caliphate</i> , by Le Strange, Cambridge, University Press.
<i>Life</i>	<i>Life of Hiuen Tsiang</i> by S. Beal.
<i>M</i>	<i>Mahārājādhirāja.</i>
<i>MA</i>	<i>Mirāt-i-Ahmadī</i> of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān.

MASB	<i>Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
MASI	<i>Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.</i>
MER	<i>Madras Epigraphist's Report</i> , by Dr. E. Hultzsch, Nos 814, 815, Public, 6th August, 1896.
MG	<i>Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin</i> by M. Habib, 1927.
MM	Mukhalingeśvara Temple at Mukhalingam, Ganjam district (Madras).
NA	<i>Notes on Afghanistan</i> by Raverty.
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle.</i>
NKGWG	<i>Nachrichten der Könighchen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.</i>
OH	<i>Oxford History of India</i> by V. A. Smith.
OM	<i>Orissa in the Making</i> by B. C. Mozumdar, 1925.
P	<i>Parameśvara.</i>
PASB	<i>Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
Pb	<i>Paramabhaṭṭāraka.</i>
PB	<i>Prṭhvīrājavijaya</i>
PC	<i>Prabandhacintāmani</i> of Merutunga Ācārya. Trans. by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1901.
PI	<i>Preaching of Islam</i> by T. W. Arnold
PTOC	<i>Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference</i> (India).
QJHS	° ° <i>Quarterly Journal of Andhra Historical Society.</i>

<i>Ras</i>	Forbes' <i>Ras Mala</i> . Edited by Bawlinson, Oxford, 1924.
<i>RGD</i>	<i>Records of the Gupta Dynasty</i> by Edward Thomas, London, 1876.
<i>RMR</i>	<i>Rajputana Museum Report</i> .
<i>Sāhis von Kabul</i>	<i>Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth zum Doctor-Jubiläum</i> , Stuttgart, 1893. <i>Zur Geschichte der Sāhis von Kabul</i> by Marc Aurel Stein.
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sasanian Coins</i> by F. D. J. Paruck, Bombay, 1924.
<i>TA</i>	<i>Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī</i> , Bibliotheca Indica Trans. by B. Dey.
<i>TF</i>	<i>Ta'rikh-i-Firishta</i> .
<i>TFSB</i>	<i>Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūzshāhī</i> of Baranī.
<i>TFSS</i>	<i>Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūzshāhī</i> of Shams-i-Sīrāj 'Afīf.
<i>TH</i>	<i>Ta'rikh-ul-Hind</i> of al-Bīrūnī.
<i>TK</i>	<i>Tuhfat ul-Kinām</i> of 'Alī Shīr Qānī'.
<i>TKA</i>	<i>Al-Ta'rikh ul-Kāmil</i> of Ibn ul-Athīr.
<i>TM</i>	<i>Ta'rikh-i-Ma'şūmī</i> .
<i>TN</i>	<i>Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāşirī</i> of Maulānā Minhāj ud-Dīn. Translated by Raverty.
<i>TRAS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> .
<i>UP</i>	The United Provinces of India.
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> . Also known as 'Vienna Oriental Journal.'

**YC**

*On Yuan Chwang*, by Thomas Watters,  
Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904.

**ZDMG**

*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen  
Gesellschaft.*

---



## INTRODUCTION

Nowhere is the comparison of history with a stream that rises in the dark and mysterious heights of the past and flows into eternity more apt than in the case of Indian history. Very few countries in the world "can boast of an ancient civilization, so continuous and unbroken as in India." But while this is true, it is also unfortunately a fact that its source and earlier courses are shrouded in a mystery which is darker than in the case of most countries. We do not even know who were the most ancient peoples in India. The theory that the Dravidians were the autochthons of India is gradually being given up in favour of the Pre-Dravidians. The Mundas of North-Eastern India are supposed to be typical representatives of this physical type, which is preserved on small isolated areas in India and Burma. Their language, which is closely allied to the Austric group of speech, is found scattered over a wide area, extending from the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean to the Far East. So far there is no inherent improbability in the supposition that a branch of this great race of the human family inhabited India at least before the Dravidians. As to these latter nobody can definitely say whence they originally came or what their features originally were. The difficulty of an attempt to generalise a physical type from the appearance of the modern speakers of the Dravidian languages, is exemplified in the case of the Brahuists in Baluchistan, who are totally different in appearance from their supposed cousins in the south of India. If the Brahui type was altered by the admixture of Iranian blood, what guarantee is there that the Dravidian tribes who filtered into the Indian peninsula were not also fundamentally altered by contact with the Pre-Dravidians? The presence of Dravidian speech in Baluchistan, near one of the gates of India, in the north-west, and "the undoubted similarity of the Sumerian and Dravidian ethnic types," have given rise to rival theories. While Rapson



contends that they came into India through Baluchistan, Hall thought that they went to Western Asia from India. The recent excavations at Harappa (Montgomery district, Punjab) and Mohen-jo Daro (Larkana district, Sind) may have important bearings on the question. Scholars have found a similarity between this Indian civilization and the Sumerian culture of the 4th millennium B.C. In the present state of our knowledge, it would be perhaps risky to base any conclusions on the data revealed by the explorers' spade; but it is significant that so far no arms or weapons of any kind have been discovered at Harappa and Mohen-jo Daro. To all appearance therefore they were colonies of a people devoted mainly to the arts of peace. If this is conceded, it rather goes against their identification with the *Dāsas* against whose citadels and weapons the *Āryans* so often invoked the aid of Indra. The identification of the *Dāsas* with the Dravidians, again, though frequently assumed, is difficult to prove. Beyond the fact that they had flat noses (*anās*=noseless?) and are described as 'of hostile speech' (*mrdhra-vāc*), of black skin (*liacam kṛṣṇām*; *kṛṣṇā*) and possibly as phallus-worshippers (*śiśna-devāh*), we know very little about the physical appearance of these enemies of the *Āryans*. It may be pointed out that some of the epithets mentioned above may still be applied without distinction to many of the tribes who now speak Dravidian or the Austric languages. It is not unlikely therefore that the word *Dāsa* was a term which was used in general to denote the non-*Āryan* tribes who opposed the Vedic Indians. In that case, the term may not have had in the Vedic period any definite ethnic sense to designate a compact racial group.

The problems confronting us in regard to the rise and growth of the power of the Vedic *Āryans* are not less obscure. After a discussion extending over a period of about a hundred years we are still in the region of conjecture as to their original habitat and the date of their first arrival in India. The discovery of the names of R̥gvedic gods in the Boghaz-kōi inscriptions

in Cappadocia, dated in about 1400 B.C., and of Āryan names in the inscriptions of Mesopotamia of about the same period, must have an important bearing on these questions. But though this may be accepted as "specific evidence for the supposition that by the fifteenth century B.C. tribes of Āryan stock held, or exercised influence over, a wide area, extending from northern Asia Minor over north-west Babylonia to Media," the further assumption of Dr. Giles that "even then, or soon after, the Āryans pushed their way still eastwards" till they reached India is obviously open to some doubt. Jacobi and Pargiter, for instance, have formed quite different conclusions on the same data. Without agreeing with all that these scholars have urged, we may point out that nothing conclusive can be urged against their view that the Boghaz-kôï inscription may be an evidence of an overflow of races of Āryan stock from India. Not only is the date of the first arrival of the Āryans in India uncertain, but anything of the nature of the accepted chronology for the whole period down to about 600 B.C. is practically non-existent. It is true that the epic and *pauranic* literatures claim to give us the history of this period. Thorough analysis of this tradition by Pargiter and a number of Indian scholars has shown that these should not be hastily rejected as mere 'bardic tales.' But the scheme of chronology proposed by them on the basis of this tradition<sup>1</sup> has not yet been thoroughly discussed and tested so that it can be safely adopted in any survey of Indian history. For practical purposes the approximate dates of the

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| 1 (a) Kṛta Age . . . . .                           | c. 2090-1610 B.C. |
| (b) Tretā Age .. . . .                             | 1610-1310 B.C.    |
| (c) Dvāpara Age . . . . .                          | 1310-950 B.C.     |
| (d) Sudāsa and the battle of the 10 kings .. . . . | 1274 B.C.         |
| (e) Foundation of the Bārhadhrathas .. . . .       | 1106 B.C.         |
| (f) The Bhārata battle . . . . .                   | 950 B.C.          |
| (g) Beginning of the Pradyotas... . . . .          | 619 B.C.          |
| (h) Accession of Mahāpadma ... . . . .             | 402 B.C.          |

See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922. The chronology adopted in Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, 'Book I, and Pradhan's *Chronology of Ancient India* is somewhat different.

Achaemenian invasion of India (c. 520-18 B.C.) and the date of Alexander's irruption (c. 326-25 B.C.) are still the earliest landmarks known for certain in Indian history. By calculating backwards from these dates, and with the assistance of the information contained in the chronicles of the Brahmans, Jains, and Buddhists a rough chronological framework has been established from about 600 B.C. downwards. It seems that about this period Northern India and a portion of the Deccan were parcelled out into small independent principalities. A stereotyped list of sixteen such states is probably contained in the *Anguttara Nikāya* of the Buddhists. Before the death of Buddha, however, in the eighties of the fifth century B.C. a considerable change appears to have taken place in the political geography of Northern India. Some of the smaller states seem to have been absorbed in four principalities of considerable size, viz., Avanti, Vatsa, Kosala and Magadha. About the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., the last of these had swallowed up the other three. When Alexander crossed the Ravi in 326 B.C., he was opposed on the Beas by an Indian prince who was most probably a king of the Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Under the Mauryas the Magadhan empire grew until it embraced the whole of India excepting the extreme south, where a few Tamil states were suffered to exist by the peaceful policy of Aśoka. This practical unification of India under the hegemony of Magadha is an event of great importance in the history of India before the advent of the British. It was twice nearly achieved under some of the Tughluqs and the Mughuls. But during the Hindu period India was never again united under one sceptre. Historians have, of course, tried to add unity to pre-Muslim history by clustering the political events round this or that dynasty of Northern India which grew powerful from time to time ; but it must be pointed out that none of these ruled even over the whole of Northern India, not to speak of the peninsular portion, where often equally powerful if not stronger dynasties ruled contemporaneously, with them. The Magadhan empire did

not long survive the death of Aśoka. The pressure of successive hordes of Yavana, Śaka-Pahlava, and Yueh-chi invaders from the north-western gates and the rise of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan gradually reduced the successors of the Mauryas to little more than Magadhan princes. The establishment of the Kusāṇa empire in the North-west removed the centre of political interest, at least in Northern India, from Pāṭaliputra to Peshawar. In the time of Kanīṣka the Kusāṇa dominions stretched across the Punjab to the Ganges valley as far east as Sarnath, and may have even included Magadha. By the beginning of the 3rd century, the Kuṣāṇas were reduced to the position of local rulers in the Punjab, while the rest of Northern India was probably parcelled out amongst the Satraps of Ujjayinī, the Nāgas, the Licchavis, and other minor powers, and in the Deccan the position of the Sātavāhanas appears to have been taken up by the Vākātakas. Further south, in the Guntur, Bellary and the Northern Tamil districts, we find the first beginnings of the rise of the Pallava power. The end of the 3rd century brings us to a revival of the power of Magadha under the Guptas. By the end of the 4th century the Magadhan empire under Candragupta II embraced a large portion of Northern India. But Sind, portions of Rajputana and the Punjab, Kashmir, portions of Nepal, Assam, and large areas of Bengal and Orissa remained permanently outside the orbit of the Gupta empire, though some of them may have acknowledged a nominal allegiance to the Gupta emperor. The Southern contemporaries of the Guptas during this period were in the Deccan, the Vākātakas and further south the Pallavas and Kadambas.

The failure of the Guptas to capture and guard the north-western gates of India soon resulted in the arrival of another horde of barbarian invaders, the Hūnas, about the middle of the 5th century A.D. The shock of the Hūna invasions must have shaken the foundations of the imperial power of the Guptas, although, as is indicated by the Damodarpur plates (443-543 A.D.), they apparently retained a substantial section

of their dominions till about the first half of the 6th century A.D. But the Gupta power was fast declining by that time, and new rivals had arisen who threatened its foundations. The period that followed saw a scramble for power amongst the Puṣpabhūtiś of Sthāṇviśvara, the Maukharis of Kānyakubja, the Gaudas of Karnaśuvāna, the Bhagadattas of Prāgjyotiṣa, and the later Guptas. The struggle ended about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. in the establishment of the hegemony of the Puṣpabhūtiś over a large portion of Northern India, with their capital at Kanauj. In the Deccan the Calukyas of Vātāpi had supplanted the Vākātakas, while further south the Pallavas of Kāñci were fast growing into a great power. There was little love lost between these three kingdoms, and bitter wars soon ensued between them. The Calukyas had to maintain a twofold struggle on the Nerbada and the Kistna-Tungabhadra frontiers against their northern and southern enemies.

The death of Harsa, soon after 646 A.D., has been regarded by historians as an epoch in the history of India. According to V. A. Smith, India after this date lapsed back into its normal condition, "a medley of petty states with ever varying boundaries and engaged in unceasing internecine war," till it fell a prey to Islamic invaders. During the period that followed everything declined, and polity, literature, and religion sank into mediocrity. Accordingly that excellent historian considered the year 647 A.D. as the beginning of the mediaeval period of Indian history. In this conclusion, he has of late been followed by a number of writers both European and Indian. But even a superficial examination of the facts shows the utter hollowness of the proposition. The year 647 A.D. marked no epoch in the history of the Deccan and the far south, which continued to flourish as before under separate dynasties. In the Deccan the Calukyas (c. 550-753 A.D.) were followed about the middle of the 8th century by the Rāṣtrakūṭas (c. 753-973 A.D.) and the latter in the middle of the 10th century by the Calukyas of Kalyāna (c. 973-1190 A.D.). In the south the Pallavas (c. 550-880 A.D.)

continued to reign till about the last quarter of the 8th century, when they were supplanted by the Cōḷas (c. 880-1300 A.D.) as the supreme power south of the Tungabhadra. Even Northern India was not wholly included in Harṣa's dominions. Smith himself admits that Kashmir, Punjab, Sīnd, Rājputana and Kāmarūpa were outside his empire. The evidence on which Valabhī, Nepal, and Bengal are reckoned as part of his dominions is extremely uncertain and vague. An Indian scholar has recently tried to show after a critical study of the epigraphic and literary evidence that Harṣa's territory only "comprised the districts roughly corresponding to the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, with a portion of Eastern Punjab and Western Bihar" <sup>1</sup> "According to this view Harṣa's dominions were bounded by the Himalayas, the Western Punjab, Rājputana, Central India, and Bengal." Though this may perhaps be regarded as a rather extreme statement of the position, yet I think the time has come when we should try to avoid basing our conclusions on vague statements of partisans and *prasastikāras*. That Harṣa was the most considerable prince of Northern India is proved by the epithet *Sakala-Uttarā-patheśvara*, applied to him by his enemies the Cālukyas; <sup>2</sup> but we must learn to differentiate between the most powerful king of Northern India and the emperor of Northern India. In view of this position, it is absurd to say that no emperor arose in Northern India whose dominions could rival those of Harṣa. There is unquestioned evidence, as we shall see later on, that some of the Pratihāra emperors ruled over an empire more extensive than that of the Puṣpabhūti king. Again, the assertion that there was a general decline in everything from about 647 A.D. is, to say the least, extremely exaggerated. It is true that no Kālidāsa was born again; but to regard poets and dramatists like Bahava-bhūti, Viśākhadatta and Rājasekhara as representatives of a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *JBORS*, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> *BI*, Vol V, p. 202, line 9.

decadent literature is, I fear, somewhat inaccurate. In religion, if Buddhism disappeared, the period saw the birth of teachers like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. In the field of Mathematics and Astronomy it produced the famous Bhāskarācārya, whose work "enjoyed more authority in India than any other astronomical work except the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*." In the domain of architecture Smith himself admits that "it was practised on a magnificent scale" during the period that followed the death of Harṣa. Under these circumstances to regard Harṣa's death as an epoch marking the end of all unity in India and ushering in the mediaeval period is to show a false perspective of the main currents of affairs. If Indian history lost her unity she lost it with the death of Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. If we have to find for practical purposes another date which will serve as a landmark in the history of Northern India, then 916 A.D., and not 647, is more appropriate, as we shall presently see.

But though the year 647 A.D. cannot be regarded as an epoch marking the transition of the ancient into the mediaeval period, it is certainly a date of considerable importance in the history of Northern India. There is some reason to believe that after the death of Harṣa the power of Tibet extended across Nepal to the Ganges valley. There was also probably a revival of the power of the Guptas under Ādityasena. But the most important event that followed was the struggle for the mastery of Kanauj. That city appears to have acquired an imperial reputation under the sway of the Maukharis and the Puspabhūtiś. For about a hundred years Kānyakubja and the Ganges-Jumna Doab remained a bone of contention amongst the rulers of India. The struggle was opened by the Kārkota Lalitāditya of Kashmir, who about 736 A.D. conquered the principality of Kānyakubja, which at that time extended "from the bank of the Yamunā to that of the Kālīkā" (probably the Kālī Nadī, which runs parallel to the Ganges and falls into it below Kanauj). Then came the Pālas of Bengal and Bihār, who some time after 783 A.D., under Dharinapāla, conquered the city of Kanauj and extended their

power as far as the eastern districts of the Punjab. Then came the attacks of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Western India and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. The tripartite struggle between Pālas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Pratihāras at last resulted in the winning of the *Mahodayasī* by the last-named. It is not exactly known when they first captured Kanauj; but they must have done it some time before 836 A.D., the date of the Barah inscription of Bhoja I, which was issued from Mahodaya itself. The capture of this city gradually led to the foundation of a Gurjara-Pratihāra empire which rivalled that of the Guptas, and was more extensive than that of the Puspabhūti. Even if we omit the somewhat doubtful passage in the *Rājataranginī* which refers to the dominion in the Punjab of an *Adhvāja* Bhoja, the power of the Bhoja I in the Punjab is unquestionably demonstrated by the discovery of his Pehowa inscriptions in the district of Karnal. The Una grants of Balavarma and Avanivarman show that the *Saurāstra-Mandala* (Kathiawar) was within the dominions of Mahendrapāla. As the Khajuraho inscription of the Candellas, dated in V. S. 1101 (A.D. 954) still acknowledges the sovereignty of Vināyaka-pāla, it is reasonable to conclude that the Candellas were also feudatories of the Pratihāras from an earlier period. The Dighwa Dubauli plates of Mahendrapāla I, show that Śrāvasti-*Viṣaya* in the U. P. was in his dominions. The writings of the Arab geographers seem to indicate that the Gurjara empire touched the borders of Sind in the extreme west, while the Ramgaya, Guneria and Itkhor inscriptions in the East show Pratihāra power in Bihar. The recent discovery of a pillar-inscription of Mahendrapāla I at Paharpur, in North Bengal probably shows the extreme eastern extension of the Gurjara-Pratihāras' kingdom. In the face of all this epigraphic evidence which shows that the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire embraced the whole of Northern India excepting Sind, western portions of the Punjab, Kashmir, Nepal, Assam and portions of Bengal, C. P., and Orissa, it is absurd to say that they ruled over only "the Cis-Sutlej districts of the Punjab, the greater part of the United Provinces of



Agra and Oudh and the Gwalior territory.”<sup>1</sup> Unlike the limits of the empire of Harṣa, which has been defined for us by vague expression of his friends and enemies, the bounds of the Pratihāras’ empire are determined by unquestioned archaeological evidence. It is of course unfortunate that no Bāna or Yuan Chwang has left for us a detailed account of the life and administration of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I; but that is no reason why we should relegate their history to the mediaeval period, which, according to V. A. Smith and his followers, specifically deals with the history of the ‘petty states’ whose internecine wars preceded the Muslim conquest of India. The period of disruption that intervened between the fall of the Puṣpabhūti and the rise of the Gurjara-Pratihāras cannot in any sense be regarded as a curious phenomenon marking an epoch in Indian history. A period of struggle has always intervened between the fall of one and the rise of another powerful dynasty in India until the establishment of British rule. But if for practical purposes we must draw a line between the so-called ancient and mediaeval periods, it is more convenient to draw it somewhere about 916 A.D. when the Pratihāra empire in Northern India at last began to break up into numerous petty states. As usual, “a political re-adjustment would probably have taken place, sooner or later, if the Indian states were left to themselves.” But unfortunately the ‘Turks’ appeared at this crisis on the north-western frontier carrying the Muslim flag. The Pratihāra empire had played no insignificant part in preventing the Arabs from gaining the same success in India as in other lands. But the Turks were more fortunate, and before the breach could be repaired by the same natural process which had hitherto always operated in India, they charged through the gap and carried everything before them. The incidents during the period of about three hundred years (c. 916 to 1200 A.D.) may be taken to be only a prelude to the final act of the drama, which saw the standards of Islam

<sup>1</sup> Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India*, 1925, Allahabad, pp. 2-3.

on most of the important citadels of Northern India. Considered from this point of view, the year 916 A.D. may for practical purposes be accepted as the line of demarcation between the two periods in the history of Northern India. These may be called the ancient and the mediaeval periods; but it would perhaps be more reasonable to call them simply the Hindu period and the period of the Turks and Afghans.

I have already pointed out the danger of calling Harṣa the emperor of Northern India on the strength of mere catch-phrases. A large portion of Northern India remained outside his dominions; and in this region the year 647 A.D. was only in a very limited sense, if at all, an event of any importance. Similarly a large part of it, though probably less in extent than in the time of Harṣa, lay outside the orbit of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire; and here again the year 916 A.D., which saw the beginning of the break-up of the Pratihāra empire did not bring such vital changes as to mark an epoch in its history. To some at least the year 916 A.D., does not appear to have had the slightest significance. The time has come when we should realise more clearly the vastness of India and recognise the limitations of such expressions as 'emperor of India' or even 'emperor of Northern India' which are so frequently used in text-books on Indian history. In the strictest sense of the word there was perhaps no Hindu ruler who could be called the emperor of the whole of Northern India after the fall of the Mauryas. But for practical purposes, as I have said, the arrival of the Turk on the Indian frontier in the 10th century may well serve as a landmark in Indian history.

A minute study of the dynasties that ruled in Northern India from the 10th century till the completion of the Turkish conquest is important for more than one reason.

Firstly, the period forms a very important chapter in the growth, rise, and decay of the Rajput states. Most of the Hindu states in Northern India during this period were ruled by tribes who claimed Rajput descent. Since the day when Tod

wrote his celebrated *Annals*, no attempt has yet been made to study systematically the various sources of information and give a connected account of these tribes based on sound archæological evidence.<sup>1</sup> Tod's work is in many ways a masterpiece; but it is hopelessly out-of-date. The scanty accounts of these tribes given in various publications since the time of Tod are mainly based on Muhammadan chronicles. These works have many excellent characteristics, but they were written by enemies of the Rajputs, whose difference in religion would further tend to make them more tainted and onesided. Again, these chroniclers often wrote as historians of the Delhi empire, and as such omitted many interesting details of the history of these Rajput tribes which appeared to them to be rather trivial and unimportant. It has, therefore, become necessary to check and supplement their accounts, wherever possible, with the evidence of archæology and more reliable Hindu chronicles, some of which have recently been discovered.

Secondly, a critical study of this period is important for the history of the Hindus in general. For it will probably reveal some of the forces which vitally influenced Hindu society, religion and polity, the marks of which can be traced even to this day. But a critical study of the period is perhaps more important for the history of the Turks and Afghans in India. When they conquered Northern India, they could not at once change the whole system of administration of the country. Local government, revenue administration and many other features of Hindu polity must have continued unchanged under their régime. A careful analysis of this data from the inscriptions and other records of the Hindu states cannot therefore fail to be of supreme value if we would rightly understand the beginnings of Muslim rule in India. It will help us to judge how far, if at all, the Turkish and Afghan rulers borrowed their methods of administration from their Hindu predecessors.

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written, I have seen some fascicules of Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha's *History of the Rajputs*, written in Hindi.

# DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA

## CHAPTER I

### DYNASTIC HISTORY OF SIND

The area indicated by the word *Sind* has varied from age to age. The Hindu geographers probably included the lower Indus valley in the term *Sindhu-Sauvīra*.<sup>1</sup> When Yuan Chwang visited Sind, the whole region from Shikarpur down to the sea was politically subject to Sind, but of this area *Sin-tu* (Sind) appears to have formed only a small portion.<sup>2</sup> To the Arab writers however *as-Sind* meant a much bigger area. Thus Balādhurī (9th century A.D.) describes al-Kīkān (modern Kelat<sup>3</sup> in Baluchistan) as 'part of the land of *as-Sind* where it borders on Khurāsān.'<sup>4</sup> Mukaddasī (10th century A.D.) praises 'al-Lahūm,' a city in Bāmiyān as 'the trade port of Khurāsān and the treasure house of Sind.'<sup>5</sup> This passage probably refers to the proximity of the frontiers of Bāmiyān, Khurāsān, and Sind. Multan, which was outside Sind in the time of Yuan Chwang, was also included in *as-Sind* by the Arab historians. The boundaries of Sind in the east cannot be precisely indicated.

<sup>1</sup> *AGI*, pp. 285 ff. and 690; *CIC*, map facing p. 1; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 44 (line 11 of the inscription).

<sup>2</sup> *YC*, Vol. II, pp. 252 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *LEC*, p. 332; *NA*, p. 566; *Elliot*, pp. 381-38.

<sup>4</sup> *KFB*, Vol. II, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> *LEC*, p. 418.

It was probably limited on this side by the Thar or the Indian Desert; on the south it was bounded by the sea, while on the south-west it included a considerable portion of Baluchistan and the Mukrān coast. Balādhuri,<sup>1</sup> describes the route of Muhammad ibn Qāsim from Shiraz (the capital of Fars) *via* Mukrān to the cities of Qannazbur (Fannazbūr; mod. Panj-gūr<sup>2</sup>), Armā<sup>3</sup> (Armabīl), Qanīl (Qanbalī) and Daibul, all of which apparently belonged to *as-Sind*. It is also possible that the province known as Mukrān to the Arabs originally belonged to *as-Sind*. In the accounts of the earlier raids of the Arabs towards this portion of India, we find officers appointed 'over the frontier of al-Hind.' It was only after a series of raids and conquests on this frontier that Mukrān is mentioned as one of the conquests of Sinan ibn Salāmah about the year 48 A.H.<sup>3</sup> It was after Ibn al-Ḥarī al-Bāhlī had finally conquered the country 'after a fierce and successful campaign' (*circa* 61 A.H.) that Sa'īd was for the first time appointed by Ḥajjāj over Mukrān (*circa* 79 A.H.).<sup>4</sup> It is therefore very likely that this province was carved out of the territory which was politically and geographically known to them as *as-Sind*. Thus it appears that the Arabs understood by *as-Sind*, the whole of the lower Indus valley from Multan down to the sea, including nearly the whole of modern Baluchistan.<sup>5</sup>

The history of this region from the 7th century, or even earlier, down to the 16th century, when it was finally incorporated

<sup>1</sup> *KFB*, pp 216 ff

<sup>2</sup> *LEC*, p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> *KFB*, Vol. II, pp 210 12

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp 213 and 215. See also *NA*, pp 567 ff

<sup>5</sup> *LEC*, p. 331, fn. 1. According to Mas'ūdī, the king of Kanauj is one of the kings of Sind, and Kashmir forms part of Sind. See *Elliot*, I, pp. 22-23. He may have been misinformed. But it is possible that Mas'ūdī's remarks are based on the fact that during certain periods, the kings of Kanauj and Kashmir were rulers of portions of Greater Sind, which may have vaguely extended towards the north to the frontier of Kashmir. See fn 3, p 4. It is also possible that like *Hindu* of Darius I and *India* of Herodotus *Sind* may have sometimes meant the whole valley of the Sindhu and the adjacent region. For the map and boundary of Sind by Ibn Hauqal, see *Elliot*, I, pp. 32-33.

in the empire of Akbar, is extremely obscure. The Hindus have little or no records for the reconstruction of the history of this period, while the Muslim historians are generally exceedingly careless about the infidel inhabitants of the land; yet it is from these writers that we can get some faint idea of the political events of this region. Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the middle of the seventh century A.D., has left us some account of the country. He tells us that the reigning king 'was of the Śūdra (Shu-to-lo) caste, ..... a sincere man and a believer in Buddhism.'<sup>1</sup> But he does not even mention the name of the reigning sovereign. The only work which supplies us with some details of the princes of Sind from the 7th century down to its conquest by the Arabs in 713 A.D. is the late historical romance, variously known as the *Chach-nāma*, *Ta'rikh-i Hind-wa Sind* or *Fath-nāma*, a Persian work composed in the time of and dedicated to Nāsir ud-Dīn Qabācha (613 A.H. = A.D. 1216).<sup>2</sup> From this work we come to know that the dynasty of the Brahman Chach, to which Dāhir, the contemporary of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim belonged, was preceded by the 'Rāi Dynasty.' Three princes of this line who immediately preceded Dāhir, are mentioned, viz., Rāi Dīwāji, his son Rāi Sīhras, and his son Rāi Sāhasī. This list is also found in *Ta'rikh-i Mā'şūmī*<sup>3</sup> but the *Tuhfat ul-Kirām* (A.H. 1181) mentions two additional names after Rāi Sāhasī, viz., Rāi Sīhras II (son of Rāi Sāhasī), and his son Rāi Sāhasī II.<sup>4</sup> Their capital city was 'ar-Rūr'<sup>5</sup> (mod. Rohri), while their kingdom extended to Kashmir in the east, to Mukrān on the west to the shores of the ocean on the south, and to Kaikānān in the north. In the *Tuhfat ul-Kirām*, the boundaries are further extended in the east to Kanauj, in the

<sup>1</sup> YC, Vol. II, p. 252; Elliot, I, pp. 410-11.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Karachi, 1900. Elliot, I, pp. 181-211. All subsequent histories of Sind, like the TM (A.D. 1600) appears to have copied this account from the *Chach-nāma*. See Elliot, I, pp. 405; pp. 213 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Also known as *Ta'rikh-i Sind*. See Elliot, I

<sup>4</sup> Translated by Lieut Postands in JASB, Vol. XIV, 1845, Part I, pp. 78-79.

<sup>5</sup> For a different form of the name see Elliot, I, p. 363.

north to Kandahar, Sistan, the hills of Sulaiman and Kaikānān,<sup>1</sup> and in the south to the confines of the port of Surat.<sup>2</sup> It also assigns a period of 137 years to the five rulers mentioned above.<sup>3</sup> According to all these accounts Rāi Sāhasī<sup>4</sup> was succeeded by his Brahman minister Chach, who married his widow and established a separate dynasty. Chach, we are told, was a vigorous ruler. The frontiers of his dominions also touched Kashmir, and included Mukrān and Siwistan (Sijstān?); he defeated and killed a king named Mahrāt (*Mahāratha*?) (a relation of Sāhasī) who is variously described as the chief of Jaipur, Jodhpur or Chitor in 'about

<sup>1</sup> *Elliot*, I, p 139.

<sup>2</sup> Surat has been taken by *Elliot* (Vol I, p. 405) to be Saurāstra, i.e., the Kathiawar peninsula. But the text distinctly says "port of Surat," and as our text belongs to the early 18th century, the author probably had the port of Surat in his mind.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, Vol. XIV, 1845, Part I, pp. 78 and 80. In the original Kanauj is spelt (قنوج) It has been asserted by some scholars that 'Kinnauj is not Kanauj' but only 'a dependency of Multan.' Rāi Harchandar, son of Jahtal Rāi, the contemporary of Muḥammad Qāsim . . . of course otherwise unknown to history (*Elliot*, I, p 208). But as Multan was one of the parts of *as-Sind*, in this period, and as it is asserted that the limits of the latter extended up to Kashmir and Kanauj, it is more likely that the chronicler was referring in a vague way to the boundaries of the empire of Kanauj, which spread over a large portion of Northern India in the 7th century A D. At that period the western limits of this kingdom were not beyond the reach of possible raids from Multan. Possibly Muḥammad raided some of these western provinces which once belonged to the famous empire of Kanauj.

The confusion of the scholars mentioned above must have been caused by the statement of Mas'ūdi that the king of Kanauj was one of the kings of Sind. Mas'ūdi should not, however, be taken here to refer to the modern boundaries of Sind, for in another place he includes Kashmir also in Sind. It should be noted that Mas'ūdi never says that the city of Kanauj was a dependency of Multan or that it is on the banks of one of the Punjab rivers. The city which is thus located by him was called Ba'ūrah (بؤره) Pratihāra?) after the title of the kings of Kanauj. This city originally belonged to Kanauj, but was apparently conquered by the Amirs of Multan and formed a part of their principality. A careful analysis of Mas'ūdi leaves us in no doubt that by his Ba'ūrah (بؤره) of Kanauj (قنوج) he is referring to the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings of that city. History does not know of a second Kanauj, near about Multan during this period. See *Elliot*, I, 405; *NA*, p. 566; *EHI*, 4th Edition, p. 359, fn. 1; *CHI*, Vol III, p 7

<sup>4</sup> According to *Tuḥfat ul-Knām*, it is Sāhasī II, see above

the first year of the Hijra ' (A.D. 622).<sup>1</sup> Chach ruled for 40 years and was succeeded by his brother Chandar who ruled for 8 years and was in his turn succeeded by Dāhir, his nephew, the son of Chach, who was defeated and killed by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim in 93 A.H. (712 A.D.) after a reign of 33 years, the whole dynasty having lasted 92 years.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, to be noticed that the total reign period of the rulers is only 81. It is difficult to find out how far this account is historical, for the *Chach-nāma*, on which this account is mainly based, is more fanciful and romantic than historical in its treatment of events. It is generally assumed that when Yuan Chwang visited Sind about the middle of the 7th century A.D., one of the princes of the Rāi dynasty was still ruling at Alor.<sup>3</sup> Of course this goes against the chronological arrangements of *Tuhfat ul-Kirām*, according to which the Rāi dynasty ruled from circa 485 to 622 A.D.<sup>4</sup> But as it is supposed that Yuan Chwang could not have committed so palpable a mistake as to describe a Brahman as a Śūdra, the period of the rule of the Rāi dynasty is extended till the middle of the 7th century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, I, p. 140, fn. 1; *JASB*, Vol. XIV, 1845, Part I, p. 81. It is quite likely that this prince was a Maurya king. According to Rajput tradition the Moris (Mauryas) held sway over this tract before the rise of the Guhilots. See *AR*, Vol I, p. 265. For the dates of the early Guhilot princes see *IA*, 1910, pp. 188-89, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 81. There are a number of inscriptions of the early 8th century A.D. where Guhilot princes are found as vassals of the Mauryas; see *ASI*, *W. Cutch*, 1906, p. 60, *EI*, XII, pp. 11-12. In the *Chach-nāma* (Mirza Kalichbeg's Trans., p. 21) Mahrat is described as the brother of Sāsasi.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1845, XIV, Part I, p. 96; Elliot, I, 412.

<sup>3</sup> See V. Smith's *EHI* (4th Edition), p. 369; Vaidya's *Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1845, Vol XIV, Part I, pp. 80-81: "The period occupied by the rule of the five preceding Rajas is 137 years, and then it descended to the Brahmins." Chach's victory over 'Rana Mhrut,' soon after his accession to the throne, is said to have 'occurred about the first year of the Hijra.' (622 A.D.) Prof. Dowson places the accession of Chach in A.H. 10. For his discussion of these dates see Elliot, I, pp. 406-07 and 412-14. Thus he places the accession of Diwāji in 495 A.D. taking 137 years as not an improbable period of duration of 5 reigns. Also Elliot, I, pp. 410-11.

<sup>5</sup> Yuan Chwang described Kṃmāra (Bhāskaravarman) of Kāmarūpa as a Brahman. But his inscription describes him as the descendant of Naraka and Bhagadatta,



It is however by no means certain that the Rāīs were Sūdras, for they claimed relation with prince Mahrāt (*Mahāratha*?) who possibly belonged to the Mori or the Maurya tribe which claimed to belong to the Paramāra branch of the Rajputs. The Morya or Maurya sub-clan of the Paramāras still exists.<sup>1</sup>

The conquest of Sind by the Arabs in 712 A.D. was the final act of a drama which began as early as the Caliphate of 'Umar in the year 15 A.H. (A.D. 636), with the Arab naval attack on Tānah (mod. Thana near Bombay) and Barwas (Broach).<sup>2</sup> The Arab fleet appeared in the gulf of 'ad-Daibul' and from this time onward kept on raiding this frontier both by land and sea. But the task was not an easy one. For as a report to Caliph " 'Uthmān " describes it : " the water supply is scanty, the dates are inferior; a small army would be lost there, and a large army would starve." <sup>3</sup> But the conquering energy of the Arabs recognised no barriers, and they continued to hammer at the frontier-gates in spite of these difficulties and the stubborn nature of the resistance. In the year 39 A.H. (659 A.D.) al-Ḥārith raided this frontier but was killed after some initial success in 'al-Kikān' in A.H. 42 (A.D. 662). In

who do not appear to have been Brahmans. See *EI*, XII, pp 71-72. It is, however, pointed out by Dr Raychaudhuri that the claim to Brahmanhood may have been based upon descent from Nārāyaṇa Deva (possibly to be identified with Viṣṇu, son of the ṛṣi Kaśyapa) (*YC*, II, p 186) Nārāyaṇa, it is well known, was the father of Naraka according to Purāṇic legends

<sup>1</sup> See above, fn. 1 on p. 5, *Census Report, Rajputana*, 1911, I, 255; *AR*, p. 265, fn. 3. See also *Elliot*, I, pp. 410-11.

<sup>2</sup> *KFB*, Part II, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p 210. The following verse quoted by Balādhuri gives an idea of these difficulties :

" And thou art going to Mukrān  
How far the destination from the starting place !  
I have no use for Mukrān,  
Either to fight there or to trade.  
I was told about it, I did not go there ;  
And I always dislike to hear about it.  
Most people there are hungry  
And the rest of them are depraved." P. 212.

the year 44 A.H. (A.D. 664) al-Muhallab is reported to have passed through al-Kīkān and reached the towns of Baḍnah and al-Ahwār (Lahore) between Multan and Kabul.<sup>1</sup> In the reign of Mu'āwiyah 'Abdullah was killed in a raid on this frontier. In the reign of this very Caliph Sinan ibn Salāmah is reported to have "conquered Mukrān by force." But soon after Rashid ibn 'Amr was killed while raiding the Mīd in this region.<sup>2</sup> Al-Mundhūr also died on this frontier, and it was only when Ziyād, the governor of 'Irāq appointed Ibn-al-Ḥarrī al-Bāhillī that he succeeded in conquering Mukrān 'after a fierce and successful campaign.' The episode of the robbery of the Mīds on a ship sent to Ḥajjāj by 'the king of the Island of Rubies' (Ceylon), if true, was probably only a pretext used by Ḥajjāj for securing support from the Caliph for his vigorous forward policy on this frontier, which finally resulted in the conquest of the powerful kingdom of Sind in A. H. 92-94 (A. D. 710-13), but not before Budail ibn Ṭahfah had been killed before the walls of Daibul in an earlier attempt.<sup>3</sup>

With the conquest of Multan in 713 A.D. the whole of Sind was brought under Arab military control, that is to say, the big cities like Multan, Alor, Bahmanābād, Daibul,<sup>4</sup> and other strategic centres were held by Arab garrisons, while the country remained under the rule of Hindu rulers. One such chief was Ḥullishāh, a son of Dāhir.<sup>5</sup> It appears from the account of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210; *Elliot*, I, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *KFB*, Part II, pp. 211-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 216. For the advances of the Arabs towards W. Sind and the details of its conquest see also *Elliot*, I, pp. 414 ff

<sup>4</sup> Alor has been generally identified with modern Rohri on the Indus. Bahmanābād was situated not far from modern Hyderabad, while Daibul is generally placed by most scholars near the modern port of Karachi, and others place it near modern Tatta, on the left bank of the main Indus channel.

<sup>5</sup> Probably to be identified with the Jaisiya (Jayasimha) of the *Chach-nāma*. See *Elliot*, I, p. 201. If Jaisiya was written like جيسية then there is some chance of its being confused with جاسية. According to this work Jaisiya was a 'monk' and retired to Kassa (Cutch) in the dominions of Balharā after the capture of Alor, pp. 200-201. Balḥurī mentions Ṣiṣah as another son of Dāhir, see *KFB*, Vol. II, p. 226.

Balādhuri that this prince continued to hold considerable power round about Bahmanābād.<sup>1</sup> It seems likely that soon after Muḥammad ibn Qāsim was removed from the governorship of Sind and fell a prey to the vengeful Ṣālih in about 715 A.D.<sup>2</sup> there was a revival of Hindu power in Sind, for we are told by Balādhuri that about this time, when Ḥabīb ibn al-Muhallab was 'appointed to wage the *as-Sind* campaign, the kings of al-Hind came back to their kingdoms and Ḥullishāh came back to Bahmanābād and took up a position on the Mīhrān.' We are further told that 'the people of ar-Rūr (Alor) submitted to him.'<sup>3</sup> Mīr Ma'sūm goes so far as to say that two years after the death of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim "the people of India rebelled, and threw off their yoke, and the country from Debalpur to the Salt Sea only remained under the dominions of the Khalīfa."<sup>4</sup> According to Balādhuri, Ḥullishāh and all the rulers of Sind accepted Islam and Arabic names, in the reign of Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz who succeeded Sulāymān in 717 A.D.<sup>5</sup> But the Caliphs continued to send governors over Sind,<sup>6</sup> and the degree of authority which they exercised must have varied according to the personality and ability of these officers. There is evidence to show that some of these governors tried to extend their power from their posts in Sind. Ḥajjāj had ordered Muhammad ibn Qāsim not to rest satisfied with Sind but to penetrate to China, thus emulating the victories of Qutayba in Transoxania, and he is generally credited by al-Bīrūnī, the *Chach-nāma*, and the Persian authorities with

<sup>1</sup> *KFB*, Part II, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 224. I prefer the matter-of-fact account of Balādhuri (9th century A.D.) to the romantic story of 'Alī ibn Ḥamīd al-Kufī, which appears to be a later fabrication. See *Elliot*, I, 437; also *Caliphate*, pp. 362-63.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 438.

<sup>5</sup> *KFB*, Part II, p. 225.

<sup>6</sup> For the list of governors see the end of this chapter; also Zamhsaur's *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour L'Histoire de L'Islam*, p. 279.

having penetrated to Kanauj.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to ascertain how far this is historical, but there are reasons to believe that Junayd, who was Governor of Sind under Caliph Hishām (724-43) not only undertook a vigorous policy for the consolidation of Arab power in Sind but actually made raids on many parts of India. Balādhurī tells us that he defeated and killed Dāhīr's son Ḥullishāh who had apostatized and opposed his advance after a naval battle. He is also reported to have raided Uzain, Bahri-mad, al-Mālibah, al-Kīraj, Mirmad, al-Mandal, Dahnāj, and Barwaṣ, and conquered al-Bailamān and al-Jurz.<sup>2</sup> It is probably one of these raids which is recorded in the Nausarī grant (A.D. 738-39) of the Lāṭa Cālukya prince Pulakeśin Avani Janāśraya. It is recorded in this inscription that Pulakeśin defeated a *Tāṇika* (Arab) army which had afflicted the kingdoms of Sindhu, Cutch, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvotaka, Maurya, and Gurjara, and had apparently advanced on Navasārī, where this prince was ruling at this time.<sup>3</sup> The route of advance of this Arab invasion was through the Baroda Gap, which easily communicates with Sind, through the low-lying plain near the Runn of Cutch.<sup>4</sup> Another such raid appears to be noticed in the Gwalior inscription of the Gujara-Pratīhāra king Bhoja I, which tells us that Nāgabhaṭa, the founder

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, I, p. 434 *Kitābul-Hind*, of al-Bīrūnī, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 21

<sup>2</sup> KFB, Part II, pp. 226-27 Another son of Dāhīr, Ṣāḥ was also treacherously killed by Junayd. Many of these places are not yet definitely identified. Jurz is probably the Gurjara State of Western India. Elliot identified Kīraj with Cutch and Mandal with Okā-Mandal in Gujarat, see Elliot, I, pp. 126, fn. 2, 390-91, 441-42. Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar had identified Mirmad (Marwad of Elliot, I, p. 126) with the Maru-Māra referred to in a Ghatiyala inscription which includes Jaisalmer and parts of Jodhpur State. Mandal, according to him, is probably Mandor, while al-Bailamān probably refers to the circle of states mentioned in another Ghatiyala inscription as Vallamaṇḍala. Al-Mālibah is taken by Murgotten as Malabar, by Elliot as Malwa or Malabar, while according to Dr. Majumdar it evidently means "eastern and western Malwa." See JL, 1923, Vol. X, pp. 21-22. Dr. Barnett suggests can Bailamān (بيلمان) be Bhilmāl, (بيلمال), now Bhilmāl.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Oriental Section*, p. 231; BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 109, Part II, pp. 187-88 and 310.

<sup>4</sup> JL, 1927, Vol. XIV, pp. 13-15.

of the family, who probably ruled in Avanti in about c. 725 A.D., defeated the army of a powerful *Mleccha* ruler which had apparently invaded his dominions.<sup>1</sup> According to al-Bīrūnī and a number of Jain writers the famous capital city and port of Valabhī was destroyed as a result of a series of Arab raids.<sup>2</sup> Balādhurī mentions the temporary occupation of Sindān (in Cutch) by the Arabs from Sind.<sup>3</sup> But the success of the Arabs appears to have been very limited. Among other reasons which prevented the Arab armies from meeting with the same degree of success, which they met with elsewhere, was probably the steady opposition of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Western Hindusthān, who in the 9th century came to hold the whole of Northern India from the Karnal District in the Punjab to the Vindhya and from North Bengal to the Kathiawar peninsula.<sup>4</sup> As the dominions of these kings of "Jurz" (Gurjara) touched upon the Arab sphere of influence in Sind and as they had to bear the brunt of the Arab attacks they soon came to be regarded as "unfriendly to the Arabs," while their enemies the Balharās (Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Mānyakheta), soon developed a partiality for the Arabs.<sup>5</sup> The roots of this policy of forming alliances with infidels for the purpose of political conquests, as opposed to holy war, must be traced to the first conqueror of Sind, who ceased to interfere with the temples and religious life of the friendly Indians and placed the *budd* of the Hindus in the same status as the "churches of the

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 102 and 107; see also *IA*, 1911, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *KH*, Trans. by Sachau (Trubner), Vol. I, pp. 192-93; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 94-96, also p. 525. The city was probably destroyed as a result of a series of raids extending from c. 750 to 829 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 232. The occupation took place in c. 813-33 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> See *EI*, I, p. 186; Vol. IX, p. 1 ff.; *Rājataranginī*, V, 161; *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 63-64, *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, pp. 55-58, *ASI*, 1925-26, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> *Silsilat-u-Tawārīkh* of merchant Sulaymān (237 A.H. = 851 A.D.) and *Murūju-l-Jahb*, of al-Mas'ūdī (343 A.H. = 956, A.D.) See *Elliot*, I, pp. 4-5, 21 and 23; *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, p. 54 and footnote on the same.

Christians, the synagogues of the Jews and the fire temples of the Magians.”<sup>1</sup>

But, as I have said, in spite of these occasional raids and alliances<sup>2</sup> the Arab power did not prosper in Sind. Tamīm, the successor of Junayd, though famous for his generosity, was not apparently fitted to carry on the vigorous policy of his predecessors. Balādhurī tells us that in the time of al-Ḥakam ibn ‘Awānah, who came to Sind, not long after Tamīm, ‘the people of al-Hind apostatized with the exception of the inhabitants of Qasṣah.’ .... ‘A place of refuge,’ we are told, ‘to which the Moslems might flee was not to be found, so he built on the further side of the lake, where it borders on al-Hind, a city which he named al-Mahfūzah (the guarded), establishing it as a place of refuge for them, where they should be secure, and making it a capital’<sup>3</sup> Another city that was built at this time was al-Manṣūrah (the victorious; near modern Hyderabad)<sup>4</sup> Alor was probably the first viceregal seat of the Arab governors of Sind,<sup>5</sup> but in the time of Balādhurī (circa 892-93) the governors resided at al-Mansūrah,<sup>6</sup> in Lower Sind. From Balādhurī’s description it seems clear that the cities were not far from each other, both being built on the sides of an unknown lake; and it is therefore likely that other portions of Sind were practically lost to the Arabs. But al-Ḥakam, we are told, “won back from the hands of the enemy all that they had conquered from him. He was killed there later and afterwards the governors

<sup>1</sup> *KFB*, Part II, p. 221; *Caliphate*, p. 363; *PI*, 1913, p. 272 The *budd* should not be taken as always meaning a Buddhist temple for Balādhurī appears to mean by “the *budd* of al-Multan,” the famous sun-temple of that city; *ibid*, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> For other friendly Arab powers see *Silsilat al-Tawārīkh*, *Elliot*, I, pp. 4-5. For the evil effects of Junayd’s policy see *Caliphate*, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> *KFB*, II, pp. 228-29, Qasṣah is probably Cutch.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*, p. 229 See on this point *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 95; also *Elliot*, I, p. 372, note I, p. 412 According to al-Birūnī al-Manṣūrah is identical with Bahmanura (Bahmanābād). See Sachau, Trans., Vol. I, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 8

<sup>6</sup> *KFB*, Part II, p. 229

kept fighting the enemy and seizing whatever came into their hands, and subduing the neighbourhood whose inhabitants rebelled.”<sup>1</sup> This passage graphically describes the state of affairs in Sind during this period. The only other governor who is credited with a vigorous policy and successful invasions is Hishām ibn ‘Amr, appointed by the Abbasid Caliph al-Manṣūr (754-775). He is said to have ‘conquered what was left unsubdued,’ sent a fleet to Nārind, ‘conquered Kashmir, obtaining many prisoners and slaves,’ and reconquered Multan. He is further stated to have made an attack on ‘al-Qunduhar’ and cleared a faction of Arabs from Qandābīl.<sup>2</sup> During this period the power of the Caliphs over their governors in Sind appears to have been somewhat disturbed by the rebellions of their own officers and that of the conquered.<sup>3</sup> But a more dangerous thing was the nomination of ‘Imrān ibn Mūsa by his father when the latter died as governor in A. H. 221 (A.D. 836).<sup>4</sup> ‘Imrān, it is true, carried on a vigorous policy, fighting with the Zuṭṭs of Kikān and the Mīds of Cutch. But it has very appropriately been remarked that ‘when provincial governments in the east begin to become hereditary they are in a fair way to becoming kingdoms.’<sup>5</sup> Moreover the power of the Abbasid Caliphs was also beginning to decline rapidly and dynasties rose all over the empire.<sup>6</sup> They could no longer adequately support their distant viceroys with men and money.<sup>7</sup> The effect of all these was a weakening of Arab control over Sind, which is illustrated by

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p 229

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp 230-31, on the word “Nārind” which has not been properly identified, see *Elliot*, I, p 444, note 1. He reads the word as ‘Barada’ and locates it on the coast of Gujarat, ‘it stretches along the south-western shore of the peninsula of Gujarat, between the divisions of Halār and ‘Sorath,’ on ‘Qundahar,’ see *ibid*, p 445; it is identified with Kandahār in the peninsula of Kathiawar “one of the objects of our attack in 1809” But some place it in Afghanistan.

<sup>3</sup> *KFB*, Part II, pp. 231, 232, *Elliot* I, pp. 479-80.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>5</sup> *CHI*, Vol III, p 9.

<sup>6</sup> *KFB*, Part II, p 282

<sup>7</sup> See *Caliphate*, pp. 508 ff.; *Elliot*, I, pp. 452 ff.

their expulsion from Sindān in Cutch in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim (833-42 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The Caliphs appear to have lost all effective control over Sind from about the year A.H. 257 (870-71 A.D.) when Ya'qūb ibn Layth established on the ruins of the Tahirids an independent dynasty. In that year the helpless Caliph formally conferred upon Ya'qūb the government of Sind, Balkh, and Tukhārīstān, in addition to Sijistān and Kīrman, with which he had already been invested.<sup>2</sup> The Ṣaffārid dynasty thus founded was soon replaced in about the year 288 A.H. (900-901 A.D.) by the Sāmānids of Transoxania<sup>3</sup> who finally reduced Sijistān to submission in A.H. 300.<sup>4</sup> But there are no facts to prove, nor reasons to believe, that either the Ṣaffārids or the Sāmānids exerted any effective control over so remote a province as Sind. Sind, thus neglected by the imperial government and its successors in the eastern provinces, appears to have been divided among several petty princes who though they transmitted no revenue and rendered no political allegiance to the Caliph, continued to acknowledge his spiritual supremacy, flattering him by occasional presents or gifts.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p. 233 'Sindān is probably Abrāsa, in the southern district of Cuchh.' *PI*, 1918, p. 272 and fn 4 on that page.

<sup>2</sup> *Elliot*, I; Gustav Weil, *Geschichte der Califen*, 1848, Vol. II, pp. 437 ff, *TN*, Vol I, pp. 16 ff, *Caliphate*, pp. 543-44.

<sup>3</sup> *TN*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 34

<sup>5</sup> *Elliot*, I, pp. 453-54, see also pp. 479 ff, for causes which in the opinion of *Elliot* accelerated the downfall of the Caliph's dominion in Sind

Silver and copper coins have been discovered in Sind which from palaeographic and other considerations are supposed to belong to the Arab governors. The following is a complete list of these coins. The numbers on the right refer to those given in the table at the end of this chapter

Names.	Description of the Coins.	Remarks.
1. 'Alī and al-Naṣar	Silver, weight about 8-10 grains.	
2. 'Alī and Muḥammad	"	
3. 'Umar and al-Naṣar	"	
4. 'al-Faraz	"	
5. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān and Naṣar	"	
6. Naṣar		(6) Probably No. 10 of the Abbasid list.
7. Abd-al-Raḥmān	"	(7) Probably No 1 of the Abbasid list
8. 'Abd-allah	"	(8) May be No. 4 of the Umayyad list.



The history of Sind approximately for the next hundred and fifty years (*circa* 879-1025 A.D.) which extends from the death of Ya'qūb ibn Layth to the conquest of Sind by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, is largely the history of these smaller principalities. But our knowledge about them is very limited. We can only glean some facts from the stray notes of Ibn Khurdādbīh (*circa* 300 A.H. = 912 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> Mas'ūdī (*circa* 332 A.H. = 943 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> Iṣṭakhri (*circa* 340 A.H. = 951 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> and Ibn Ḥanqal (*circa* 366 A.H. = 976 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> Mas'ūdī who visited the Indus valley in the year 303-04 A.H. (A.D. 915-16), mainly notices two independent Arab principalities with Multan and Mansūrah as their capitals. Multan is described by him as 'one of the strongest frontier places of the Mussalmans, around which there are one hundred and twenty thousand towns, and villages.' The king of Multan was a Quraishite, and the children of Usāmah ibn Lawī ibn Ghālīb. 'The crown,' we are told, 'has been hereditary in this family since ancient times, from the beginning of Islam.'<sup>5</sup> The last passage probably indicates that Multan came into the possession of this Arab family a

Names.	Description of the Coins	Remarks
9. Muḥammad (and) Naṣar	Silver, weight about 8 10 grains	(9) May be No. 10 of the Abbasid list
10. Muḥammad	"	(10) Probably No. 6 of the Umayyad list.
11. Banū 'Amr	"	
12. Aḥmad	"	
13. 'Amru Naṣar	Copper about 35 grains	
14. Mansūr	" "	(14) Probably last governor of the Umayyads No. 15
15. 'Abd-ul-Rahmān	" 38 grains	(15) Probably No. 1 of the Abbasid list.
16. Muḥammad	" 44 "	(16) Probably No. 6 of the Umayyad list.

See *EIA*, pp. 119-24, *RGD*, pp. 56-64; and consult British Museum Coin Cabinet. I am indebted to Mr John Allan for kindly showing me the coins in the British Museum

<sup>1</sup> For the text and translation of his work *Kitāb ul-Masālik Wa'l-Mamālik*, see *JA*, 1865, Vol. VI. Extracts translated in *Elliot*, I, pp. 12-17.

<sup>2</sup> Extract from his *Murūj ul-Dhahb*, trans. in *Elliot*, I, pp. 18-25.

<sup>3</sup> Extract from his *Kitāb ul-Akālīm*, in *Elliot*, I, pp. 26-30

<sup>4</sup> Extract from his *Ashkāl ul-Bilād* (or *Kitāb al-Masālik Wa'l-Mamālik*), *Elliot*, I, pp. 31-40

<sup>5</sup> *Elliot*, I, pp. 23 ff; also p. 454, where *Elliot* takes "from the beginning of Islam" to mean "probably its introduction into Sind."

considerable time before the visit of Mas'ūdī. An interesting fact noticed by this traveller is about the famous idol of the city 'known by the name of Multan.'<sup>1</sup> 'The inhabitants of Sind and India,' he tells us, 'perform pilgrimages to it from the most distant places; they carry money, precious stones, aloewood and all sorts of perfumes there to fulfil their vows. The great part of the revenue of the king of Multan is derived from the rich presents brought to the idol of the pure aloewood of Kumār, which is of the finest quality, and one *man* of which is worth 200 *dīnārs*.' Financial necessity was therefore one of the important reasons why this idol was allowed to flourish in a city which was probably predominantly Moslem.<sup>2</sup> But there was another reason. Mas'ūdī says that 'when the unbelievers march against Multan, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol, and their enemies immediately withdraw.' Al-Mas'ūdī leaves us in no doubt that amongst these unbelieving enemies of Islam the Ba'ūrah (Pratihāra?) king of Kanauj was the foremost. The kings of the Gurjaras (Jurz) we have already seen were unfriendly to the Arabs even as early as the first quarter of the 8th century A. D.<sup>3</sup> When the merchant Sulaymān visited India in the middle of the 9th century A.D., they were regarded as the greatest foes of the Muḥammadan faith in India.<sup>4</sup> Their power had by the last quarter of the 9th century spread over a large portion of Northern India, including portions of the eastern Punjab.<sup>5</sup> But the policy of hostility to the Arabs handed down by earlier

<sup>1</sup> This idol is apparently referred to as "the *budd* of al-Multan by Balādhuri in connection with the conquest of that city by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim. According to al-Bīrūnī Muḥammad ibn Qāsim spared the idol but hung a piece of cow's flesh on its neck by way of mockery. See *Kitāb ul-Hind* Trans. by Sachau, Vol I, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> See al-Idrisī in *Elliot*, I, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 103 and 107.

<sup>4</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> See footnote no. 4 on p. 10.

rulers was apparently continued by their successors and at the time of Mas'ūdī, their 'army of the North' waged incessant war 'against the Arab prince of Multan, and with the Musulmans, his subjects on the frontier.'<sup>1</sup> In this struggle, the temple of Multan appears to have played an important part. It is conceivable that but for this advantage the Arab principality of Multan would have fallen a victim to the mighty army of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. In the middle of the 10th century however the Amirs of Multan appear to have secured some success over their enemies, for we are told by Mas'ūdī that a city which was called Ba'ūrah (Pratihāra?) after the designation of the princes of Kanauj was at his time 'in the territories of Islam,' and 'was one of the dependencies of Multan.' It is difficult to locate this town; but we are told by Mas'ūdī that 'through this town passes one of the (five) rivers which form together the river Mīhrān (Indus) in Sind.'<sup>2</sup> The success of the Arabs of Multan was probably due in a large measure to the decline of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire in the first quarter of the 10th century.<sup>3</sup> Al-Istakhrī, who visited India a few years after Mas'ūdī, tells us that 'Multan was a city of about half the size of Manṣūrah.' He also repeats the story of its idol, and the pilgrimages undertaken to it by the people from the most distant parts. But his account contains some interesting details about this temple. According to him the vast sums of money which these pilgrimages brought to the god, were "spent upon the temple and on those who lead there a life of devotion."<sup>4</sup> "The temple of the idol," we are told, "is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous parts of the city, in the market of Multan, between the bazar of the ivory-dealers and the shops

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>2</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 22; *Elliot* has apparently fallen into an error by stating that Kanauj was a province of Multan. *Ibid*, p. 454; see also *ante* my fn. no. 2 on p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Elliot*, I, pp. 27-28.

of the copper-smiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those devoted to its service dwell around the cupola. In Multan there are no men either of Hind or Sind who worship idols except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood, some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold.<sup>1</sup> It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knee, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted." This account differs from that of Mas'ūdī on one important point. According to the latter the offering to the idol formed one of the important sources of revenue of the Arab State of Multan; but according to Iṣṭakhrī, they were spent on the temple and its devotees. Iṣṭakhrī adds another interesting detail to the story of the utilisation of the idol in wars against the Indians. He tells us that but for this ruse the Indians "would destroy Multan." This statement not only supports our contention about the wars between the Arabs of Multan and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras but also indicates that the Arabs had also by this time lost all their early conquering vigour and enthusiasm, being reduced more or less to a moribund condition. Iṣṭakhrī further tells us that "the Mālīk is of a tribe of Quraish, and is not subject to the ruler of Maṣṣūrah but reads the Khuṭba in the name of the Khalīfa." The chief, we are told, lived in a large cantonment outside the city, and never entered Multan except on Fridays, when he went to the city on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers of that day. Ibn Ḥauqal, who

<sup>1</sup> Compare al-Birūnī's account, *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 116,

visited India about the same time, but finished his work in about 976 A. D. confirms most of the statements of *Iṣṭakhrī*. He also notices the decadent condition of the Arab State of Multan which was only saved from destruction by the Indians by the latter's fear of desecration of the idol of that city. But he adds the interesting information that the sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine were first taken by the Amir of Multan, who then distributed them amongst the servants of the temple. Multan, in his days was strongly fortified. Prices were low, but Mansūrah was much more fertile and populous. His chronicle makes it clear that the chief of Multan still belonged to the same family which ruled in the time of Mas'ūdī. He owed no allegiance to the chief of Mansūrah, but still read the Khutba in the name of the Khalīfa.

According to Mas'ūdī Mansūrah was 75 Sindian parasangs (1 parasang=8 miles) from Multan. Towards the north it extended as far as al-Rūr which was included within its boundary. 'The estates and villages dependent on Mansūrah,' says he, 'amounted to 300,000' <sup>1</sup> The whole country is well cultivated and covered with trees and fields. It is constantly at war with a nation called the Meds, who are a race of Sind, and also with other races on the frontiers of Sind.' <sup>2</sup> Its king was a Quraishite, descended from Ḥabbār ibn al-Aswad. He had eighty war-elephants every one of which was supported by five hundred infantry in battle, and 'opposed thousands of horses.' The 'Meds' with whom the king of Mansūrah was at war appear to have been the same sea-robbers who infested the ports of Sind and Surāstra in the 8th century and whose depredations were one of the immediate causes of the attack on Dāhir by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim. We know from Balādhurī that soon after his conquest of Sind Muhammad was compelled to make

<sup>1</sup> This figure is regarded by Elliot as 'ridiculous exaggeration'—*Elliot*, I, p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Mas'ūdī is mistaken when he asserts that 'Mansūra has its name from Manṣūr ibn Jamhūr, governor of the 'Umayyids,' *Elliot*, I, p. 24 See *ante*, p 11 and fn. no 4 on the same.

peace with these sea-dogs.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that they remained a source of trouble to the Arabs even in the 10th century. In Iṣṭakhrī's time Maṣṣūrah was about 'a mile long, and a mile broad,' and was 'surrounded by a branch of the Mīhrān.' The inhabitants were Musalmans and the dress of the people was like the people of 'Irāq, but the dress of their kings resembled that of the Indian kings in respect of hair and the tunic.'<sup>2</sup> This last point is extremely interesting, showing the tendency of these Arab States to become Indian in character. Al-Rūr, according to this traveller, approached Multan in size. It was protected by two walls and was situated 'on the borders of Maṣṣūrah.' In the time of Ibn Ḥauqal the limits of Maṣṣūrah, in the west appear to have touched the borders of Mukrān, for he places the village of Rahūk (or Dahūk) a dependency of Maṣṣūrah, on the borders of that land.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal further noticed that the Mālik of the country still belonged to the Quraish tribe, claiming descent from Hubād ibn Aswad, doubtless the same family which ruled in the time of Mas'ūdī. This prince still acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Caliph by reading the Khuṭba in his name.

The Arab traveller also agrees with his predecessor in the statement that the city of Maṣṣūrah was surrounded by a branch of the Indus so that it looked like an island. The inhabitants were Musalmans, and the current coin was stamped at Kandahar, each piece being equivalent to five dirhams. The Tātārī coin was also current, each being in weight equal to a dirham and a third.<sup>4</sup> He confirms Iṣṭakhrī by his statement that 'the dress of the sovereigns of the country resembled in the trousers and tunic that worn by the kings of Hind.' But it is significant that in his time the Moslems in certain parts had already

<sup>1</sup> *KFB*, II, p. 223

<sup>2</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 38 and 456. Ibn Ḥauqal appears to use the word *Amir* and *Mālik* in the same signification, *ibid* 1, on p. 445.

<sup>4</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 35.

begun to ' wear the same dresses and let their beards grow in the same fashion as the infidels ' This was another step in the formation of an Indian Moslem community as distinct from the conquerors from Arabia.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these two principal states in the Indus Valley, there appears to have been other smaller principalities. On the west, Ibn H̄auqal, tells us of the city of Qaṣḍār (Kuzdār) ' with dependent towns and villages.' The governor was Mu'īn ibn Ahmad, but the Khuṭba was read in the name of the Khalīfa only, and his place of residence was at the city of Kabākānān (Kizkānān).<sup>2</sup> Tūrān, not far from this State<sup>3</sup> " was under the authority of a native of Basra, named Abu'l-Qassām tax-gatherer, administrator, judge, and general, who could not distinguish three and ten." Mukrān also formed another principality under 'Īsa ibn Ma'dān, who established his residence in the city of Kīz (Lat. 26°, Long. 63°—approximately).<sup>4</sup>

The above is a bare outline of the political condition of Sind from the time when it became virtually free from effective control by the Caliphs to the advance of the conquering Turks from the North. I have already noticed how the Arabs in Sind, by placing the Hindu temples in the same category as the places of worship of the Jews, Christians and the Persians, helped to establish new lines of Islamic policy.<sup>5</sup> I have also tried to indicate the tendency of the Arabs to adopt gradually Indian dress and customs, which, in course of time led to the formation of an Indian Moslem community as distinct from the early Arab conquerors. This tendency was no doubt hastened by the fact that the early Arab settlers in Sind brought no women with them. The result was, as Elliot has already

<sup>1</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Elliot*, I, pp. 38-39. Kizkānān (also called Kikān) is mod. Kelat. See *LEC*, p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> *LEC*, pp. 381-32, *Elliot*, I, p. 456.

<sup>4</sup> *Elliot*, p. 456.

<sup>5</sup> *Caliphate*, p. 363, *PI*, 1913, p. 272.

observed that there was 'among the descendants of the Scindian colonists, less infusion of the real blood of Arabs than in any other province subjected to their dominion.'<sup>1</sup> Mas'ūdī noticed that the language of Sind was 'different from the rest of India;' but it was not Arabic, for Iṣṭakhrī tells us that the speech of the people of Multan and Maṣṣūrah was Persian and Sindī. As to the administration of the country, the rule of the Arabs appears to have been throughout more or less of a military character. The land was held by Arab garrisons supported by grants of land. They were probably mainly concentrated in the important cities and were possibly assisted by levies of Sindian troops, but details about this organisation are wanting.<sup>2</sup> The internal administration of the country was necessarily left largely in the hands of the Hindu landlords paying the land tax (*Kharāj*) and the capitation tax (*Jizya*).<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to estimate the annual revenue of the whole of Sind during this period, but in the days of the Calīphs Sind paid to the Imperial exchequer a sum of 11,500,000 dirhams and 150 pounds of aloe wood.<sup>4</sup> There is evidence that commerce flourished. 'Caravans were often passing and repassing between that country (Sind) and Khurāsān, most commonly by the route of Kabul and Bāmiān.'<sup>5</sup> I have already referred to the statement of Muqaddasī about the city of al-Lahūm, in Bāmiān, 'as the trade port of Khurāsān and the treasure-house of Sind.' Mas'ūdī tells us that the caravans of Khurāsān used to assemble at Multan.<sup>6</sup> 'The Arab merchants at this

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, I, pp. 463-64.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, I, pp. 461 and 446 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The *Chach-nāma* mentions the *bāj* and the '*Usharī* or '*asharī* amongst other taxes paid by the Sindian cultivator—Elliot, I, p. 475. For the rates of land tax and *Jizya* see *ibid*, pp. 474-77. Also *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 902-03.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot, I, pp. 460 and 471. Elliot calculates the value of 'one million of dirhams, at five pence halfpenny each,' as 'equivalent to about £23,000.'

<sup>5</sup> Elliot, I, p. 467.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21



period formed the commercial communication between Sind and the neighbouring countries of India. They brought the produce of China and Ceylon to the seaports of Sind and from there conveyed them by way of Multan to Turkistan and Khurasan.<sup>1</sup> As to religion, it appears that the tenets of Islam continued to spread. From the very beginning the conquerors adopted a policy of toleration, dictated by political wisdom, and not only did they allow the existing temples to stand, but sometimes, as at Bahmanābād, Brahmans were permitted to rebuild demolished temples. Harsh measures against priests and temples of the Hindus were only taken, as in Daibul, in case of violent resistance to the armies of Islam. Towards the end of our period, we find the Arabs so far removed from their original iconoclastic outlook that they did not hesitate to thrive on the income of idols and utilise them for gaining political ends. The success of Islam in Sind was probably largely due to their policy of moderation.<sup>2</sup> But towards the middle of the 10th century Islam in Sind appears to have been influenced by a wave of Qarmatian heresy from Egypt and 'Irāq. It was probably after the period A. H. 326 to A. H. 375 (A. D. 938 to 985), during which they met with ignominious defeats in Egypt and 'Irāq, that they sought new settlements in the East, and taking advantage of the petty local governments, soon spread over the whole of Sind.<sup>3</sup> In the beginning of the 11th century, Mahmūd of Ghazni found both Multan and Manṣūrah in the occupation of this Isma'ili sect.<sup>4</sup> Al-Bīrūnī tells us that when the Qarmatians occupied Multan, Jalam ibn Shaibān, the usurper broke the idol of *Āditya* to pieces and killed its priests. The temple which was

<sup>1</sup> *PI*, 1913, p. 273; *Mas'ūdi*, Vol. I, p. 207, *Elliot*, I, pp. 467-68.

<sup>2</sup> See *MG*, 1927, pp. 81-82, for the possible effects of a policy of plunder and oppression on Hinduism.

<sup>3</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 459; *MG*, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> For the Qarmatians, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Vol. II, pp. 767-772 and the bibliography on p. 772.

built of brick on an elevated place, was converted into a mosque and the old mosque was ordered to be shut "from hatred against anything that had been done under the dynasty of the Caliphs of the house of 'Umayya. When afterwards the blessed prince Mahmud swept away their rule from those countries, he made again the old mosque the place of the Friday worship." <sup>1</sup>

The Arab conquest of Sind has been described as 'a mere episode in the history of India which affected only a fringe of that vast country.' <sup>2</sup> As a political force or from the point of view of Arab missionary enterprise the Arab conquest of Sind certainly played an inferior part. But trade was active during the period; and with the interchange of commodities there appears to have been also an exchange of ideas. Arab Sind formed a link in a vast empire and the Arabs soon became the carriers of the seed of Indian culture and mediums of exchange of eastern and western thoughts. <sup>3</sup> Astronomy in Arab civilization seems to have come chiefly from India. The study of Mathematics learned from Greece and India, was developed by Arab writers, who in their turn became the teachers of Europe in the 16th century. Al-Bīrūnī tells us that the numeral signs which the Arabs used were 'derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs.' In this connection Amīr Khusrāu, the Persian poet (died 1325 A.D.) in one of his *mathnavīs* entitled the *Nuh sipīhr* (nine skies) gives us some interesting information. According to him the word *Hindsa* (هندسه) means the mathematical system of the Indian professor *Āsa*. He tells us that the Arab astronomer Abū Ma'shar

<sup>1</sup> KH, Trans. by Sachau, pp. 116-17

<sup>2</sup> CHI, Vol. III, p. 10

<sup>3</sup> See Horten, *Indische Stromungen in der Islamischen Mystik*, Heidelberg (1927-28), Goldziher, *A Buddhismus hatása az Iszlámra*, 1903, reviewed in JRAS, 1904, pp. 125-41; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. II, p. 276; Vol. XXVI, p. 31, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 257, Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, 1914, pp. 16 ff 48, 61, and 149, *Literary History of the Arabs*, by the same, 1907, pp. 4, 341, 361, 389, and 390; KH, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, pp. 124 and 159,

went to Benares and studied this system for ten years, and we are informed that whatever he has written is derived from the Hindus. This Abū Ma'shar is probably to be identified with Abū Ma'shar of Balkh, who died in 885 A.D.<sup>1</sup> In the field of medicine, folklore, and religion also the contact was not less fruitful. Al-Bīrūnī has already noticed the Arab translation of the work of Caraka and the stories of the *Pañcatantra*, known in his time as the book of Kalīla and Dimna. In religion, in the opinion of competent authorities, the monastic strain and other features in Śūfism such as the use of the rosaries, the doctrine of fanā (*Nirvāṇa* ?), and the system of 'stations' (*maqāmāt*) on the road thereto were borrowed from Buddhism and other schools of Indian thought. Writing on Śūfism Prof. Nicholson observes: "It looks as though the legend of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, a prince of Balkh, who one day suddenly cast off his royal robes and became a wandering Śūfī, were based on the story of Buddha."

✓ The next period in the history of Sind, which roughly extends from the first quarter of the 11th century down to the 16th century, is the history of the gradual encroachment of the Turks from the North. Though the internal administration of the country probably did not materially differ, being left as heretofore in the hands of petty local Hindu chiefs, the Arab was gradually replaced by the Turk as the dominating power in the Lower Indus Valley. But the details of the history of this period are as obscure as the previous period. We have already referred to the incidents that led to the

<sup>1</sup> See the 3rd *Siphr*, Fol. 47 seq., India Office MS No. 1187. The word *hindsa* (هندسة) meaning arithmetic, a cypher, etc., must be distinguished from the Arabic and Persian *handasa* (هندسة) meaning geometry. See *Persian-English Dictionary* by Steingass; *Persian Dictionary* Burhan i-Qāti', and Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Part VIII. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Mirza of Lucknow University. For the date of Abū Ma'shar, see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 361. See also on this subject, Cajoris, *History of Mathematics*, 1919, p. 162, al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār al-Baqīya*, Trans. by Sachau, p. 64; *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XVIII, 1928, pp. 256-67; XIX, 1928, pp. 29-40.

practical liberation of Sind from the control of the Caliphs.<sup>1</sup> The accession of Sabuk-tigīn to the throne of Ghazni in 977/ A.D. led to the foundation of a powerful Turkish kingdom on the Indian frontier which approximately synchronised with the decline of the Sāmānids of Transoxania. The conquests of Sabuk-tigīn and those of his son Maḥmūd soon brought the principalities in Sind within the radius of their campaigns. Quṣḍār (al-Quzdār) is mentioned amongst the earliest conquests of Sabuk-tigīn.<sup>2</sup> The conflicts with the *Sāhis* of Afghanistan and Western Punjab and the conquest of Bhera (Bahātīh ; c. 395=A.D. 1004) which was situated on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range, brought the Yamīnī dynasty to the borders of Multan. The northern boundaries of Multan in those days appears to have touched the Salt Range, for both 'Utbī and Nizām ud-Dīn tell us that Maḥmūd had to march through the territory of Multan to reach this place.<sup>3</sup> The chief of Multan was far-sighted enough to see the danger to his principality from this Turkish dynasty. According to Firishta when Alp-tigīn (c. 963 A.D.) was still the ruler of Ghazni, Saikh Ḥamīd Lodī, the chief of Multan co-operated with the *Sāhi* prince Jayapāla and the Bhattia Rāja<sup>4</sup> (Bijay Ray of Bhera) to oppose his general Sabuk-tigīn in Lamghān.<sup>5</sup> But in the reign of Sabuk-tigīn he is reported to have 'united himself with that prince,' and Sabuk-tigīn, we are told, 'from motives of policy avoided the districts of Shaikh Ḥamīd by every means in his power.'<sup>6</sup> The statement of Firishta, that he owed

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *LEC*, p. 331, is not quite right when it refers this conquest to his son Maḥmūd; see *KY*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p 322; *TA*, p. 5; *Elliot*, II, pp 248 and 439-40; *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 38

<sup>4</sup> Briggs writes the name as 'Beej Ray,' but the original lithographed edition has **بجیرا** which can be read as Bijay Rao (Vijaya Rāya?;

<sup>5</sup> *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 9 Firishta seems to hint that Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī was established in Multan by Jayapāla and Biji (Bijay?) Rai of Bhera.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*.

allegiance to Sabuk-tigīn, is more than doubtful. Elliot has already pointed out that the word "tribute" used by Briggs in his translation is not 'authorised.'<sup>1</sup> What appears to be more likely was that Sabuk-tigīn by a shrewd diplomatic move dissolved the combination of the three powers which blocked his progress in the Indus Valley. Jayapāla being thus isolated was easily defeated. But the ruler of Multan soon found out his mistake, and again formed an alliance with the *Sāhis* to stop the progress of Maḥmūd.<sup>2</sup> But it was too late. Abu'l-Fath Dā'ūd, the son of Naṣr, succeeded his grandfather Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī on the throne of Multan. 'Utbi paints this prince as 'one of malignant craftiness, deceitful treachery, dubious fidelity and detestable inclinations.' According to this authority, 'he set up a claim over the people of the Khutbah (i.e., the chief sovereignty) of Multan, to deal with them according to his will and pleasure, and cast the people into the lubricity of his error, and the ruin of his folly. They signified the case to the Sultān, whose reverence for Islam and jealousy for the faith stirred up and excited him, to a sufficient examination of this crime.'<sup>3</sup> According to Niẓām ud-Dīn Dā'ūd belonged to a sect of the Malāhida. Hence the Sultān was incited by his zeal for religion to punish him.<sup>4</sup> According to Firishta, the cause of the attack was the abandonment by Dā'ūd of the 'tenets of the faithful,' and the shaking off of his allegiance to the Yamīnī dynasty.<sup>5</sup> The true cause however was Maḥmūd's ambition, and everything else came as welcome pretexts. As I have said

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, II, p. 442, *TF*, Briggs' Trans Vol. I, p. 40

<sup>2</sup> *KY*, p. 327, *TA*, p. 6; *TF*, p. 41; Firishta calls Shaikh Ḥamīd an 'Afghan' and "the first ruler of Multan," see *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 9 and 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 326-27.

<sup>4</sup> [*TA*, p. 6 Malāhida is a generic term which, though it might include Qarmāḥians, was more generally, at a subsequent period, used to designate the Ismā'īlians. See Elliot, II, pp. 441-42. From al-Birūnī it is clear that the Qarmāḥians were in possession of Multan; see Sachau's Trans., I, pp. 116-17.

<sup>5</sup> *TF*, Briggs' Trans, Vol I, pp. 40-41.

Dā'ūd tried to stem the advancing tide by renewing his alliance with the *Sāhis*. Ānandapāla, who was appealed to by Dā'ūd, 'detached the greater part of his army to oppose Maḥmūd at Peshawar,' but was defeated and fled to Kashmir, and Multan was besieged by Maḥmūd.<sup>1</sup> After a siege of seven days, Dā'ūd agreed to pay a tribute of 20,000 dirhams, 'engaged to follow the true religion and foreswore his errors'<sup>2</sup> (A.H. 396=1005 A.D.). This was the beginning of the end. In 401 A.H. (A.D. 1010) soon after the capture of Ghūr, Maḥmūd again attacked Multan. According to Firishta, the cause of this invasion was the rebellion of Dā'ūd.<sup>3</sup> Multan was conquered, and annexed and Maḥmūd 'put most of the schismatics and heretics who were there to the sword; he cut off the hands of some, and ordered others to be imprisoned in a fort where they died.' Dā'ūd was taken to Ghazni and died as prisoner in the fort of Ghurak.<sup>4</sup> Soon after this the Sultān attacked Qusdār which was, as we have seen, one of the earliest conquests of Sabuk-tigīn. The prince of that place, who appears to have ceased to pay tribute was surprised, and compelled to pay 'five hundred packets of a thousand dirhams which was due.' Maḥmūd also seized fifteen yoke of elephants, which that prince had stored up for times and seasons of war and compelled him to 'pay dutiful submission and obedience.'<sup>5</sup> According to some historians, Maḥmūd while returning from his expedition against Somnāth (A. H. 416=1025 A.D.) followed a route through lower Sind in order to avoid the combined resistance of the Hindu chiefs who were blocking his retreat through

<sup>1</sup> TA, p. 6; TF, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 40-41; KY, pp. 326-29.

<sup>2</sup> According to 'Utbi the amount of the tribute was 'twenty thousand loads of a thousand dirhams,' p. 329. TA, p. 6; Firishta, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 40-41; see Elliot, II, pp. 248-49 and 442. According to al-'Utbi, Dā'ūd fled from the city and sent his wealth to Sarandīp, and Maḥmūd exacted the tribute from the citizens.

<sup>3</sup> TF, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> TA, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> KY, pp. 375-77.

Rajputana.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Athīr tells us that during the course of this march he proceeded 'against Maṣṣūrah, the ruler of which was an apostate Muhammadan. When the news of Maḥmūd's approach reached this chief, he fled into the date-palm forests. Maḥmūd proceeded against him, and surrounding him and his adherents, many of them were slain, many drowned, and but a few escaped.'<sup>2</sup> As this author calls the last prince of Maṣṣūrah an apostate Muhammadan and as he expressly states that Maḥmūd then placed a Muhammadan prince on his throne, we can safely conclude that the previous ruler was regarded as a heretic, and possibly belonged to the Qarmāṭian sect. Elliot has suggested that this heretical family had usurped the government from the Habbārī dynasty who were ruling at Maṣṣūrah in the 10th century.<sup>3</sup> If Firishta is to be believed, the ruling dynasty of Multan, which was destroyed by Maḥmūd, was an Afghan family. As he calls Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī 'the first ruler of Multan' and as he is described as a contemporary of Alp-tigīn (c. 963 A.D.), he must be placed sometime after the middle of the 10th century.<sup>4</sup> It appears likely however that Ḥamīd Lodī was preceded by Jalam Ibn Shaibān, who is mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as the Qarmāṭian usurper of Multan.<sup>5</sup> If that was so it was Jalam who put an end to the rule of the Quraishite 'children of a Usāmāh' who were ruling in Multan in the period A.H. 332 to 340 (A.D. 943-51).

<sup>1</sup> *TF*, Briggs' Trans, Vol. I, p. 79, *TA*, pp. 15-16, Nizām ud-Dīn does not refer to the conquest of Maṣṣūrah.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from *Kāmil ut-Tawārīkh*, Trans by Elliot, II, p. 249. According to the *Kāmil* Maḥmūd reached Ghaznī 'on the 10th Safar 417 H. For Maḥmūd's return from Somnāth *via* Maṣṣūrah, see also *TN*, Vol. I, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot, I, 459; see *supra*, p. 18 ff., but there is a possibility that this prince was a Sūmra; see Elliot, I, pp. 491-93.

<sup>4</sup> *TF*, Briggs' Trans, Vol I, p. 40; Ibn Hauqal (c. 976) states that the reigning prince of Multan were 'the sons of Samāh' but it is likely that he took this portion of his account from Istakhri (c. 951 A.D.), see Elliot, I, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *KH*, Trans by Sachau, Vol I, p. 116.

✓After the conquest of Sind by the Yamīnī dynasty, its history becomes divided into two sections. The history of the northern half, from Multan down to approximately latitude 28°, becomes now, finally connected with the history of the great Turkish dynasties of northern India. It remained under the Ghaznavids till 1175 A.D., when Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām conquered Multan and Uch, and appointed Nāṣir ud-Dīn Qabācha his governor over the conquered territory. After the death of Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Nāṣir ud-Dīn acknowledged the supremacy of Qutb ud-Dīn Aibak, but on the latter's death he asserted his independence. In the year 1228 A.D. however, Iltutmish defeated him and he was drowned in the Indus near Bhakkar.<sup>1</sup> The history of Lower Sind is somewhat more complicated. From the accounts of Nizām ud-Dīn and others it appears that Maḥmūd of Ghazni's conquest of Mansūrah was not so thorough as in the case of Multan. An army laden with spoils and suffering from the extreme privations of a desert journey was apparently in no fit condition for any protracted campaign. So it does not appear to be probable that Maḥmūd could take steps for the systematic conquest of the land. Nonfinally, it continued to be regarded as included within the empire of the Yamīnīs, and later on appears to have been included within the dominions of the princes of Ghūr,<sup>2</sup> and the Sultāns of Delhi; but there are indications to show that not long after the death of Maḥmūd of Ghazni Lower Sind became practically independent under a local dynasty of Rajput origin. These were the Sūmrās.

✓ The origin and history of the Sūmrās are also shrouded in considerable difficulties. *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* (c. 1600 A.D.), our earliest authority on the dynasty, says that "after the death of Maḥmūd, the sovereignty passed to his offspring, and the

<sup>1</sup> For the subsequent history of Upper Sind see *CHI*, Vol III, pp. 50 ff.; also pp. 500 ff. 14

<sup>2</sup> Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī claims to have conquered Daibul and the whole of the territory lying on the sea coast in A H 578 (A.D. 1182). *TN*, Vol I, pp. 452-58. But the hold of the Ghūrī on the province was nominal. See *ibid*, p. 614, fn 8



government of Sind devolved upon 'Abd ur-Rashīd Sultān Mas'ūd (c. 1052 A.D.). This prince gave himself up to the pursuit of pleasure and heeded not the duties of government ; so the people on the distant borders began to reject his authority and threw off the yoke of obedience. At that time the men of Sūmra assembled in the vicinity of Tharī (the ' little desert ' separating Sind from Kachh) and raised a man named Sūmra to the throne. He had passed a long time as the head of the tribe of Sūmra and he cleared the country of disaffection."<sup>1</sup> Mīr Ma'sūmī then gives an account of this dynasty from local tradition, and admits that he never met with any written account of this dynasty. He concludes with the statement : " I have composed this summary. If any one is better acquainted with the subject, he should make additions to this."<sup>2</sup> The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* simply states that the Sūmra (Rajput) line of 36 princes reigned for 500 years.<sup>3</sup> Firishta (c. 1611 A.D.) tells us that the Anṣārī tribe was succeeded in the government of Sind by the Sūmra Zamindars, who reigned for 500 years ; but he frankly admits : ' neither the names nor the history of these princes are, I believe, at present extant, since I have failed in my endeavour to procure them.'<sup>4</sup> The *Ta'rikh-i-Tāhūrī* (c. 1621 A.D.) says that ' from the year of the Hījra 700 (1300 A.D.), until 843 (A.D. 1439), that is to say, for a period of 143 years, the Hindu tribe of Sūmra were the rulers of Sind.'<sup>5</sup> The *Beq-Lār-nāma* (c. 1625 A.D.) simply states that the Sūmras succeeded the men of the Tamin tribe, and occupied the seat of government in Sind for 505

<sup>1</sup> Extract Trans. in *Elliot*, I, pp. 215-16 ; on p. 484. Elliot gives the date as 443 A.H = 1051 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> Trans by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol II (1891), pp 341 and 345.

<sup>4</sup> Trans. by Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 411.

<sup>5</sup> Extract trans. in *Elliot*, I, p. 256. The author remarks in another passage that " they belonged to the Hindu faith, yet that they ate the flesh of the buffaloes, although the eating the flesh of cow is held in abhorrence, according to that religion." *Elliot*, I, p. 266.

years.<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Yūsuf in his *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh* agrees with Mīr Ma'sūm in his account of the Sūmras, but he supplies us in addition with a list of these princes with their reign-periods.<sup>2</sup> This list is also found in the latest Sindian chronicle *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām* (c. 1767-68 A. D.) which however adds that the 'Sūmra tribe sprang from the Arabs of Sāmira, who arrived in Sind in the fourth century of the Hijra'<sup>3</sup> /

The extracts quoted above give us some idea of our difficulties. But we can at once reject the suggestion that the Sūmras were Arabs. 'This fictitious genealogy was assumed by them when the majority of the tribe were converted to Islam, and as the name Samāra offered a sufficiently specious resemblance that town was adopted as the probable seat of their origin, though it was not built till after the supposed period of their emigration.'<sup>4</sup> Both Elphinstone and Elliot regard them as Rajput in origin.<sup>5</sup> According to the latter "the Sūmras of the desert are one of the sub-divisions of the Parmāra Rajputs, and frequently combining with their brethren the 'Umars, gave name to a large tract of country, which is even still recognised as Umra-Sūmra, and within which Alor is situated." Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* remarks: "Umars and Sumras are from the Pramār or Puar race, and are now chiefly in the ranks of the faithful, though a few are to be found in Jaisalmir and in the *thal* called after them."<sup>6</sup> These statements are supported by Mīr Tāhīr, who in the 17th century

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, I, pp 291 and 484

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 485; the date of the accession of Sūmra is placed by this authority in A.H. 445 in the reign of 'Abd ar-Rashīd.

<sup>3</sup> Extract Trans. in Elliot, I, pp 343-45 The author 'Alī Shīr Qānī', observes in an earlier passage 'that historians, observing their first appearance after Al-ī-Tamīn, the last governor of the 'Abbāsids, date the rule of the tribe from that time.' Elliot, on p. 485, wrongly puts the tradition of the arrival of the Samara tribe in Sind in the 2nd century A. H.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot, I, p. 489.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 488-89.

<sup>6</sup> AR, Vol. III, pp. 1281, 1283 and 1299

was familiar with the tradition that the Sūmras were Hindus.<sup>1</sup> As to the probable period of their rise we have to depend upon Mīr Ma'sūmī and Muḥammad Yūsuf. It is quite likely, as I have already suggested, that Southern Sind was never thoroughly conquered by the house of Ghazni, and with the first sign of decay in that dynasty, the Sūmras, a local tribe living in the vicinity of Thari, established their supremacy in this region. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i-Tāhirī* their territory included Alor in the north and their capital was Muḥammad-Tūr, in the Pargana of Dirak identified by Elliot with Shākapur, a populous village about 10 miles south of Mīrpur on the borders of Tharr.<sup>2</sup> Another capital of the Sūmras is said to have been Vījeh-kot,<sup>3</sup> five miles to the east of the Puran river, above the Allāh-band. But in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'sūmī*, Thatta is often mentioned as the residence of some of the kings of this dynasty.<sup>4</sup> According to all the Sind chronicles, the Sūmra chief who founded the dynasty strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of a powerful local Zamīndar named Sa'd. Her son Bhungar appears to have been an active ruler, and died in A. H. 461 (1068 A. D.) after a reign of 15 years. His son Dūdā extended his authority to Naṣrpur, but died in the prime of his manhood in A. H. 485 (1092 A. D.) after a reign of 24 years. His son Singhar was a minor when his father died; but he grew up to be a vigorous ruler and directed his efforts against the country of Kachh, and extended his sway as far as Mānik Bai.<sup>5</sup> He died without leaving any son after reigning 15 years. The government was for some time carried on by his wife Hamūn, but after a period of internal strife,

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, I, p. 256; see also pp. 489, 490-91. Regarding their title of Hamīr in later Sindian tradition, see *ibid.*, p. 489, on their heterodoxy see *ante*, p. 30, fn. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, I, pp. 256 and 403-04. The Muhatampur of the *Beg-Lār-Nāma* is the name of the same city.

<sup>3</sup> Also called Wāgeh-Kot or Vigo-gad, see Elliot, I, p. 403.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 218-220

<sup>5</sup> See Elliot's note, *ibid.*, on p. 216, fn. 3. The place appears to be unidentified.

Pitthu, a descendant of Dūdā, established himself in the sovereignty. He was succeeded by Khaira, a man of unknown origin, and then came Khafīf,<sup>1</sup> who reigned for 33 years. 'During his government the ryots and all the other people of Sind were relieved from thieves and disturbers of the peace; all were happy and contented.' The Baluchis, Sodhas and Jarejas under their leaders Mihran, Ran Mal and Rām Rāi paid him homage, and we are told that 'in all the country under him from Nasrpur... no one during his reign disobeyed his orders.' It is during this reign that we hear for the first time about the 'thieves of the tribe of Samma,' who were adequately punished for having robbed the Baluchis. He lived 'a long while at Thatta' where he died. He appears to have been succeeded by 'Umar, son of Pitthu, who reigned for 40 years. After his death the people raised his son Dūdā II, to the vacant throne. During this reign the Sammas of Cutch threatened to invade Thatta, but were compelled to submit. The Sodhas also rebelled under Ran Mal, but their chief was killed and they were defeated in an engagement with great slaughter. Ran Mal's son Sāhiba 'obtained forgiveness' of his faults, on the payment of 20,000 as *nazrānā*. He died in Thatta after a reign of 14 years. There are some discrepancies in our authorities about the list of rulers here. According to Mīr Ma'sūmī he was succeeded by his son 'Umar, who "took to drinking wine and paying no attention to the country," as a result of which the Sammas, the Sodhas, the Jats and the Baluchis left off obeying his orders and became rebellious. But with the assistance of Mullā Ḥamīd he defeated the Sammas and succeeded in suppressing the rebellions. He then went to Thari, where he died. He was succeeded by his nephew Chanar (Chanīsar), who was soon ousted by 'Umar's son Dūdā III, with the assistance of Sulṭān Maudūd, Shāh of Ghazni.<sup>2</sup> But Muḥammad Yūsuf, followed by 'Alī Shīr

<sup>1</sup> Also called Hafif, see *ibid.*, pp. 216 and 486.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot identify this prince. This Maudūd cannot belong to the Yamīni dynasty for the prince of that name died in A. H. 441 (A. D. 1049); See TA, p. 29

Qānī', places Pahtu (33 years), Genhra (16 years), Muḥammad Ṭūr (15 years), Genhra II (several years) between Dūdā II and Dūdā III. According to Mīr Ma'ṣūm Dūdā III was succeeded by 'a person named Armīl.' He proved to be a 'tyrant and an oppressor' and was killed by Unar of the Samma tribe, who had settled in Sīnd from Cutch. But according to two other authorities Dūdā III was succeeded by Tai (24 years), Chanīsar (18 years), Bhuḡgar II (15 years), Ḥafīf II (18 years), Dūdā IV (25 years), 'Umar Sūmra (35 years), Bhungar III (10 years). Then the government fell to Hamīr, who was deposed by the tribe of Samma, 'on account of his tyranny.' According to the *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām*, 'Umar Sumra gave his name to the fort of 'Umarkoṭ.<sup>1</sup>

✓ As to the extent of the period over which they ruled our authorities differ. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Tāhīrī* gives them only 143 years, from 700 to 843 A. H. but Abu'l-Faḡl, Firishta, and Shāh Qāsim Khān (author of *Beg-lār-nāma*) give them a period of 500 or 505 years. 'Alī Shīr Qānī', though he estimates the 'term of their authority' at 550 years, yet places the accession of Sumra, the founder of the dynasty, in about 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.), shortly after the accession of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh. According to this source the last prince of the dynasty was Armīl, who was slain by the Sammas in A.H. 752 (1351 A.D.) But he admits that the history of the family is very discordantly narrated, and repeats the statements of Muhammad Yūsuf, which place the date of the first Sumra prince in 445 A.H. (1053 A.D.). Elliot has shown that the dynasty certainly came to an end in c. A.H. 764 because in about that year Sultān Firūz Tughluq invaded Sīnd and was opposed by a prince whose title was Jām,<sup>2</sup> a title borne by Sammas only. Ten years previous to this the chief of Thatta who opposed Muḥammad Tughluq is described by Baranī as

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol. I, p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from *TFSS*, Trans. in Elliot, Vol. III, p. 322.

belonging to the Sūmra tribe (سومران).<sup>1</sup> The statement of this contemporary historian is supported by Firishta, who also describes the opponent of this Tughluq emperor as a Sūmra (سومری) prince.<sup>2</sup> But the question is complicated by the mention of the Jām as the opponent of Muhammad Tughluq in another passage of Baranī.<sup>3</sup> The *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmī* represents this ruler as belonging to the Samma tribe.<sup>4</sup> As all the authorities are agreed that the opponent of Sultān Fīrūz was a Jām, the confusion might have been caused by the existence of remnants of the Sūmras, who though ousted probably still lingered for some years near about Thatta. This appears to be supported by the statement of the *Tuhfat ul-Kirām*, which represents the opponents of Fīrūz as 'Sūmra, Jareja, and Samma' tribes though it mentions the Jām as the ruler of Sind.<sup>5</sup> Anyhow it is certain that the dynasty disappeared during the period c. 752 A.H. (1351-52 A.D.) to c. 764 A.H. (1361-62 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> If we count back 500 years from this period, it takes us to the middle of the 9th century A.D. Though the round figure is rather suspicious, yet in view of the number of authorities who assign this period to the Sūmras, we may conclude that there is some element of fact in the tradition. It is possible that the beginning of the rise of the dynasty is to be traced to the period of confusion in Sind which followed the rise of the Šaffārids in the middle of the 9th century (257 A.H. = 870-71 A.D.). There is some likelihood that the prince who was ousted by Maḥmūd of Ghazni may possibly have been a Sūmra prince. In the sacred books of the Druses we find an

<sup>1</sup> See *TFSB*, Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta, 1862, p. 524; also extracts from the same Trans. in *Elliot*, III, pp. 264-65.

<sup>2</sup> Nawal Kishor Ed., Lucknow, 1864, p. 143; also Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 442.

<sup>3</sup> *Elliot*, III, p. 263. "Taghī the rebel fled to Thatta, where he found refuge with the Jām."

<sup>4</sup> *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 225 ff

<sup>5</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 242.

<sup>6</sup> *CHI*, however 'from a consideration of all the circumstances' concludes that the dynasty came to an end in about 1336, *ibid*, p. 500.

epistle addressed in the year 433 A.H. (1032 A.D.) to the 'Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Shaikh ibn Sūmar Rājā Bal in particular.'<sup>1</sup> The Sūmras probably continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of Mahmūd and his son Ma'sūd, but became virtually free from all control in the reign of 'Abd ur-Rashīd (c. 1052 A.D.). After a period of virtual independence they had probably again to bow before Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muḥammad Sām when he conquered Multan and Uchch in 570 A.H. (A.D. 1175) and undertook his disastrous march against Anhilwāra in A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178). The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* informs us that Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī conquered Daibul and the coast regions in its neighbourhood in A.H. 578 (A.D. 1182).<sup>2</sup> Nāsir ud-Dīn Qabācha, who was appointed governor of Upper Sind in 1205 A.D., possibly also held some sort of a loose hegemony over them. After his defeat and death in A.D. 1228, Malik Sinān ud-Dīn Chatīsar, the then Sūmra prince, submitted to Junaydī, the general of Iltutmish, and became a vassal of the Delhi Sultān.<sup>3</sup> Chatīsar is probably to be identified with Chanar or Chanīsar of the Sindian chronicle. According to Ḥasan Nizāmī 'coinage was struck, and the prayers read in the name of Shams ud-Dīn as far as Quṣḍār and Makrān.' After this, their power appears to have declined, till they were supplanted by the Sammas. From the name of the contemporary of Iltutmish it is clear that the reigning family of the Sūmras had already accepted Islam. Elliot has shown some grounds for believing that they were probably tainted with Qārmaṭian heresy as early as the 11th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> The period when the princes accepted Islam is

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 491 and 493.

<sup>2</sup> TA, p. 36, CHI, Vol. III, p. 300, TN, Vol. I, pp. 452-53.

<sup>3</sup> Extracts from *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir*, Trans. Elliot, II, p. 242; TN, Vol. I, pp. 614-15.

Chanīsar (چنیسر) may readily be mistaken for Chatīsar (چٹیسر), there being only the difference of the additional dot of ت. See Raverty's note, No. 8, on p. 614. Chanar or Chanīsar is the 14th in *Muntakhab-ul-Twārīkh* and *Tuḥfatul Kirmān* list, see Elliot, I, pp. 485 and 344. Raverty makes him the 11th on the list

<sup>4</sup> See Elliot, Vol. I, p. 491.

uncertain, but Tod had noticed that with a few exceptions, the whole tribe had entered into 'the rank of the faithful' <sup>1</sup>. As to the position occupied by the Sūmrās, we should remember that though their authority spread over the whole of the territory now known as Sind, yet there is evidence to show that there were other tribal principalities in this region. With the decline of their power these tribes soon transferred their allegiance to the Muhammadan governors of Multan. The *Chach-nāma* gives us the following list of 'seven Rānās of Sind tributary to Multan in the days of Nāsir-ud-Dīn Qabācha' <sup>2</sup>. (1) Rānā Buhār Sa'ta *Rāthor*, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela; (2) Rānā Sanīr, son of Dhamāj, of the tribe of Kureja *Samma*, residing in Tūng, lying in the district of Rūpāh; (3) Jaisar, son of Jajjī Māchhī Solankī, of Māniktara; (4) Wakīa, son of Pannūn Channūn, who was established in the valley of Sīwī; (5) Channūn, son of Dīta, of the tribe of Channa, resident of Bhāg-nai; (6) Jīya, son of Warīāh, of Jham, or Hemakot; (7) Jasodhan Ākra, of Mīnnagar district of Bambārwa.

✓ We have seen that the dominating power in Lower Sind, the Sūmrās were displaced by the Sammas in the middle of the 14th century. It is possible that they established their power by taking advantage of the confusion which prevailed all over India during the later years of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. But the history of the Sammas is as obscure as that of the Sūmrās. Mīr Ma'sūmī, our chief authority on their history, frankly states that he met with no written account of the tribe and had composed his 'summary' entirely from local hearsay. He records the tradition that the tribe was formerly settled in Cutch, whence a portion of it migrated and settled in Sind and formed alliances with

<sup>1</sup> *AR*, Vol. III, p. 1299. See also *Ta'rikh-i-Tāhīrī*, *Elliot*, I, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> *Extract Trans in Elliot*, I, p. 340; note that the contemporary of Shams ud-Dīn Iltutmish is called *wālī* of Diwal, indicating perhaps the decadent state of his power, which possibly included only the coast districts at that time.



the people of the country.<sup>1</sup> 'Mīr Tāhūr tells us that 'the labouring classes and land-holders of the Sammas' held the Hindu faith, but their heterodoxy is proved by the fact that they 'never drank wine without partaking of a young buffalo-calf.'<sup>2</sup> He also states that the Sammas were oppressed by the Sūmras and compelled to take shelter in Cutch, which they captured from the Chāwaras.<sup>3</sup> After the defeat and disposal of the Sūmras by Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn of Delhi, the Sammas again gradually spread over Sind.<sup>4</sup> 'Alī Shīr Qānī' observes, that the Sammas were the owners of land throughout Sind, as far as Gujarat, including also the greater part of Rājputana, and they formed the majority of the population of Sind. He refers to the following tradition, concerning the origin of the Sammas. "Sām was the son of 'Umar, son of Hishām, son of Abū Lahīb ; according to others he was the son of 'Umar, son of 'Akerma, son of Abū Jahl. The title of Jām renders it probable that he was descended from Jāmshīd."<sup>5</sup> Tod has described the Sammas as a great branch of the Yadu race, who were descended from Sām̐ba, the son of Kṛṣṇa. , The sons of Sām̐ba, in his opinion, made his name the patronymic in Seistan and the Lower Indus Valley, and opposed Alexander in the 4th century B C. under their chief Sambos. Commenting on their alleged origin from Jamshīd he says, that the Sammas in Sind, after accepting Islam, were eager to adopt a pedigree which might give them importance in the eyes of their conquerors. "Sām was therefore transformed to Jām, and the Persian king, Jāmshīd, was adopted as the patriarch of the Sammas, in lieu of the legitimate Sām̐ba."<sup>6</sup> That the Sammas were settled in Sind is attested by the

<sup>1</sup> *Elliot*, I, pp. 223 and 236

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p 265, for a similar custom of the Sūmras see above p 30, fn 5.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the same as the *Cāvadās*, *Cāvotaka* or *Cāpotkata* of Gujarat History. See *infra*, my chapter on the Caulukyās of Anabīlapāṭana.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp 267-72.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 337 and 339.

<sup>6</sup> *AR*, Vol II, pp 1219, fn 3. Elliot agrees with this view. See *Elliot*, I, pp. 498-97; but he doubts the etymology of the derivation of Jām from Samma, see *ibid*, p 495.

*Chach-nāma*, which tells us that they came out with trumpets and shawms to proffer their allegiance to Muhammad Qāsim, when the latter was on the banks of the Lower Indus valley.<sup>1</sup> Elliot considers "Sāmba, the governor of Debal, on the part of Chach" to be a representative of the tribe at an earlier period. 'They were either Buddhists or Hindus and were received into favour' by the early Arab conquerors in consideration of their prompt and early submission.<sup>2</sup> ✓ Whatever may be the real origin of the Sammas, it is clear from the above discussion that they formed one of the indigenous tribes who were settled in the Lower Indus valley, Western Rajputana and Cutch, long before the advent of Islam. The connection of Jām, the title of their rulers with Jāmshīd is certainly fictitious. The title is even now found in Rajput ruling houses in Kathiawar peninsula.<sup>3</sup> The State of Navanagar whose Rajput chief bears this title, is not far removed from Cutch, a place closely connected with the Sammas. The Jareja tribe, to which its chief and the Rao of Cutch still belong, is regarded by competent authorities as a branch of the Sammas.<sup>4</sup> According to Elliot they became 'proselytes to Islam some time after 793 A.H. (1391 A.D.).' But this must have happened some time earlier, for Shams-i-Sirāj, while describing the campaign of Fīrūz Tughluq (764-766 A.H.) against the Jām of Sind refers to "the combatants on both sides as Musalmans."<sup>5</sup> ✓

The first capital of the Sammas appears to have been a town called Sāmūī (also called Sāī, Samūiya or Samma-nagar), the ruins of which have been 'traced near Thatta.'<sup>6</sup> According to Mīr Tāhir, 'Tatta' was founded later 'on a lucky day settled

<sup>1</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *IGI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 419 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 495.

<sup>5</sup> *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 332.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 272-3 and 401-02.

by Brahmans and astrologers.' <sup>1</sup> Later Muhammadan chroniclers regularly represent the Jāms as chiefs of Thatta.<sup>2</sup>

✓ The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* gives us a list of 16 Samma princes with a reign period of 163 years. But for the details of the history of this tribe we have to depend mainly on *Ta'rikh-i-Mā'sūmī*. The author of this work has given us not only a list of 18 Samma princes with a reign period of about 171 years but has also supplied us with some details of the history of each reign. ✓ His account, however, requires careful examination, and unless verified cannot be always accepted as sober history. The list of princes given by Abu'l Faḍl is as follows :<sup>3</sup>—

	Years.	Months.	Day
(1) Jām Unar.....reigned,	3	6	
(2) „ Jūnā, his brother. .... „	4	0	
(3) „ Banhatayah..... „	15		
(4) „ Tamāchī, his brother „	13	and some months	
(5) „ Ṣalāh ud-Dīn... „	11	and some months	
(6) „ Nizām ud-Dīn, his son „	2	and a fraction	
(7) Jām 'Alī Shīr Tamāchī „	6	and some months.	
(8) „ Karan, son of Tamāchī „	0	0	1½
(9) Faṭḥ Khān, son of Sikandar „	11	and some months.	
(10) Tughluq, his brother „	28	0	0
(11) Mubārak, the Chamberlain „	0	0	3
(12) Sikandar, b. Faṭḥ Khān „	1	6	0
(13) Sanjar, commonly called Rādhan „	8	and some months.	
(14) Jām Nizām ud-Dīn, known as Jām Nandā „	60	and some months.	
(15) Jām Firūz, his son. (Also ruled a second time after 16.)			
(16) Jām Ṣalāh ud-Dīn, a relation of Firūz.			

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 341.

<sup>3</sup> *AAK*, Vol. II, pp 342-43.

The list of princes found in *Ta'rikh-i-Tāhirī* is as follows : <sup>1</sup>

					Years.
(1)	Jām Unar, son of Bābiniya	...	...	...	8½
(2)	„ Jūnā, „ „ „	...	...	...	13
(3)	„ Tamāchi.				
(4)	„ Malik Khair ud-Dīn (son of 3).				
(5)	„ Bābiniya (son of 4)	...	...	...	15
(6)	„ Tamāchi (brother of 4)	...	...	...	13
(7)	„ Şalāḥ ud-Dīn	...	...	...	11
					and some months
(8)	„ Niẓām ud-Dīn (son of 7).				
(9)	„ 'Alī Shīr	...	...	...	7
(10)	„ Karan (son of Tamāchi)	...	...	...	Only some days.
(11)	„ Fath Khān (nephew of 10)	...	...	...	15
(12)	„ Tughluq (brother of 15)	...	...	...	28
(13)	„ Sikandar (son of 12)	...	...	...	1½
	(Usurpation of power by the Chamberlain Mubārak for 3 days during the reign of 13).				
(14)	„ Rai Dan, ascended in the year 858 A.H. (1454 A.D.)	...	...	...	8
(15)	„ Sanjar	...	...	...	8
(16)	„ Niẓām ud-Dīn also called Nanda. Succeeded (15) in A. H. 866 (A. D. 1461)	...	...	...	48
(17)	„ Fīrūz (son of 16).				
(18)	„ Şalāḥ ud-Dīn.				

It will be observed from a comparison of the two lists that though there are important differences, yet there is a substantial measure of agreement in them. Both the lists agree that Jām Unar was the founder of the line. According to Mīr Ma'sūm he killed the last Sūmra prince Armīl,<sup>2</sup> and conquered Siwistān after defeating and killing Malik Ratan, who is described as “ the representative of the Turk.” But he retired to Thari on being

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, I, pp. 224-36

<sup>2</sup> Such is also the view of Mīr Tāhir, but he also gives a tradition which is mentioned by Muḥammad Yūsuf according to which the last king was Hammīr, see *supra*, p. 34.

threatened by Malik Fīrūz and 'Alī Shāh, who were near Bhakkar with the royal Turkish army, and died there after a reign of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to identify this Turkish king but it is not unlikely that he was some earlier representative of the Slave kings of Delhi. The next prince, Jūnā, is also found in both the lists. He is said to have laid waste the villages and towns up to Bhakkar which he conquered. For some time he reigned supreme in Sind; but we are told that at length Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn sent his brother Ulugh Khān to Multan to check him. The Jām however died before the beginning of operations against him, after a reign of 13 years. ✓ If this Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn is the Khaljī prince of that name who ascended the throne in 696 A.H. (1296 A.D.), then we must conclude that the Sammas, who appear in the list of Rānās of Sind as early as the time of Nāṣir ud-Dīn Qabācha (died in 1228 A.D.), must have established an independent power long before their overthrow of the Sūmras in the middle of the 14th century. In that case both the tribes must have ruled simultaneously for some time before one ousted the other, a phenomenon by no means unique in Indian history.<sup>1</sup> But unfortunately we cannot dogmatise, because we are not sure of the accuracy of the chronological arrangement of our source. Our doubts find support from the fact that Shams-i-Sirāj, the contemporary historian of the period, describes a brother of Rāi Unar as the contemporary of Fīrūz Tughluq. If this brother is identified with Jām Jūnā of Abu'l Faḍl, then the whole chronological scheme of *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmī* crumbles to the ground. But unfortunately Shams-i-Sirāj does not mention the name of this Jām, and it may not be impossible that the prince to whom he refers was another brother of Rāi Unar. According to Mīr Ma'sūm the next prince, Tamāchi (Tamāji) was carried with his family to Delhi as captive by 'Alā ud-Dīn, and had children there. These children, he tells

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, pp 34-35.

us, were brought by the tribe to Tharī, and kept prisoners, while it took the business of government into its own hands. After the lapse of some time, and the death of Jām Tamāchī his son. Malik Khair ud-Dīn returned to Sind from Delhi and assumed the government. During his rule Sultān Mahmūd (Tughluq) invaded Sind, but could not do anything effective, as he "died in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar" <sup>1</sup> (A. H. 752). Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, who succeeded him, was harassed by this Jām for some stages when the former started for Delhi.<sup>2</sup> The period thus described appears to have been one of considerable confusion, and it is curious that these two princes (Nos. 3 and 4 of *Ta'rikh-i-Tāhirī*) are omitted by Ab'ul Faḥl. It should be also noted that Mīr Ṭāhir does not mention the reign periods of these two rulers. It was probably during this period that Shihāb-ud-Dīn, king of Kashmir (1359-1378), invaded Sind and defeated its Jām on the banks of the Indus.<sup>3</sup> The next prince, called Bābiniya by Mīr Ma'sūm, is perhaps to be identified with Banhatīyah, the third prince on Abu'l Faḥl's list. According to Mīr Ma'sūm this prince was ruling in Sind when Sultān Fīrūz Shāh invaded that country. This statement is supported by Shams-i-Sirāj, the contemporary historian of the period. He tells us that 'at this time the Jām, brother of Rāi Unar and Bābiniya, his brother's son, were masters of Thatta.' This Jām who probably came to the throne after the period of turmoil referred to above appears from *Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* to have been completely overshadowed by Bābiniya; that is probably the reason why he has been omitted by Abu'l Faḥl and Mīr Ma'sūm. It is to be observed, however, that Shams-i-Sirāj differs from *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmī* in making Bābiniya "the brother's son" of this Jām.

<sup>1</sup> According to Baranī the Sultān died in 752 A.H. on the banks of the Indus, at 14 Kos from Thatta.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Elliot, III, p. 266; unfortunately neither Baranī, nor Shams-i-Sirāj gives us the name of this Jām.

<sup>3</sup> *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 278 and 501.

For his campaign in Sind, Fīrūz Shāh had to muster an army of '90,000 cavalry and 480 elephants.' The strength of the Jām can be gauged by the fact that his troops amounted to about '20,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry.'<sup>1</sup> The war dragged on for two years and a half and occasioned considerable sufferings to the Sultān. According to Abu'l-Faẓl, Sultān Fīrūz Shāh on three different occasions led an army from Delhi against 'Banhatia.'<sup>2</sup> But in the end the Jām and Bābiniya surrendered and accompanied the royal troops to Delhi; while "the son of the Jām, and Tamāchī brother of Bābiniya were placed over Thatta, and titles were conferred upon them. They paid four *lacs* of *tankas* in cash, by way of marking their allegiance, and agreed to pay several *lacs* of *tankas* in money and goods yearly."<sup>3</sup> The Jām and Bābiniya lived at Delhi for some time in their dwelling known as the 'palace of Thatta,' and each used to receive an annual allowance of two *lacs* of *tankas* in cash from the royal treasury. Shams-i-Sirāj further tells us that "after some years Tamāchī, the brother of Bābiniya, rebelled at Thatta, and the Sultān sent the Jām there to repress the outbreak. On his arrival the Jām sent Tamāchī to Delhi where Bābiniya remained in attendance on the Sultān. On the accession of Sultān Tughluq Shāh (1388 A.D.) he was presented with an umbrella, and was sent to Thatta, but died on the road."<sup>4</sup> According to *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmī* Bābiniya after remaining for some time at Delhi 'became the object of royal favour...and was reinstated in the government of Sind,' while his brother Tamāchī, a man of 'ease and enjoyment,' died of the plague after a reign of 13 years. Firishta appears to support Mīr Ṭāhir, for he also says that the Jām Bany after passing some time in Delhi was taken

<sup>1</sup> *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 321 and 323.

<sup>2</sup> *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 345

<sup>3</sup> *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 336 ff

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 338.

into favour by Fīrūz, who sent him back to restore his government.<sup>1</sup> Jām Bany is most probably the same as Bābiniya of the other chronicles, but Firishta introduces an element of confusion by stating that he was the son of Jām Afra, a person unknown to other works.

With the collapse of the Delhi empire after the death of Fīrūz Tughluq (1388 A.D.), the Jāms of Sind must have become practically independent. For their subsequent history we have to depend almost entirely on Mīr Ma'sūm and Abu'l Faḡl. According to the former, Jām Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn succeeded Tamāchī. He was a vigorous ruler, and is said to have undertaken a number of expeditions for the chastisement of refractory subjects. One of these was directed against Cutch. He reigned for 11 years and some months. He was succeeded by his son Jām Nizām ud-Dīn. He 'left the affairs of his kingdom in the hands of the officials,' and gave himself up to pleasure. The result was disorder and rebellion in all parts of the dominion, and he died in the midst of this confusion, after a reign of 'two years and a fraction.' The nobles then raised 'Alī Shīr, to the vacant throne. He was wise and brave, and soon brought Sind 'in due state of order' but he too soon developed a fondness for pleasure and was assassinated while enjoying a boating excursion on a moonlit night. He reigned 7 years. The next ruler, Jām Karan, is represented by Abu'l Faḡl as the son of 'Alī Shīr; but Mīr Ma'sūm represents him to be one of the murderers of 'Alī Shīr, and the son of Jām Tamāchī, probably the sixth ruler on his table. The new ruler was cut to pieces by a faction of the displeased nobles after a reign of one day and a half. The throne was then occupied by Faṭḥ Khān, son of Sikandar and probably grandson of the same Tamāchī, one of the prime movers in the last plot. He was 'very attentive and watchful over all affairs of State,' and was celebrated for his courage and generosity. He is described as a contemporary

<sup>1</sup> *TF, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 455.* So also Abu'l Faḡl, see *AAK, Vol. II, p. 345.*



of Tīmūr (1398 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> His reign period is variously given as 15 and 11 years and some months. He was succeeded by his brother Jām Tughluq. He appointed his brothers governors of Siwistān and Bhakkar, and spent most of his time in 'hunting and exercise.' He reigned for 28 years, and was succeeded by his youthful son Jām Sikandar. Rebellions appear to have broken out in all parts of the kingdom during his short reign of one year and a half, and for a time a person named Mubārak, who had been Chamberlain of Jām Tughluq, seized the throne and held it for three days. The next ruler, according to Abu'l Faḡl, was 'Sanjar, commonly called Rāḡhan,' who reigned for about 8 years. But Mīr Ma'sūm gives Jām Rāi Dan and Jām Sanjar as the names of the next two rulers, each of whom, according to him ruled for 8 years. It is likely that these two names have been united by Abu'l Faḡl into one name, but the sameness of the reign period of the two rulers and the miraculous details about the accession of Sanjar in Mīr Ma'sūm's list are suspicious. According to *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'sūmī*, Jām Rāi Dan ascended the throne in 858 A. H. (1454 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> and was poisoned by one of his attendants named Sanjar. Rāi Dan appears to have been no relative of the previous ruler, and seized the royal power with the assistance of his own retainers after the death of Sikandar. Sanjar is described as 'a handsome man,' who became king mainly through the prayers of a friendly Derwīsh. During his rule Sind was prosperous, and he appears to have taken steps to suppress bribery and increase the pay of his judicial and other public servants. He was succeeded by Jām Niḡām ud-Dīn, also called Nanda. He is said to have reigned for 48 or 60 years. According to Mīr Ṭāhīr he ascended the throne in 866 A.H. (1461 A.D.) and proved to be a very pure and virtuous ruler. During his rule the 'Musulman discipline' spread widely in Sind, and all the feudal princes of the land are described as belonging to this

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, I, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

faith. Nanda is said to have been a contemporary of Sultān Ḥasan Lanāgh of Multan (A.D. 1456-1502).<sup>1</sup> Mīr Ṭāhir tells us that soon after his death 'all affairs of Sind fell into disorder.' Jām Fīrūz, the son of Nanda, 'was of tender age,' when he succeeded his father, and trouble soon ensued when the young man developed a fondness for pleasures. A rival for the throne appeared in the person of Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn, a relative of Fīrūz, and occupied Thatta for a period of 8 months. Jām Fīrūz however recovered his power and ruled for some time till 916 A.H. (1581 A.D.), when Shāh Bēg Arghūn began to make encroachments on Sind. In 1521 the latter, being driven from Kandahar by Bābur, invaded and conquered Sind. Fīrūz fled to Gujarat<sup>2</sup> (1522-23 A.D.). The Arghūn dynasty was thus established and Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, the son of Shāh Bēg Arghūn, was reigning in Sind when Humāyūn took refuge in the land in 1541 A.D. Shāh Ḥusain suffered from ill health, and on his death the royal power passed on to Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Īsa Tarkhān, 'a member of the elder branch of the Arghūn clan,' in 1556 A.D. Mīrzā Jānī Bēg Tarkhān, his great-grandson, was ruling in Sind when Akbar invaded it in 1591 and soon after annexed it to his empire.<sup>3</sup>

#### DYNASTIC TABLE OF SIND.

*Circa 7th Century A.D. to the 16th Century A.D.*

*(Dates approximate.)*

##### I. Rāi Dynasty (c. 450 to 643 A.D.).

Rāi Diwāji.

Rāi Sihras.

Rāi Sāhasī.

Rāi Sihras, II.

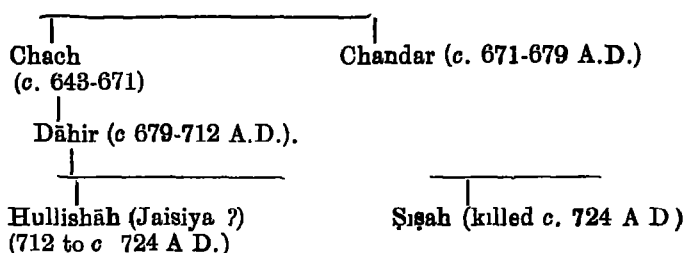
Rāi Sāhasī, II (c. 643 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> *Elliot*, I, p. 238 ; *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 503-04.

<sup>2</sup> *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of the Arghūns and Tarkhāns, see extracts from *Tarkhān-nāma* (also called *Arghān-nāma*) of Saiyid Jazāl (1654-55), Trans. in *Elliot*, I, pp. 300 ff.; also *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 501 ff

## II. Brahmin Dynasty of Chach (c. 643 to 724 A.D.).



## III. Arab Governors of Sind (c. 680 to 870 A.D.).

(a) *Governors of the Umayyads :*

- (1) Ibn al-Harrī, c. 61 A.H. (680 A.D.) ; Conqueror of Mukrān.
- (2) Muḡā'a i Sī'r at-Tamīmī
- (3) Ḥa'fid i. Aslam i. Darā', c. 75 A.H. (694 A.D.). First Governor of Mukrān
- (4) 'Ubad Ullāh i Abī Bakr, c. 79 A.H. (698 A.D.)
- (5) 'Abd ur-Rahmān i. Muḡammad, c. 81 A.H. (700 A.D.)
- (6) Muḡammad i. al-Qāsīm, c. 89-97 A.H. (707-715 A.D.). Conqueror of Sind.
- (7) Yazīd i Abī Kabshah, 97 A.H. (715 A.D.)
- (8) Ḥabīb i. al-Muḡhallab, c. 97 A.H. (715 A.D.)
- (9) 'Amr i. Muḡlim al-Bāhīlī, c. 99 A.H. (717 A.D.)
- (10) Junayd i. Abd ur-Rahmān, c. 107 A.H. (725 A.D.)
- (11) Tamīm i. Zaid al 'Utbī, c. 107 A.H. (726 A.D.)
- (12) Al-Ḥākīm i 'Awāna al-Kilābī
- (13) 'Amr i. Muḡammad i. al-Qāsīm. Founder of Mansūrah.
- (14) Sulaymān i. Ḥishām.
- (15) Al-Mansūr i. Jumbūr, 132 A.H. (749 A.D.)

(b) *Governors of the Abbasids :*

- (1) 'Abd ur-Rahmān i. Muḡlim, 134 A.H. (751 A.D.)
- (2) Al-Musayyib i. Zuhair, ,,
- (3) Mūsa i-Ka'b, 134 to 141 A.H. (751-758 A.D.)
- (4) 'Uyayna i. Mūsa, 141-142 A.H. (758-759 A.D.)
- (5) Abū Ja'far 'Umar i. Ḥafs, 142 A.H. (759 A.D.)
- (6) Ḥishām i. 'Amr al-Taghlabī, 151 A.H. (768 A.D.)
- (7) Ma'bad i. al-Khalīl, 157 A.H. (773 A.D.)

- (8) Buṣṭām i. 'Amr, 159 A.H. (775 A.D.)
- (9) Rūḥ i. Hātim, 160 A.H. (776 A.D.)
- (10) Naṣr i. Muḥammad, 161 A.H. (777 A.D.)
- (11) 'Abd ul-Malik i. Shihāb, 161 A.H. (777 A.D.)
- (12) Ishāq i. Sulaymān, 174 A.H. (790 A.D.)
- (13) Dā'ūd i. Dā'ūd, 184 A.H. (800 A.D.)
- (14) Hājib i. Ṣāliḥ, 211 A.H. (826 A.D.)
- (15) Ghassān i. 'Abbād, 213 A.H. (828 A.D.)
- (16) 'Amrān i. Mūsa, 217 A.H. (832 A.D.)
- (17) Haydar i. Kā'ūs, 223 A.H. (837 A.D.)
- (18) Ya'qūb i. Layth, 257 A.H. (870 A.D.) Died in 879 A.D.

### INDEPENDENT DYNASTIES IN SIND.

#### (a) *Dynasties of Multan :*

- (1) Arab Quraishite Dynasty—The Ghālibis.  
(Known dates 332 to 366 A. H. = 942-976 A.D.).
- (2) Qarmāṭian Dynasty founded by Jalāl ibn Shaibān.
- (3) Afghān Lōdī Dynasty.

Shaikh Hamīd Lōdī (c. 963 A.D.)

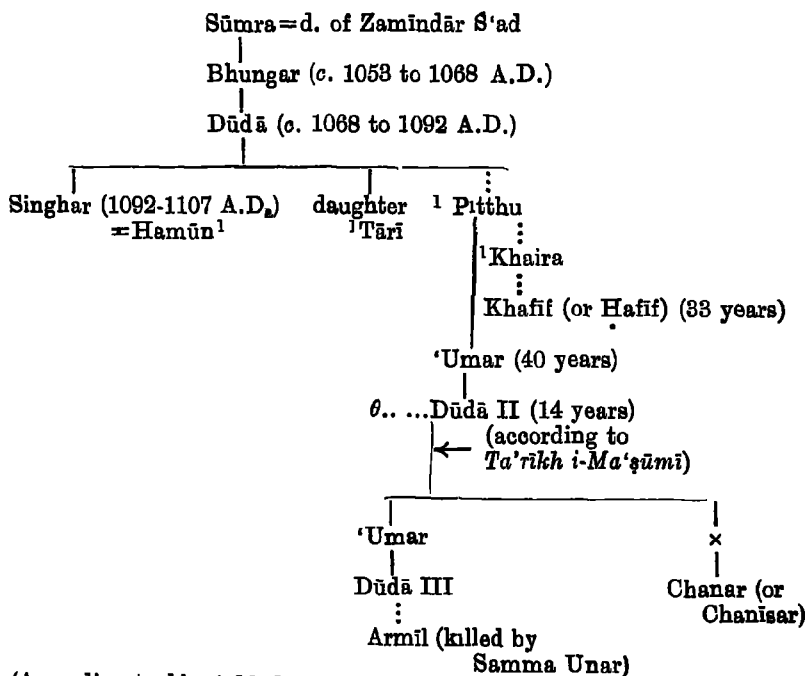
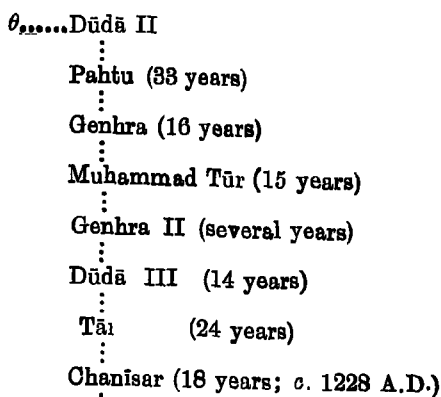
|  
Nāsir

|  
Abū'l Faṭḥ Dā'ūd (c. 1005-1010 A.D.).

(b) *Dynasties of Maṅṣūrah :*

(1) Arab Quraishite Ḥabbārī Dynasty (c. 912-976 A.D.)

(2) Qarmāṭians and Sūmrās (c. 1025 to c. 1362 A.D.):

(According to *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* and *Tuhfātul-Kirām*)

Mentioned only by Mīr Ma'ṣūm.

N.B.—Uncertain relationship is indicated by vertical dots and son by a vertical line.

### Bhungar II (15 years)

**Khafīf (or Hafīf) II (18 years)**

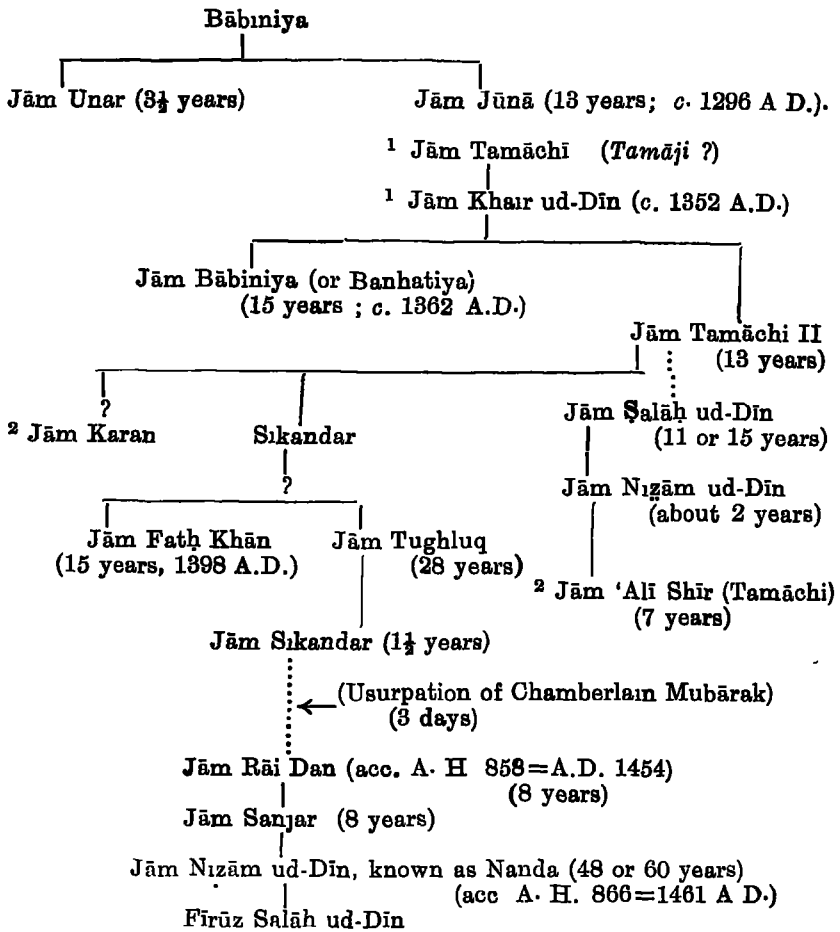
### Dūdā IV (25 years)

**'Umar Sūmra (35 years)**

### Bhungar III (10 years)

**Hamir (last prince deposed by Unar Samma)**

(c) *Sammas* (c. 1290 to 1521 A.D.):



<sup>1</sup> Not found in *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*

<sup>3</sup> According to Abu'l Faḥl Karan was the son of 'Alī Shīr Tamāchi.

<sup>1</sup> Not found in *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*  
<sup>2</sup> According to Abu'l Fazl Karan was the son of 'Alī Shīr Tamāchī  
 N.B.—Uncertain relationship is indicated by vertical dots and son by a vertical line.

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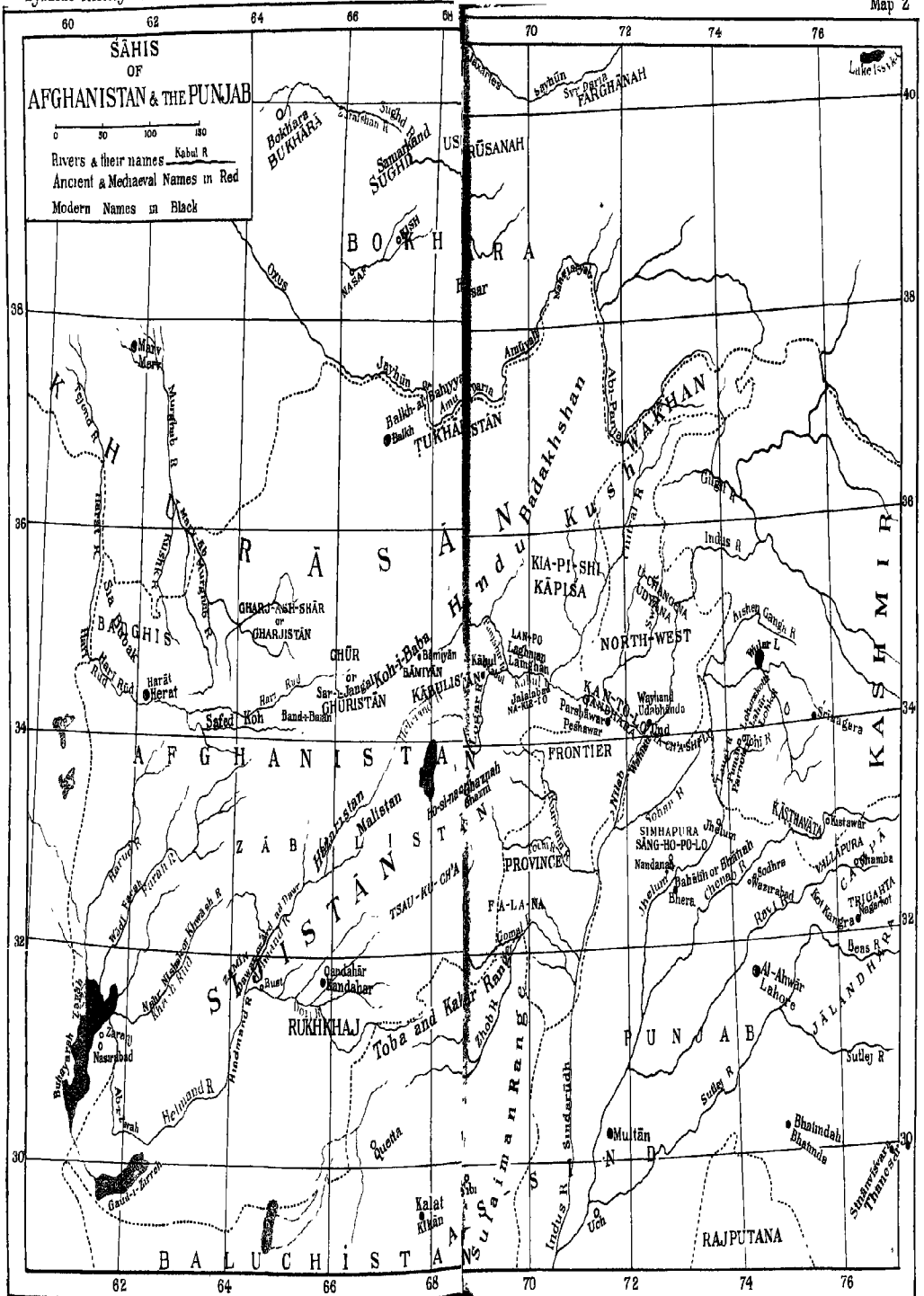
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12. *Ṭabaqāt ı-Akbarī*. Trans. by B. Dey, *Bibliotheca Indica*, New Series, No. 1383.
13. *Ta'rikh i-Firishta*. Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I.
14. *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, by William Muir.
15. *Chach-nāma* of Muḥammad 'Alī i. Hamīd i. Abū Bakr Kūfī. Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 131-211. Also Trans. by Mīrzā Kalich Beg Fredunbeg (Karachi), 1900, Vol. I.
16. *Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmī*. Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 212-52.

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19. *Tarkhān-nāma* of Sayyid Jamāl. Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 300 ff.
20. *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām* of 'Alī Shīr Qānī'. Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 327 ff. Also in *JASB*, 1845, Vol. XIV, Part I, pp. 78 ff.
21. Elliot's Note (B) Historical in the Appendix of his Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.
22. *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī* of 'Utbī. Trans. from the Persian version by Reynolds.
23. *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Baranī. Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 254 ff.
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28. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 94-96, 100, 117, 465, 497, 505-08, 525-26.
29. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn. Trans. by Raverty, Vol. I, 1881.
30. *A Short History of Sind*, by Carter. Karachi, 1926.
31. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* of Abu'l-Faḍl. Trans. by Blochmann and Jarret, Vol. II, 1891.
32. *History of Mediaeval India*, by Vaidya, 1921, Vol. I, pp. 161-189 ; Vol. II, pp. 162-66.



33. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Chapters, I, II, III, IV, XIX, and *bibliography* on these chapters; also *chronology* on p. 701.
  34. *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Nizāmī. Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 204 ff.
  35. *Kāmil ut-Tawārīkh* of Ibn Athīr, Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 249.
  36. *Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn*, by Ḥabīb.
  37. *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour L'Histoire de L'Islam*, by Zambaur.
  38. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* of Muḥammad Yūsuf. Extract Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 485.
  39. 'Coins of the Arabs in Sind,' by Edward Thomas in his "Records of the Gupta Dynasty," London, 1876, pp. 56-64.
  40. 'Brahmanabād Coins' in Prinsep's "Essays on Indian Antiquities." Edited by E. Thomas, London, 1858, pp 119-24.
  41. *Fragments Arabes et Persians*, by M. Reinaud, Paris, 1845, pp. 182-217.
  42. *Notes on War in Ancient India* by Hemchandra Ray, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, 1927, Vol. XIV.
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## CHAPTER II

### SĀHIS OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE PUNJAB

The title "King of Kings" is Iranic in origin. Scholars have traced it to the epithet '*Khshāyathiya Khshāyathrānām*,' occurring in the opening lines of the Behistun inscription of the Achaemenian Emperor Darius I (521-485 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> Under the Greek form, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, it definitely appears on the coin legends of the Arsacid king Mithradates II (c. 123-88 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> This Greek legend together with its Indian forms *raṣatvraja*, *rajaraja*, and *rajadiraja*, appears on the coins of the Indo-Scythian<sup>3</sup> and early Kuṣān kings. The Persian form 𐎱𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡 in Greek characters is first found in India on the coins of Kanishka and his successors.<sup>4</sup> A portion of this legend, 𐎱𐎠𐎡𐎢, is also found on some of the copper coins of Kanishka.<sup>5</sup> These titles appear to have been the special designation of these Turkish rulers of the Punjab, Afghanistan and the Oxus valley, long after the fall of their empire in the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.<sup>6</sup> In the fourth century, Hariṣeṇa in his Allahabad *praśasti* of the Gupta emperor Samudra Gupta (c. 335-375 A.D.) undoubtedly refers to these rulers by the phrase '*Davaputra-śāhi-śāhānuśāhi*.'<sup>7</sup> The coins issued by these later Kuṣāns between c. 300 to 450 A.D. also bear the legend 𐎱𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 567, *SC*, Bombay, 1924, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Parthia*, 1908, pp. 24 ff. The Sasanids, who succeeded the Arsacids, took the title *Malkān Malkā*; the form *Shāhānshā* appears on their coins from the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. See Paruck, *SC*, pp. 286-88 and 294-95.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Jaina legend, the *Kālakācūrya kathānaka*, the *sāmāntas* of the Śakas were styled *Sāhi* and their emperors *Sāhānuśāhi*. See *ZDMG*, 1880, p. 282; *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 167-68; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd Ed., p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, 1914, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> *NC*, Third Series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 177.

<sup>7</sup> *GI*, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> *NC* Third Series, Vol. XIII, 1893, pp. 167 ff.

The history of these later *Sāhi* rulers is extremely obscure. It is generally assumed that after the death of Vāsudeva, the Indian empire of the Kuṣāns fell into decay. But the *Wei-liao* "informs us that during the period of the three kingdoms (A.D. 221-277) Ki-pin, Ta-hia, Kao-fu and T'ien-čü were all subject to the Great Yüe-čü."<sup>1</sup> Chavannes concluded from this that in the middle of the 3rd century "the power of the Kushān kings was at its climax." The portion of India indicated by the word 'T'ien-čü' is however uncertain. But there is evidence to show that their power continued in the North-western part of India, Afghanistan, and the Oxus valley up to the 4th century A.D. In the 3rd and 4th centuries the influence of the Sasanids of Persia on these Kuṣān princes is illustrated by the latter's imitation on their coins of the former's head-dress.<sup>2</sup> One of the Sasanian kings, Hormazd II (A.D. 301-10), married a daughter of one of these Kuṣān kings, and on some of his gold coins assumed the title *Kuṣān Malkān Malkā*.<sup>3</sup> E. Thomas supposed from this that the Kuṣān prince of the Kabul valley might have been conquered by the Sasanian king. In the opinion of Cunningham the legend "must refer to the Kushān alliance," which was made by the Kuṣān prince 'by giving a daughter and ceding the province of Balkh to the north of Hindukush.'<sup>4</sup> In c. 358-60 one of these Kuṣān princes, named Grumbates, appears to have helped Shāpur II (310-79 A.D.) against the Romans in the siege of Amida. This prince is described as the king of the Chionitæ, "of middle age and wrinkled limbs, but of a grand spirit and already distinguished for many victories."<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to estimate the exact relationship between the

<sup>1</sup> Cordier and Chavannes, *T'oung pao*, Série II, Vol. VI, Leide 1905, pp 533-39

<sup>2</sup> NC, Third Series, Vol. XIII, 1893, pp. 168-69.

<sup>3</sup> SC, pp. 89, 281-83; on some copper coins appear only *Kuṣān Malkā* For marriage, see also Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 278; De Sacy, *Mirkhond*, p. 304.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 169-71; Cunningham takes Chionitæ to be 'the Kushāns or Tokhān.'

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp 171-72,

Sasanids and the later Kuṣāns ; but if there is any truth in the tradition generally accepted by oriental historians that Ardashīr I (212-241 A.D.) conquered Balkh, Khurāsān and Kābul and advanced as far as Sirhind beyond the Sutlej, then the title *Kuṣān Malkān Malkā* or *Kuṣān Malkā* may indicate their position as vassals of the Persian empire.<sup>1</sup> That the relationship was sufficiently intimate is proved by the discovery of Sasanid coins in Afghanistan and the Punjab and the imitation of Kuṣān coin-type by the Sasanids. A coin of Ardashīr I was discovered as far east as the Jhelum District, while the Śiva and his bull and the Indian altar appear on the coins of Hormazd II.<sup>2</sup> The mere discovery of coins of contiguous states in each other's territory has not necessarily any political significance, but it is to be noted that in this case the Kuṣān coin appears to have been "counter-struck with Sasanian device."<sup>3</sup> Rapson attributes certain "coins of Sasanian type and fabric bearing inscriptions in Nāgarī, Sasanian Pahlavī and an alphabet hitherto unread which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet, used by the Scytho-Sasanians" to some Sasanian dynasty or dynasties which ruled in the Indus valley.<sup>4</sup> Under the circumstances it is probably not unlikely that the later Kuṣāns for a time came under the power of the Sasanids. A contributory cause of their loss of power may have been the gradual advance of the Gupta power towards the Indus valley. In the 4th century A.D. Samudra Gupta claimed 'acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa tokens (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories and soliciting

<sup>1</sup> *SC*, pp. 71, 79-81; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Ed. by Bury (Methuen & Co.), Vol. I, p. 204. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 17-18; *TF*, Trans. Briggs, Vol. I, p. lxxiv; V. Smith, *EHI*, 1924, p. 289, fn. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, Part I, p. 5 and fig VIII on Plate I; *SC*, p. 90; tehead, *Catalogue of Coins of the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *JRAS*, 1920, pp. 221 ff., *SC*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Coins*, Strassburg, p. 30; *SC*, pp. 98 and 270-71.

commands' from the *Šāhi-Šāhanuṣāhis* of Afghanistan and the Punjab.<sup>1</sup>

During the 4th and 5th centuries another important development appears to have occurred in the fortunes of the *Šāhis*. Spectht has shown from the Chinese annals that during the reign of the Wei-dynasty (386-556 A.D.) there was a division in the power of the Yueh-chis. In that period Ki-to-lo, a prince of the Great Yueh-chi clan, separated himself from the main body and established the kingdom of Little Yueh-chi in the territories south of the Hindukush with Fo-lu-sha (Peshawar) as his capital. The Great Yueh-chi clan however continued to rule in the region north of the Hindukush. In the opinion of Alfred von Gutschmid, the separation of this new branch from the old Indo-Scythian ruling dynasty occurred in about the year 430 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The causes of this revolution are probably largely to be found in the continued domination of the Balkh and the Oxus valley by the Sasanids. But there was another important reason. In the 4th century A.D. there was again one of those mysterious movements of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia which had brought the Yueh-chi hordes to the Oxus and the borders of India in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Though it is perhaps not permissible to assume that "the Hūns and the Hūnas are the same as the Hiung-nu of the Chinese"<sup>3</sup> who first caused the dislocation of the Yueh-chi in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., yet there is no doubt that they belonged to the same stock of warlike nomads. A branch of these settled in Transoxania, and troubled the Sasanids from c. 420 to 557 A.D. In the struggles with these tribes Fīrūz I (459-484 A.D.) appears to have lost his life after a terrible battle in 484 A.D.<sup>4</sup> It was probably soon after this disaster that a section of

<sup>1</sup> *GI*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Šāhis von Kabul*, p. 196; *Études sur l'Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1890, pp. 12 ff.; *Geschichte Irans*, Tübingen, 1888, pp. 168 ff

<sup>3</sup> See article on the *Huns* by Sir Charles Elliott, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910) Vol. XIII, p. 932; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 82 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *SC*, p. 101



them pushed through the Hindukush into Afghanistan and India, exactly as the Yueh-chi had done before them about five centuries ago. For a time from their headquarters at Bāmiyān and Herat they appear to have ruled over a wide dominion which extended from the borders of Persia and Khotan to Central India. The capital of this Hun dominion was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Song-Yun, ambassador of the Wei dynasty, who records that the Ye-tha (Epthalites) received tribute from the forty neighbouring countries.<sup>1</sup> Kan-t'o-lo (Gandhāra) which was also visited by Song-Yun (A.D. 520) was devastated by these Epthalites, who had set up a representative (*tch'e-k'in* = Turkish *tégin*) of theirs to rule over the country.<sup>2</sup> During this period the *Sāhi* princes who ruled in the South of the Hindukush must have bent before the storm and rendered homage to their Hun overlords. But fortunately the Hunic empire did not last long. It seems to have disappeared as a result of a series of defeats inflicted on them by the Western Turks (T'u-chüeh), the Sasanid king Khusrau I, surnamed Anōshirvān (531-79 A.D.), and the Indian kings Yaśodharman and Bālāditya in about the middle of the 6th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that after the downfall of the Huns, the Sasanids again established their power over the borders of India. According to Ṭabarī and Mīrkhond, Khusrau I, in his later years sent expeditions to India by sea and obtained territory from an Indian king. Gibbon includes Kābul and Zābulistān in the empire of Khusrau.<sup>4</sup> But if this was so it must have been for a comparatively short period, for soon afterwards, the Sasanid power itself began to decline, and a new body of nomadic tribes, usually designated as 'Turks' (Chinese T'u-chüeh) spread over the Oxus valley from the

<sup>1</sup> BEFEO, 1908, pp. 404 ff.; BR, Vol. I, pp. xc ff.; GI, pp. 158-61, 161-64; EI, Vol. I, p. 238; EHI, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> BEFEO, 1908, pp. 416-17; BR, I, pp. xcix-c.

<sup>3</sup> SC, p. 105; GI, pp. 146-47; BR, I, pp. 168 ff., Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 58

<sup>4</sup> SC, pp. 105-06, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. IV, p. 384, Nöldeke, *Ṭabarī*, pp. 211-18; De Sacy *Mīrkhond*, p. 372

borders of China.<sup>1</sup> Khusrau I had already formed a matrimonial alliance with them and was materially aided by them in his campaigns against the Epthalites, while Bahrām VI (590-91 A.D.) and Bistām (592-96 A.D.) both sought refuge and met with death amongst them.<sup>2</sup> The Turks thus displaced the Epthalites and occupied their position in Transoxania. In 620-28 A.D. they assisted Heraclius in his campaigns against Persia.<sup>3</sup> When Yuan Chwang started on his Indian pilgrimage in 630 A.D. he found the whole region, roughly from Turfan to Merv and Lake Issykkul to the Hindukush, under the control of the *Khagan* (Khan) of the western branch of this Turkish horde. Their capital city was "the town of the Su-yeh river" which "may be the present Constantinovosk, or perhaps Belasagun,"<sup>4</sup> the capital of the Karakhitai, on the river Chu."<sup>5</sup> Yuan Chwang describes the countries and princes south of the Hindukush, and the Punjab. From Balkh, he passed through several small principalities, and after crossing the 'Snowy Mountains' (Hindukush), Bāmiyān and the Black Ridge (Kōh Bābā or Sīyāh Kōh), arrived in the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi (Kāpiśa). This kingdom appears to have been a powerful one. It was 4,000 li in circuit, and was bounded on the north by the 'Snowy Mountains.' The king, who was selected from the *Kṣatriya* caste, was a clever and shrewd man and had brought under his control some ten kingdoms. The capital of this prince was probably situated not far from the "affluence of the Kabul river flowing through the Ghorband valley." Toward the east his authority extended over Lan-po (Lamghān or mod Laghman), Na-kie-lo-ho

<sup>1</sup> Edouard Chavannes, *Les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Pétersbourg, 1903, pp. 226 ff., Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, pp. 58 ff. Sir Charles Elliot on Turks, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910), Vol. XXVII, p. 470. See also Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. IV, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> *SC*, pp. 108, 112 and 113. Chavannes, *Les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes, *Les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, pp. 252 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Prof F. W. Thomas suggests the spelling 'Balgasun.' But see *BR*, I, p. 26, fn 81.

<sup>5</sup> *BR*, I, p. 26, fn 81; see also *ibid*, pp. 24 ff.; II, pp. 236 ff.; *Leife*, pp. 41 ff.; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910), Vol. XXVII, p. 471; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, pp. 58-59.

(Nagarahāra = mod. Jalalabad district), and Kan-t'o-lo (Gandhāra = mod. Peshawar, Charsadda and Und). On the borders of Tach'a-shi-lo (Takṣaśilā = mod. Rawalpindi district) it touched the boundaries of the kingdom of Kashmir, which under the vigorous rule of the Kārkota Durlabhavardhana (c. 631-33 A.D.) had extended its power up to the Salt Range (Sāng-ho-po-lo = Simhapura). In the south, the Kia-pi-shi kingdom included Fa-la-na (Varana = banks of river Gomāl and Bannu district). It is also likely that it included Tsu-ku-cha (Tsaukūṭa = Arachosia)<sup>1</sup> with its capital at Ho-si-na (Ghazna), for we find the king of Kia-pi-shi apparently accompanying Yuan Chwang on his homeward journey from the town of U-to-kia-han-ch'a (Uṭakhāṇḍa = Und), *via* Lan-po, Fa-la-na, O-po-kin, Tsau-ku-cha, Fo-li-shi to the frontiers of Kāpiśa.<sup>2</sup>

But where are the *Śāhis*, who, as we have seen had founded an independent power south of the Hindukush in about the year 430 A.D.? Did they gradually disappear in the clash and turmoil of the invasions of the armies of the Sasanids, the Epthalites, and the Turks? It has been presumed by scholars that the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi described above is the rump of the once mighty Kuṣāṇ empire.<sup>3</sup> This presumption is of course not invalidated by the description of the king as a *Kṣatriya*. By this the pilgrim probably meant nothing more than that the king belonged to the Brahmanical faith.<sup>4</sup> But even if he was right in his description of the caste of the prince it presents no insuperable difficulties. The history of the gradual assimilation of the Yueh-chi hordes in the fold of Hinduism is well-known. Early in their history

<sup>1</sup> *BR*, Vol. II, p. 283 ff.; *YC* (II, pp. 264 ff.) spells the name as *Tsao-ku-t'a* and restores the word as *Jāguḍa*. This seems more reasonable.

<sup>2</sup> *Life*, pp. 54-72, 192-95; *BR*, Vol. I, pp. 49-68, 190-164; Vol. II, pp. 283-84; *YC*, Vol. I, pp. 115-30, 178-285; Vol. II, pp. 264-66.

<sup>3</sup> *Śāhis von Kābul*, p. 197

<sup>4</sup> Yuan Chwang's description of castes of the Indian princes is not always reliable; see *supra*, p. 5, fn. 5.

the Śiva appears on the coin-legends of Kadphises<sup>1</sup> and the progress of the movement is illustrated by the acceptance of the Indian name Vāsudeva by one of the successors of Kaniṣka. There is no reason to believe that this process of assimilation did not continue amongst the successors of the Great Kuṣāns; and it is quite likely that some of their chiefs even claimed Kṣatriya rank.<sup>2</sup> This assumption that the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi belonged to the Little Yueh-chi rulers seems to be supported by the *Kitāb ul-Hind* of al-Bīrūnī. He gives us the following account of the kings of Kābul :

“ The Hindus had kings residing in Kābul, Turks were said to be of Tibetan origin. The first of them, Barhatakin, came into the country and entered a cave in Kābul.... ..; he brought these countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of a *Shāhna of Kābul*. The rule remained among his descendants for generations, the number of which is said to be about sixty. Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information they are at a loss, and not knowing what to say, invariably take to tale-telling.....I have been told that the pedigree of this royal family, written on silk, exists in the fortress *Nagarkot*,<sup>3</sup> and I much desired to make myself acquainted with it, but the thing was impossible for various reasons. One of this series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the *vihāra* (Buddhist monastery) of Purushāvar. It is called after him *Kanik-caitya*..... The last king of this race was *Lagatūrmān*, and his Vazīr was Kallār, a Brahman. The latter

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Plate II

<sup>2</sup> Though it is not proved that all the Rajput tribes were of foreign origin, yet that some of them are of foreign origin is proved by the acceptance of the Hūṇas for instance in the recognised list of Rajput tribes.

<sup>3</sup> Identified with the modern *Kot Kangra*, the chief place of the Kangra district in the Punjab See Stein, *Eng Trans of Rājataranginī*, Vol. I, p. 204, footnote on verses 143-44, Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. X, pp. 155 ff

had been fortunate, in so far as he had found by accident hidden treasures, which gave him much influence and power. In consequence the last of this Tibetan house, after it had held the royal power for so long a period let it by degree slip from his hands. Besides Lagatūrmān had bad manners and a worse behaviour, on account of which people complained of him greatly to the Vazīr. Now the Vazīr put him in chains and imprisoned him for correction, but then he himself found ruling sweet, his riches enabled him to carry out his plans, and so he occupied the royal throne.”<sup>1</sup>

All lovers of Indian History will regret that al-Bīrūnī could not acquaint himself with the pedigree of the family preserved at Nagarkot. For the account he supplies us, being necessarily based on defective historical information of the Hindus, which he so rightly condemns, assumes at places a rather fictitious character.<sup>2</sup> But that the kings mentioned by him really belonged to the Kuṣān group is rendered probable by the proposed identification of the Kanik of al-Bīrūnī with the great Kaniska, on the ground of the common tradition of their building a *vihāra* at Peshawar.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, by no means certain that the number of kings who ruled in Kābul from the foundation of the dynasty of Barhatakīn down to its extinction in the reign of Lagatūrmān was sixty, nor can we definitely state that they all belonged to one dynasty. But it appears to be clear that the whole period was covered by the rule of the Hinduised Yueh-chi rulers, and Stein is probably right when he suggests that the error of al-Bīrūnī in mentioning a continuous reign of sixty generations must be ascribed to the “continued use of the title *Śāhi*, a title applied by al-Bīrūnī even to the last dynasty conquered by Mahmūd of Ghazna.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eng Trans by Sachau, Vol II, pp. 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Eg*, the extraordinary circumstances which led to the rise to power of Barhatakīn, which I have omitted, *ibid*, p 10

<sup>3</sup> Re naud, *Mémoire Géographique, etc., sur l'Inde*, pp. 76 ff., *Śāhis von Kābul*, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> *Śāhis von Kābul*, p. 197

Al-Bīrūnī tells us nothing about the internal history of these rulers of Kia-pi-shī, who held the Kabul valley for at least two hundred years. For this we must turn to the annals of the Arabs, whose conquering armies had shattered the Sasanids and were threatening Khurāsān and Sijistān in the middle of the 7th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> I have already referred to the destruction of the Epthalite power on the Oxus by the Turks in the middle of the sixth century A.D. Taking advantage of the waning power of the Sasanids, the Turks had spread their influence south of that river and even beyond the Hindukush.<sup>2</sup> But "the establishment of the T'ang dynasty in 618 A.D. marked the beginning of a new and glorious epoch in the history of the Chinese relations with the 'western regions.' " Aided by the internal feuds of the Turks, they succeeded in destroying the power of the Northern Turks in 630 A.D. and that of Western Turks in 658-59 A.D. and soon extended their suzerainty across Turkīstan and the Oxus valley to the territories south of the Hindukush.<sup>3</sup> Thus in relation to the *Sāhis*, the Chinese and the Arabs occupied the same position in the middle of the seventh century A.D. which the Sasanids and the Turks occupied in the middle of the sixth. But the terrible defeat of the Chinese imperial forces in 670 A.D. and the brilliant campaigns of Qutayba (705-15 A.D.) initiated an irresistible movement of the Arabs towards Central Asia, which soon made them supreme in Transoxania. In A. H. 256 (A.D. 870) Ya'qūb ibn Layth al-Ṣaffār had already brought the flag of Islam into the Kabul valley.<sup>4</sup>

The steps which gradually brought Islam into the Kābul valley, are recorded in the Arab annals, and incidentally throw

<sup>1</sup> *KFB*, Part II, p. 141.

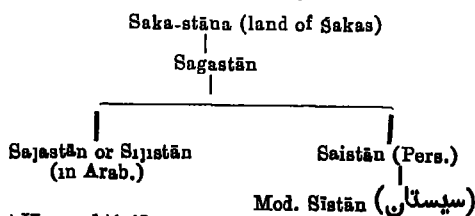
<sup>2</sup> Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, pp. 5, 58-59. There was a revival of the power of the Northern Turks under the *Khagan*, called *Mo-cho* in the Chinese annals (691-714 A.D.); see *ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *The Encyclopædia of Islam, Fasciculus A*, 1924, p. 55, see also H A R Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, 1923, pp 15 ff.

some light on the history of the Hindu dynasties that ruled from the Zarah Lake to the Indus river. In the year A.H. 30 (A.D. 650), the Arab general 'Abd Ullāh ibn 'Āmir, when he set out for Khurāsān, despatched ar-Rabī' ibn-Ziyād to Sijistān.<sup>1</sup> Ar-Rabī' reached the Hindamand (Helmund) and appeared before Zaranj, the capital of the country. The people of the city "opposed him fiercely" and "a number of Moslems were wounded," but in the end they were defeated and driven back into the city with slaughter. Ar-Rabī' struck terror into the heart of the *Satrap*, who submitted and allowed the Arab general to enter the city.<sup>2</sup> Balādhuri, to whom we are indebted for this account does not tell us the name of the overlord of this *Satrap*. But it seems from his subsequent account that he was probably an officer of the line of Indian princes who ruled in the Kābul and Helmund valleys and were variously known to the Arabs as Rutbil, Rantbil, or Zunbil.<sup>3</sup> After two and a half years Ibn 'Āmir next appointed 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Samurah as governor of Sijistān. This new officer compelled the *Satrap* to pay him 2,000,000 dirhams, and made himself the "master over everything between Zaranj and Kishsh<sup>4</sup> of the land of al-Hind, and over that part of the region of the road of ar-Rukhkhaj which is between it and the province of ad-Dāwar."<sup>5</sup> In his description of this campaign

<sup>1</sup> "Sistān, which the earlier Arabs called Sijstān, from the Persian Sagastān, is the lowland lying round, and to the eastward of the Zarah lake, which more especially includes the deltas of Helmund and other rivers which drain into this inland sea" The capital was Zaranj, on Lake Zarah; see *LEC*, pp 334 ff. Dr Barnett suggests:



<sup>9</sup> *KFB*, Part II, pp. 141-43.

<sup>3</sup> For this word see *infra*, p. 71, fn. no. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Yāqūt*, Vol. IV, p. 277; *Meynard, Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 488.

<sup>5</sup> *KFB*, Part I, p. 148. For the places see *Yāqūt*, Vol. II, p. 541. Maynard, *op. cit.*, p. 224; *LEC*, p. 345.

Balādhuri tells us a story which curiously reminds us of the idol-breaking incident in the temple of Somnath. We are told that when "he got as far as the provinces of ad-Dāwar, he surrounded the enemy in the mountain of az-Zūr.<sup>1</sup> They soon surrendered to him. The numbers of Moslems with him was 8,000 and each man received 4,000 dirhams. Ibn-Samurah went into the temple of the Zūr, an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes, and cut off a hand and took out the rubies. Then he said to the *Satrap*, 'keep the gold and gems. I only wanted to show you that it had no power to harm or help.'"<sup>2</sup> Ibn Samurah next "obtained control over Bust and Zābul."<sup>3</sup> He did not want to take prisoners from Zābul, saying that 'Uthmān had made a compact (*walth*) with them. Wakī' says that he made an agreement (*aqd*) with them, which is inferior to covenant (*'ahd*)."<sup>4</sup> Ibn-Samurah was succeeded by Umar ibn Ahmar. The people of Zaranj expelled him and closed the town. But in the reign of 'Alī, Rib'ī ibn al-Kas "established order in the country." In the reign of Mu'āwiyah, Ibn Samurah again became governor of Sijistān. He was faced with a formidable task, for we are told that the people of Sijistān had apostatized, and the people of Zābulistān and Kābul had broken their treaties. By a series of campaigns he is said to have captured Kābul, in spite of the vigorous resistance of the '*polytheists*,' defeated the inhabitants of Zābulistān, and captured Bust and Rukhkhaj. Balādhuri says that this officer "took with him to al-Basrah slaves captured at Kābul, and they

<sup>1</sup> LEC, pp. 345-46.

<sup>2</sup> KFB, Part II, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> LEC, pp. 344 and 349. By Zābul or Zābulistān the Arabs meant "the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmund and the Kandahār rivers." It was "a term of vague application but one which more particularly denoted the country round Ghaznah. On the other hand Kābulistān, was the Kābul country, more to the north on the frontier of Bāmiryān. Already in the 3rd century (9th century A.D.) Ya'qūbi describes Kābul as much frequented by merchants. He says that the chief city was known as Jurwas, while Istakhri in the next century gives the name as Ṭābān Kābul, however, appears also to have been the name in common use, more especially for the district."

<sup>4</sup> KFB, Part II, p. 144.



built him a mosque in his castle after the Kābul style of building." He died in A.H. 50 (A D. 670) but before his death he was succeeded by ar-Rabī' ibn Ziyād. During his administration Kābul and Zābulistān again revolted. We are told that the "*Kābul Shāh* assembled a force to oppose the Moslems and drove out all of them that were in Kābul. And Ratbīl came and gained control of Zābulistān and ar-Rukhkhaj as far as Bust. Ar-Rabī' ibn Ziyād led out his men and attacked Ratbīl at Bust and put him to flight, and pursued him until he reached ar-Rukhkhaj. After attacking him in ar-Rukhkhaj, he continued to advance, and subdued the city of ad-Dāwār." He was succeeded in the government of Sijistān by 'Ubayd Ullāh ibn Abī Bakrah. He continued the campaign for some time and reached Razān. But "Ratbīl sent to him asking for *peace for his own country and the land of Kābul* in return for 1,200,000 dirhams." This sum was reduced to 1,000,000 dirhams and the peace was confirmed by Ziyād, the governor of Baṣra. In about 61 A H. (A D. 680) "the people of Kābul treacherously broke the compact and imprisoned Abū 'Ubaydah ibn Ziyād." The governor of Sijistān, Yazīd ibn Ziyād, proceeded against them in Junzah, but he and many of those with him were killed and the rest put to flight. Among those who were martyred were Zayd ibn 'Abd Ullāh and Ṣilah ibn Ashtam Abu's-Sabhā. After this defeat the Arabs "ransomed Abu-'Ubayda for 500,000 dirhams." The cities of Sijistān, being "aided and abetted" by Ratbīl, became for a time at least free from the control of the representatives of the Caliph. Balādhurī informs us that "when 'Abd ul-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Ullāh ibn 'Āmir arrived as *Wālī* over Sijistān in the time of az-Zubair (c.A.H. 64=683 A.D.), he was compelled to stop in the city of Zaranj because Ratbīl was at war with him." But soon after "abu-'Afrā' 'Umair al-Māzini killed Ratbīl and the *polytheists were put to rout*." But the war did not end with the death of this prince. In about A.H. 73 (A.D. 692) 'Abd Ullāh was appointed to rule over Sijistān. "He made war on

Ratbīl (the successor as king to the former Ratbīl, who had been killed). He stood in awe of the Moslems," and when 'Abd Ullāh arrived at Bust, he offered to make peace for a sum of 1,000,000 dirhams, but the treaty fell through, for the Arab general wanted his tent to be filled with gold. Fighting was therefore resumed. "Ratbīl did not oppose his advance into the land until he had penetrated deep into it, when he seized the mountain paths and passes against him, asking the Moslems to cease hostilities and offering to refrain from despoiling them. This was refused, and Ratbīl said, 'Well, then take 300,000 dirhams for a treaty, and put it in writing for me, agreeing not to raid our land while you are *Wāli*, nor to burn nor lay waste.'" 'Abd Ullāh did this, and when the Caliph 'Abd ul-Malik (685-705 A.D.) learned of it, he dismissed him. Later, when al-Ḥajjāj (c. 694-713 A.D.) was governor of 'Irāq, 'Ubayd Ullāh ibn Abi Bakrah was sent to Sijistān. He carried on the war against Ratbīl, and advancing by way of al-Rukhkhaj encamped "in the neighbourhood of Kābul, stopping at a mountain path. The enemy blocked it against him and Ratbīl joined them. So 'Ubayd Ullāh made peace with them on condition that they should give him 500,000 dirhams and he should send him three of his sons Nahār, al-Ḥajjāj and Abu Bakrah as hostages, and he should make a treaty with them that he shall not fight as long as he was governor."<sup>1</sup> This humiliating peace caused serious disaffection in the Arab camp, for it was felt that the action would seriously weaken Islam on this frontier. As a result of this, hostilities were again commenced. Shuraih, who was mainly instrumental in the rejection of the peace "made a charge but was killed. The army fought their way along the

<sup>1</sup> *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Text, Ed. by M. J. de Goeje, Brill, 1866, p. 399. I am indebted to Dr Mirza of the University of Lucknow for the translation of this passage which differs from Murgotten's translation in one or two points. It is not very clear whose sons were given as hostages but as Ratbīl's father was a polytheist and there is no evidence that his son had accepted Islam and as the name of one of the hostages is the same as that of the father of 'Ubayd Ullāh, I am disposed to consider them to be the sons of the Arab *Wāli*. If this was so it would appear that the hostages were given by the Arabs to Ratbīl.

desert of Bust. Many of them perished of thirst and hunger, and Ubayd Ullāh died of grief for what he had brought upon his men and the fate that had overtaken them." Soon after this disastrous Arab expedition "Ḥajjāj made peace with Ratbīl agreeing not to make war upon him for seven years (others say nine years), on condition that he pays thereafter every year 900,000 dirhams in kind." This peace was respected by Ḥajjāj with scrupulous care, and he dismissed an officer who was disposed to deal "harshly with Ratbīl in regard to the goods which he paid." In the reign of Caliph Walīd (705-715 A.D.) an attempt was made to exact the "tribute from Ratbīl in coined money." In 710 A.D. Quṭayba, the governor of Khurāsān, undertook a campaign against this "formidable foe" who had made Sijistān "an ill-omened frontier."<sup>1</sup> The expedition was abortive, and the Arabs were compelled to continue accepting 'payment in kind.' In the reign of Caliph Sulaymān (715-17 A.D.) Ratbīl ceased to pay any tribute at all. Balādhuri informs us that "thereafter he did not pay any tribute to any of the 'amīls of the Umayyads or of Abu-Muḥḥim over Sijistān." It was not till the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al Manṣūr (754-75 A.D.) that active steps were again taken against this prince. Ma'n ibn Zā'idah on his appointment as governor over Sijistān, wrote "to Ratbīl to bring tribute for which al-Ḥajjāj had stipulated." On the receipt of this letter Ratbīl is said to have sent some "camels, Turkish tents, and slaves, reckoning each at double its value." This aroused the anger of the Arab general, and war was resumed; but when Ma'n came to ar-Rukhkhaj "he found that Ratbīl had withdrawn from that place and had gone to Zābulistān to spend the summer there." Ar-Rukhkhaj, we are told, fell to the Arabs, and Ma'n secured some 30,000 slaves; but his success does not appear to have been of any substantial character. Balādhuri tells us that "Sijistān was never completely subjugated,"

<sup>1</sup> Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, p. 41.

though "the 'āmils of al-Mahdī (775-85 A.D.) and ar-Rashīd (786-80 A.D.) continued to collect tribute from Ratbīl as well as they could, and kept appointing their agents to rule over the regions to which Islam had reached." The same authority tells us that when al-Ma'mūn, son of ar-Rashīd, was in Khurāsān (c. 808-818 A.D.), "double tribute was paid to him, and he subdued Kābul, whose king professed Islam, and promised obedience."<sup>1</sup> That these expeditions of Ma'mūn had no lasting effect is proved by the fact that Ratbīl was still ruling in Kābul in c. 253 A.H. (A.D. 867) when the sons of Darhim, Naṣr and Ṣāhīḥ, fled to him after the conquest of Sijistān by Ya'qūb ibn Layth.<sup>2</sup> Ya'qūb captured Herat in the same year, and in A.H. 256 (A.D. 870), turning against Ratbīl, marched to Kābul and conquered it.<sup>3</sup> But the Ṣaffārīds were soon displaced by the Persian Samanīds; and the latter, as we shall see further on, do not appear to have made any vigorous effort to extend their authority in the Kābul valley.

The above is a meagre account of the struggles of the Arabs for about two hundred years (c. 650-860 A.D.) with the Indian princes of the Helmund and the Kābul valleys. Though Balādhurī once refers to a *Kābul-Shāh*,<sup>4</sup> yet he makes it quite clear that the line of princes designated by him as Ratbīl held sovereign power over the whole region indicated above. We find these princes sometimes not only preventing the Arabs from advancing beyond Zairanj, but also successfully negotiating alliances with the representatives of the Caliph "for his own country and the land of Kābul." It is thus likely that the *Satrap* on the Helmund as well as the *Kābul-Shāh* were subordinate to this powerful line of princes.<sup>5</sup> That they were Hindus seems to

<sup>1</sup> This account of Arab advance towards the Kābul valley is mainly taken from Balādhurī *KFB*, Part II, pp. 139-55      <sup>2</sup> *TN*, 1881, Vol. I, p. 22, fn 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 22; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Fasciculus A, 1924, p. 55; also *Jāmi' ul-Hikāyat*, in *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 172

<sup>4</sup> *KFB*, Part II, p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Gibb, *Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia* in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, Vol. II, 1921-23, pp. 613-22.

be hinted at by the description of the image of Zūr and the epithet 'polytheists' applied to them and their soldiers. But it is uncertain what the word Ratbil actually means. There is no doubt that it was a *title* and not a personal name, for it is assumed by successive princes from father to son. Scholars are agreed that the word is not Arabic, and may possibly be Turkish.<sup>1</sup> In that case the identification of this line of princes with the descendants of the Śāhis who ruled south of the Hindukush from about the middle of the fifth century onwards is probable. Whether these princes are further to be identified with the princes of Kia-pi-shi, noticed by Yuan Chwang must remain in the present state of our knowledge uncertain. But the fact that the Ratbils are found ruling in the Kābul valley in the middle of the 9th century A.D., the period which, according to al-Bīrūnī and Kalhaṇa,<sup>2</sup> saw the extinction of the *Turki Śāhis*, seems to favour such an identification. In that case we can explain why the kings of Kia-pi-shi, who formerly lived in Und<sup>3</sup> gradually shifted their sphere of activity further to the west and south. The rise of the Kārkoṭas in Kashmir, who conquered Ta-ch'a-shi-lo (Takṣaśilā) from them effectively blocked their advance towards the east while the lofty Hindukush range was a barrier in the north and the north-west. Thus it was only in the south and the south-west, along the valley of the Helmund that they could extend their power; and it is interesting to note that it was here, and not across the Hindukush, that the Arabs first came into conflict with them. The position of the Śāhis, during this period, threatened as they were by powerful enemies from the north and the south, was

<sup>1</sup> On this word see J. Marquart, *Erānsāhr, Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge, Band III, No. 2, pp. 248 ff.* Review of the same by Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, 1902, Band LVI, p. 432; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 1928, pp. 216 ff.; De Goeje in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1902, Vol. XVI, pp. 192-95

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, pp. 72 and 75-76

<sup>3</sup> *Life*, p. 192.

critical. But the raids of the Arabs on the southern dominions of Kashmir,<sup>1</sup> must have soon convinced the Kārkoṭas of the common danger threatening the Indian states; and this had probably something to do with the policy pursued by Lalitāditya Muktāpīda (c. 713-750 A D ), who conferred high offices on the *Śāhi* princes in his court.<sup>2</sup> But, as we shall see further on, this wise policy was not followed by his successors.

The necessity of this twofold struggle must have been a terrible strain on the *Śāhis*, and probably largely contributed to bring about the revolution which is described by al-Bīrūnī.<sup>3</sup> The last *Tunkī Śāhi* prince Lagatūrmān was imprisoned by his Brahman Vazīr, Kallār, who founded an independent dynasty which may be conveniently called the *Hindu Śāhis*.<sup>4</sup> According to al-Bīrūnī, after him “ ruled the Brahman kings Sāmānd (Sāmanta), Kamalū, Bhīm (Bhīma), Jaypāl (Jayapāla), Ānandapāla, Tarojanapāla (Trilocanapāla). The latter was killed in A H. 412 (A D. 1021) and his son Bhīmapāla five years later (A.D. 1026) ”<sup>5</sup> Though al-Bīrūnī makes it clear that the dynasty was destroyed in the first quarter of the 11th century, as a result of the invasion of the Yamīnīs of Ghazna, he does not supply any details about the history of the *Hindu Śāhis*. For this we have to depend mainly on other Muhammadan chroniclers and the *Rājataranginī* of Kalhaṇa. The following verses from the latter source which describe the victories of the Kashmirian prince Śaṅkaravarman (c. 883-902) appears to have an important bearing on the history of these later *Śāhis* :

“ The firmly rooted fortune of *Alakhāna*, king of *Gūrjara*, he uprooted in battle in a moment, and made a long grief rise (in its place).

<sup>1</sup> *KFB*, Part II, pp. 280-81.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājataranginī* of Kalhaṇa, IV, 142-43; see also Stein's *Eng. Trans.*, Vol. I, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>4</sup> Some call them *Brahman Śāhis*.

<sup>5</sup> *KH*, *Eng. Trans.* by Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13.

The ruler of Gūrjara gave up to him humbly the *Takka*-land preserving (hereby) his own country as (if he had saved) his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger.

He caused the sovereign power, which the superior king *Bhoja* had seized, to be given up to the scion of the *Thakkiya* family, who had become his servant in the office of Chamberlain.

*Alakhāna*'s support, the illustrious *Lalliya Sāhi*—who, (placed) between the rulers of the *Darads*, and *Turuskas* as between a lion and a boar, resembled *Āryāvarta* (as it lies) between the *Himālaya* and *Vindhya* (mountains), in whose town of *Udabhāṇḍa* (other) kings found safety, just as the mountains in the ocean, when threatened by the danger of having their wings cut (by Indra); whose mighty glory (outshone) the kings in the north, just as the sun-disc (outshines) the stars in heaven,—he was not received into service by (Śaṅkaravarman), who desired to remove him from his sovereign position.”<sup>1</sup>

In describing the achievements of Prabhākaradeva, the minister of Gopālavarman (c. 902-04 A.D.) and the paramour of the queen-mother Sugandhā, Kalhaṇa further adds :

“ As superintendent of treasury (*Kośādhyaksa*), he plundered the riches of the amorous (queen) and vanquished the *Sāhi* kingdom at *Udabhāṇḍapura*.

He bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious *Sāhi* upon *Toramāna*, *Lalliya*'s son, and gave him the new name *Kamaluka*.”<sup>2</sup>

The first thing that strikes us in the verses quoted above is the testimony of the historian of Kashmir to the strength of the illustrious *Sāhi* princes.<sup>3</sup> Their dominions were placed between the *Darads* and the *Turuṣkas*. The seat of the *Darads* appears to have extended ‘from Citral and Yasin, across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Cilas, and Bunji, to the Kisanganga valley in

<sup>1</sup> Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, pp. 205-06; verses 149-55 of Book V.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 217, V. 232-33.

<sup>3</sup> See also *Rājatarangīnī*, VII, 68-69; VIII, 3230.

the immediate north of Kashmir.'<sup>1</sup> The *Turuṣkas* in the south were undoubtedly the Muhammadans, who were waging unceasing war against the Indian rulers of Afghanistan and Sīstān for more than two centuries. In spite of the vigorous resistance of the *Sāhis*, the Arabs, we have seen, had advanced step by step till Kābul itself fell in 870 A.D. Against this irresistible pressure, the *Sāhis* were gradually driven towards the Indian frontier, and again transferred their capital to *Udabhāṇḍapura*, the old capital of Kia-pi-shi. Already in the time of Kamalū the *Hindu Sāhis* were known as Rāis of Hindustan.<sup>2</sup>

The next point that is interesting, is the relationship of the *Sāhis* with other Indian States. I have already referred to the wise policy of the *Kārkōṭa* king Lalitāditya who appears to have cultivated a policy of friendship with the *Sāhis*. The verses of Kalhaṇa quoted above seem to indicate that there was also an alliance between the Gurjara king Alakhāna and these princes. Alakhāna appears to have ruled over 'the upper portion of the flat Doab between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers, south of Dārvābhisāra, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east.'<sup>3</sup> What relations this prince had with the *adhirāja* Bhoja are uncertain. But if the latter is to be identified with the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja, as seems not improbable,<sup>4</sup> then it is not unlikely that the two Gūrjara kings<sup>5</sup> were on terms of friendship with each other. Their hostility to a common enemy, namely the Utpalas might have brought them together. This fact taken together with the well-known hostility of the

<sup>1</sup> *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, p. 47, footnote on Vs. 312-16 of Book I; Vol. II, p. 431; Drew, *Jummoo*, pp. 393 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Life*, p. 192; see Jāmi' 'ul-Hikāyat, Elliot, II, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1922, N.S., Vol. XVIII, p. 268; *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, pp. 53-54; Stein's note on V. 151 of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 206. *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 225; Vol. X, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> The epithets *Gūrjara-bhūbhujā* and *Gūrjar-adhupa* probably indicate that Alakhāna was a 'Gūrjara' king ruling over the Punjab settlement of the 'Gūrjaras.'



Gurjara and *Sāhi* kings towards the Arabs, may indicate some sort of *entente cordiale* between these powers for joint action against their common enemies. By reversing the policy of friendship towards the *Sāhis*, Śaṅkaravarman only made the task of the defence of the Indian frontier against Islam all the more difficult. But Kalhaṇa makes it quite clear that this Utpala prince could not make much headway against the *Sāhis*. His statement that the illustrious Lalliya Śāhi, "whose mighty glory outshone the kings of the north," was not received into service by Śaṅkaravarman because the latter desired to remove him from his sovereign position, is only a politic way of saying that his efforts were fruitless. His violent death in the hills of Urasā (modern Hazara district), not very far from the *Sāhi* capital, may not be entirely unconnected with the hidden hand of the *Sāhis*.

The next question that confronts us is the identification of Lalliya. There is no prince of this name on the list of al-Bīrūnī. He was a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.), and was apparently dead in A.D. 902-04, when Gopālavarman was king of Kashmir. His son Kamalū, as we shall see further on, was a contemporary of 'Amr ibn Laith (c. 879-900 A.D.). As al-Bīrūnī's account is confirmed whenever we can check it, it is unlikely that he would omit the name of such an important prince as Lalliya. Cunningham first suggested that Kallār of al-Bīrūnī is identical with Lalliya of Kalhaṇa.<sup>1</sup> Stein has pointed out that Kalhaṇa's description of Lalliya Śāhi's great power and repute, agrees singularly with what al-Bīrūnī has to tell us of the 'energetic founder of the *Hindu Shāhiya* dynasty.'<sup>2</sup> 'The proposed identification of Kallār with Lalliya finds further support in the convincing conjecture by which Prof. Ch. Seybold, in his remarks on the *Indica* of al-Bīrūnī, has explained the apparent difference of the

names. Prof. Seybold sees in the form كتر of the single MS. which has preserved for us the text of the *Indica* a misread لتي or لتيه, and accounts for such a corruption by well-known palaeographic peculiarities of Arabic manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> Edward Thomas referred to this prince certain silver coins of the Bull-and-horseman type with the legend *Syālapatideva*. This identification, based on a possible mistake of the copyists, a ك for س, was rightly rejected by Elliot as unwarranted.<sup>2</sup> But there is no inherent impossibility in the guess of the latter authority that the subversion of the *Turki Sāhiyas* by Lalliya may have occurred about 850 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

The next prince in the list of al-Bīrūnī is Sāmānd. This is probably the nameless *Sāhi* prince referred to as contemporary of Gopālavarman (c. 902-04 A.D.), who was overthrown by the Kashmirian minister Prabhākaradeva.<sup>4</sup> His relationship with Kallār-Lalliya is not known, but he appears to have carried on the policy of hostility of his predecessor against the Utpalas which in the end cost him his throne. A large number of coins with the legend *Sāmāntadeva* of the Bull-and-horseman type, which are found in large quantities, not only in Afghanistan, but throughout the Punjab and the whole of Northern India, have been attributed to this prince. One such coin was found "at a place called Obrzycko in the province of Posen, in company of 30 different kings of Europe and Asia."<sup>5</sup> Mr. E. Thomas was of opinion that this profusion of coins with his legend is to be explained by 'his having called in the coins of his Buddhist predecessors in order to give prevalence to his own creed of Brahmanism by the substitution of the Bull-and-horseman type for that of the Elephant-and-lion, which is considered emblematic of Buddhism.' But as Elliot has pointed out this

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, ZDMG, 1894, Band XLVIII, pp. 699-700.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS*, 1848, Vol. IX, p. 180; *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 425

<sup>4</sup> *Rājataranginī*, V. 232-33

<sup>5</sup> *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 422; *JRAS*, 1848, Vol. IX, p. 178.

“supposition seems to be defeated by the fact of our finding Sāmanta coins with elephants also upon them.”<sup>1</sup> It is likely that Sāmanta became so celebrated that his type was imitated by later rulers.<sup>2</sup>

According to al-Bīrūnī the next king was Kamalū, presumably the same ruler, who is referred to in the *Jawāmi‘ ul-Hikāyāt* of Muhammad ‘Aufī (c. 1212. A.D.) as Kamalū Rāy of Hīndustan, the contemporary and opponent of the Šaffārid ruler ‘Amr ibn Layth (c. 879-900 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> This synchronism helps us also to identify him with Toramāna, Lallīya’s son, who according to Kalhana was given the dominions of the rebellious Sāhi (Sāmand) and upon whom was conferred the new name *Kamaluka* by the minister of the Utpala king Gopālavarman (c. A.D. 902-04)<sup>4</sup> This invalidates Elliot’s suggestion that Kamalū’s reign commenced in 890 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Both Kalhana and the Muhammadan writers are silent about the relationship of Toramāna-Kamalū with his predecessor. Mr. E. Thomas proposed to identify this prince with the *Khvadavayaka* or *Khedavayaka* of the coins from the similarity of the metal and style of latter’s coinage with the other issues of the Sāhis. His attempt to justify his thesis by “mutations, blots, or intermixture of letters” was rightly rejected by Elliot as too fantastic.<sup>6</sup>

The next ruler, according to al-Bīrūnī, was Bhīm, no doubt the same ruler who is mentioned by Kalhana as the maternal grandfather of Diddā, the queen of the Kashmirian king Kṣema-

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol. II, p. 422; *JRAS*, 1848, Vol. IX, pp. 182-83 and 275.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS*, 1848, Vol. IX, pp. 181-82, 275 *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 561-62, 584 “Coinage bearing his (Hermæus) name and his types was issued by his conquerors until a much later date, in the same way and for the same reasons that the East India Company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Mughal Emperor, Shāh ‘Alam.” Rapson.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot, Vol. II, p. 172. This date for Kamalū involves a correction by a few years of the date of Gopālavarman (902-04 A.D.) as given by Kalhana.

<sup>4</sup> *Rājataranginī*, V. 282-83. The dates given here are taken from Stein and are to be regarded as only approximate.

<sup>5</sup> Elliot, Vol. II, p. 424.

<sup>6</sup> *JRAS*, 1848, Vol. IX, p. 180; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 423; *CMI*, p. 64.

gupta (c. 950-58 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Diddā was the daughter of king Simharāja, the lord of Lohara (modern valley of Loh<sup>a</sup>rin or *Loran* immediately to the south of Pīr Pāntsal range, in the hill State of Punch)<sup>2</sup> and other strongholds, who had apparently married a daughter of Bhīma *Sāhi* of Udabhāṇḍapura. The influence and power enjoyed by the *Sāhis* in Kashmir during this period is illustrated by the fact that already during Kṣemagupta's lifetime Bhīma built a richly endowed temple of Viṣṇu called Bhīmakeśava in the adoptive country of his grand-daughter the remains of which have been traced by Stein in a Muhammadan Zirāt at Bum<sup>a</sup>zu<sup>3</sup> near Mārtānda. Certain silver coins with the legend *Śrī-Bhīmadeva*, which are mainly found in Kābulistān, have been referred by numismatists to this ruler.<sup>4</sup> From the facts detailed above it is certain that the birth of Bhīma cannot be pushed back beyond 920 A.D.<sup>5</sup> He was certainly ruling in 950-58, but we do not know when he was succeeded by the next ruler, Jaypāl, who is well-known from Muslim chronicles as the opponent of the Yamīnī kings of Ghaznī. Kalhaṇa is silent about this ruler, though he mentions the defeat of an otherwise unknown *Sāhi* prince named Thakkana in the reign of Abhi-manyu (958-72 A.D.) the son of Diddā. Yaśodhara the Commander-in-chief, we are told, 'out of spite' rapidly invaded his country 'which is difficult of access on account of its streams and mountains' and capturing the *Sāhi* prince 'by force' compelled him to 'pay tribute and homage.'<sup>6</sup> The fact that Thakkana does not occur in the list of al-Bīrūnī lends some strength to the suspicion that his list contains the names of only

<sup>1</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VI, 176-78; VII, 1081.

<sup>2</sup> Stein's Eng. Trans. of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Eng. Trans., Vol. I, pp. 104-05; pp. 249-50, footnote on V. 177-78.

<sup>4</sup> *CMI*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>5</sup> *Sāhis son Kābul*, p. 201. If we take it that Diddā was 15 when she was married to Ksemagupta (950-58 A.D.) and that she was born when her mother, the daughter of Bhīma was 15, then the birth of Diddā's mother falls in c. 920 A.D.

<sup>6</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VI, 230-86.

important rulers and is by no means to be taken as successive.<sup>1</sup> That Jayapāla is not the son of Bhīma appears to be indicated by Firishta, who gives Ishtpāl<sup>2</sup> (Iṣṭapāla?) as the name of Jayapāla's father ; but we need not agree with Elliot that the " introduction of the term 'Pāl' " should indicate a change of dynasty. The same phenomenon appears in the history of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj, though there was no dynastic change.<sup>3</sup>

I have already briefly referred to the gradual advance of the Arabs on this frontier. The Ṣaffārīd ruler Ya'qūb is said to have captured Kābul in 870 A.D., while his brother 'Amr, the next ruler, claims to have defeated Kamalū, the *Śāhi* king. The Samanids of Transoxania, who succeeded them, do not appear to have made any systematic efforts to extend their power in the Kābul valley. In c. 322 A.H (933 A.D.), when the power of the Samanids was already on the decline, we find a person named Abu Bakr-i-Lawīk ruling as *Wālī* of Zābulistān at Ghazni.<sup>4</sup> As the word *Wālī* signifies a chief or a sovereign, it is likely that he held almost an independent power.<sup>5</sup> In c. 933 A.D. this ruler was driven out of Ghazni by Alp-tigīn, a Turkish slave of the Samanīd Amīr Maṣṣūr, who founded an independent power and repulsed all the efforts of his former masters to dislodge him.<sup>6</sup> The establishment of this Turkish principality at once led to a renewal of the vigorous forward policy of the early Arabs, which further drove the *Śāhis* towards the Punjab and ultimately led to their extinction in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. Of their once extensive dominions on the Kābul and Helmund

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol. II, p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs is wrong when he gives this name in his translation as *Hutpal*. The name is clearly *اِسْتِپَال* (Istipāl); see lithographed Lucknow Ed. (1864), Vol. I, p. 19; Bombay Ed. (1881), Vol. I, p. 32; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 425, fn. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See *JL*, Vol. X, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *TN*, Vol. I, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, footnote 5 on p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, footnote 4 on p. 48.

rivers, Lamghān now alone remained. According to Firishta, the dominions of Jayapāla 'extended in length from Sirhind to Lamghān and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmir to Multan.'<sup>1</sup> We are further told that 'he resided in the fort of Bhatinda (بھٹیندا in Patiala State) for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Mahommedan,' who troubled him by their repeated invasions.<sup>2</sup> Thus pushed by an irresistible pressure, the *Sāhis*, like many others in Indian History, were compelled to take shelter in the Punjab. Fortunately for them the power of the kings of Kashmir, the Amirs of Multan, and the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj was on the decline during this period. And this no doubt helped them in re-creating their kingdom in the land of the five rivers. Thanks to these favourable circumstances they had again become so powerful that Minhāj ud-Dīn calls Jayapāla the 'greatest of the Raes of Hind.'<sup>3</sup> Strategic reasons had also compelled them to transfer their capital from their ancient seat at Udabhāndapur, the Waihand of al-Bīrūnī<sup>4</sup> (mod Und, near Attock on the Indus), to a city beyond the Sutlej. From the frequent reference to Jayapāla as Rājā of Lahore in Firishta, it appears that that city marked an earlier stage in the migration of the capital from Ohind to Bhatinda.<sup>5</sup>

Firishta informs us that during the lifetime of Alp-tigīn (c. 933-963 A.D.), his general Sabuk-tigīn had already commenced predatory excursions in the provinces of Lamghān and Multan. In my chapter on Sind I have indicated how these invasions led to the organisation of an alliance between the *Sāhis* and the Amirs of Multan.<sup>6</sup> Before the accession of

<sup>1</sup> *TF*, Brigg's Eng. Trans., Vol I, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>3</sup> *TN*, Vol. I, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Sachau's Eng. Trans of *KH*, Vol. I, pp. 206, 269, 317.

<sup>5</sup> *TF*, Brigg's Eng. Trans., Vol I, pp. 9, 17, 52, 54, etc. *The Encyclopadia of Islam*, number 37, 1928, p. 9, refers to Bhera on the Jhelum as a still earlier capital but I cannot find the original reference to this statement; Elliot also makes this statement, Vol. II, p. 426.

<sup>6</sup> See *supra*, p. 25.

Sabuk-tigīn (c. 977 A.D.), he aided Pīrey in 973 A.D. to defeat "a body of infidels who had advanced out of Hind for the purpose of seizing Ghaznin."<sup>1</sup> This was probably one of the first fruits of the alliance referred to above. When Sabuk-tigīn became king he succeeded through diplomacy in detaching Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī from the side of the *Śāhis*.<sup>2</sup> Then, "girding up his loins for a war of religion he endeavoured to desolate the territories of Rājā Jaypāl... ....the ruler of Hindustan."<sup>3</sup> These attacks appear to have been utterly unprovoked by any acts of hostility on Jayapāla's part, and resulted in the conquest of "many castles and strongholds," which no doubt "augmented the boundaries of his kingdom. But when Jaypāl, king of Hindustan, observed these things and saw the line of his frontier continually diminishing, and immeasurable fractures and losses every moment caused in his States, that grievance rendered him disturbed and inconsolable.....He saw no remedy, except in beginning to act, and to take up arms. He assembled, therefore, all his princes, feudatories, nobles, and allies and with a great army approached the Musalmān territory. When Nasir-ud-Dīn perceived this he marched from Ghazni against Jaypāl. They came together upon the frontiers of each state. Each army mutually attacked the other, fought and resisted in every way, until the face of the earth was stained red with the blood of the slain, and the lions and warriors of both armies and nations were worn out and reduced to despair. Then.....(Prince Maḥmūd) remarked that all skill and intelligence was unequal to the subjugation of this fort, and that all human power fell short against it."<sup>4</sup> In this crisis a snowstorm came as a godsend

<sup>1</sup> *TN*, Vol. I, p. 78, fn. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> *TA*, Eng. Trans. by B. Dey, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the Indians were fighting from a fortified position. *KY* (c. 1020 A.D.), Eng. Trans. from the Persian version by James Reynolds, London, pp. 33-36. I shall mainly depend upon this contemporary authority; other sources will be indicated whenever referred to.

to the Muhammadans. The atmosphere suddenly changed and "from the sharpness of the extreme cold, drew over itself a grey mist, so that patience could no longer endure such sufferings, and they were near unto the fate of death." The Indian army, which was mainly recruited from the plains, naturally suffered most,<sup>1</sup> and negotiations for peace were opened by Jayapāla. In the course of these parleys the *Sāhi* monarch is said to have sent the following characteristic message to Sabuk-tigīn.

"You have heard and know the nobleness of Indians, how that, in seasons of extremity, they fear not death or destruction. They run the edge of the sword over those who wrong them, when there is no means of escaping the blade. In affairs of honour and renown we would place ourselves upon the fire like roast meat, and upon the dagger like the sunrays."<sup>2</sup>

Sabuk-tigīn was convinced of the truth of Jayapāla's statement, and consented to the terms offered. According to 'Utbi these were: "by way of ransom 1,000 packets of 1,000 *dīnārs* sterling, and five stables full of elephants,"<sup>3</sup> and cession of "some cities of Hindustan and some fortresses within the heart of his kingdom" and the supply of hostages "until the terms of the treaty should be carried into effect... ..when the territories and fortresses should be restored." We are told by this writer and all subsequent authorities that when Jayapāla "had gone a few stages and was in safety, and was secure in the midst of his kingdom,"<sup>4</sup> his base and evil nature led him to infringe the treaty. He entered upon measures contrary thereto, and as certain persons were with him, by way of doing him honour and for the purpose of taking possession of the fortresses and territories ceded by the agreement,

<sup>1</sup> *TA*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *KY*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Nigām-ud-Dīn* and *Firishta* the number of elephants was fifty.

<sup>4</sup> According to *TF*, *Brigg's Eng. Trans.*, Vol. I, p. 17, Jayapāla refused payment on reaching Lahore on the advice of his Brahman advisers.



he threw them into prison, by way of reprisal for some of his comrades and company, who were detained at the Amīr's court as a measure of retaliation." Nizām-ud-Dīn clearly states that Jayapāla "imprisoned the agents of Amīr Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, in retaliation for the imprisonment of the men whom he had left as hostages."<sup>1</sup> The Muslim historians, as usual, throw all the blame on Jayapāla; but it is not unlikely that this was a mere pretext for renewing hostilities on both sides. Situated as they were, there could be no lasting peace between these two states, and we are told that after this, Sabuk-tigīn "proceeded to the country of the infidel traitor, and wheresoever he came he plundered and sacked the country until it was annihilated. He dug up and burnt down all its buildings and killed these deceivers and infidels, carrying away their children and cattle as booty. He made the territory of *Lamghān*, which had been the most populous and flourishing of all that country, entirely stripped and bare. He mastered several other territories, and, destroying their temples, their sacred buildings, and their churches built mosques in their stead, making the light of Islam visible." On this Jayapāla "invoked help, and despatched letters seeking succour, to the various provinces of India imploring aid." Nizām-ud-Dīn does not mention the names of the *Rājās* of Hindustan, but Firishṭa particularly mentions the names of the princes of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj who assisted Jayapāla with men and money.<sup>2</sup> All the authorities however are agreed that the army of Jayapāla mainly consisted of 100,000 cavalry. To this Nizām-ud-Dīn adds "many elephants" and Firishṭa, "an innumerable host of foot." Evidently Jayapāla

<sup>1</sup> TA, p 3.

<sup>2</sup> TA, p., 3 TF, Brigg's Eng Trans., p. 18. V. Smith has suggested that the date of this battle was 990, or possibly 991 A.D. He also suggests that the Rājā of Kalinjar was Dhaṅga Candel but he was not sure about the identity of the others. He says "until the date of accession of Rājapāla (c. 990-1019 A. D.) is settled, it is impossible to settle whether he or his father (Vijayapāla, c 955-90 A.D) was the ally of Jaipāl at the time referred to" JRAS, 1909, Part I, pp. 275-76

was making a supreme effort to crush his foe. Starting from his kingdom he marched "towards the capital of Islam"<sup>2</sup> (Ghazni). 'Utbī does not tell us the place of the battle, but according to Nizām-ud-Dīn and Firishta "the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Lamghān." The Hindu army appeared to their enemies "like the boundless ocean and in numbers like the ants and locusts of the wilderness." But though the forces of Islam were fewer in number, the superior generalship of their leader compensated for this. Sabuk-tigīn divided his soldiers into squadrons of 500 men each, which were directed to attack successively one particular point of the Hindu line, so that it might continually have to encounter fresh troops. The Hindus being worse mounted than the cavalry of Sabuk-tigīn, were unable to withstand them, and, wearied out by the manoeuvre just mentioned began to give way. Sabuk-tigīn, perceiving their disorder, made a general assault; "the Hindus were everywhere defeated, and fled and were pursued, with great slaughter to the banks of the Nīlab."<sup>1</sup> This was the last invasion of Ghazni by Jayapāla and 'Utbī informs us that "from this time the Hindus drew in their tails and sought no more to invade the land. As a result of this war Jayapāla practically lost all territory to the west of the Indus, including Lamghān, and Peshawar. The latter place was put in charge of an official of Ghazni with a force of 10,000 horse."<sup>2</sup> The possession of the strategic outpost at Peshawar placed the remaining territories of Jayapāla at the mercy of the Yamīnīs, and they were not long in taking advantage of their position. Sabuk-tigīn died in 997 A.D. After a short interval his son Mahmūd succeeded him and at once renewed hostilities against the *Sāhis*. In 1000 A.D., apparently without any provocation on Jaya-

(<sup>1</sup>) نيلاب Indus, KY, pp. 40-42; TA, pp. 3-4; TF, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 18-19; TN, Vol. I, p. 74.

(<sup>2</sup>) 'Utbī only says, "this territory was entirely annexed to the lands of Islam," while Nizām-ud-Dīn says, "the Lamghān country came into the possession of Amīr Nasir-ud-Dīn." It is only Firishta who adds Peshawar. None of the authorities gives the dates of these wars of Sabuk-tigīn. See NA, pp. 320-21.

pāla's part, Mahmūd appears to have invaded the districts west of the Indus capturing "many forts and provinces."<sup>1</sup> But this was only a *reconnaissance en force*, a mere prelude to a more ambitious attempt, which took place in 1001 A.D. In that year with a well equipped body of 10,000 picked cavalry he came into Peshawar.<sup>2</sup> The object of the Sultān was plunder and loot, and it affords us an interesting insight into the mentality of the Muslim chroniclers when they express surprise at the intelligence that Jayapāla intended to resist this wanton attack on his independence. The following quotation from 'Utbī is an illustration —

"But this vile infidel advanced in opposition to the standards of the Sultān with 8,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry, and 300 elephants. The earth groaned under the pain of their boots. And when the distance between the two armies was but small, the infidel began to delay the commencement of the battle and the onset, in order that the rear of the troops and those men of the army who were coming up behind the others should arrive. The Sultān perceived this stratagem and hastened forward, and wrested the power of choice from his hand."<sup>3</sup>

The last portion of this passage appears to indicate that Jayapāla was taken by surprise and had to hasten to meet the

<sup>1</sup> This is the statement of Firishta see *op cit*, p. 36, but *TA*, p. 5, has "seized a few forts and returned"

<sup>2</sup> Mr Dey, the translator of *TA*, p 5, fn 1, doubts whether this is the modern city of that name, as "the latter city was generally called Bagram up to the time of Bābar and Akbar" But it should be noted that both 'Utbī and Nizām-ud-Dīn give the name of the city as *Parshāwar* (پرشاور), which approaches the ancient form *Puruṣapura*, the *Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo*, of Yuan Chwang, which is identified by scholars with modern Peshawar. Mr. Dey again seems to have fallen into a blunder by translating the text of Nizām-ud-Dīn about this war. According to his translation Mahmūd "attacked Pārsāwar" but the text (see p. 8) is: — *باده هزار سرار بر پرشاور در آمد* which indicates that "he came to Peshawar" which was already in the possession of Sabuk-tigin in 977 A.D. 'Utbī says about this invasion that Mahmūd "set forward into the territory over against Parshāwar, in the midst of the land of Hindustan." *TY*, p. 280. This seems to support our interpretation of Nizām-ud-Dīn.

<sup>3</sup> *TY*, p. 281.

enemy before his mobilization was complete. The battle that took place was well contested. Nizām-ud-Dīn tells us that "the two armies fought with each other and showed much gallantry," while Firishta refers to the struggle as obstinate. But in the end victory fell to Maḥmūd. According to 'Utbī : "at the time of mid-day nearly 5,000 carcasses of the infidels cut in half by the sword lay upon the field of battle, as food for dogs and as a gift for wolves and fifty elephants were cut down by the stroke of arrows and of swords. Moreover, they seized Jayapāla with all his family and children and kindred, and a considerable number of his intimate officers, in the snaring rope of violence and brought them as prisoners before the Sultān." <sup>1</sup>

According to all the authorities this battle took place on the 8th of Muharram, 392 A.H. (c. 1001 A.D.). Amongst the booty obtained by the Sultān Muslim chroniclers give much prominence to the necklaces (*mālā*) worn by Jayapāla and his chiefs. According to Nizām-ud-Dīn and Firishta, the *mālā* worn by the *Sāhi* prince was valued by experts 'at 180,000 *dīnārs*,' <sup>2</sup> while 'Utbī gives the value of all the 'precious stones,' 'glittering pearls and valuable rubies' at 200,000 *dīnārs* of 'red gold.'

After this victory, Maḥmūd pressed his advantage by a forward push, and commanding the army "to fly forth into the province of Hindustan," went to Bhatinda, "the place of residence of Jaypāl and reduced it after a siege." <sup>3</sup> According to 'Utbī Maḥmūd then made "friendship with him (Jayapāla) and took his son as a hostage for the confirmation of his promise, and dismissed him to his own country." Nizām-ud-Dīn is silent on the point, but Firishta says that the prisoners were released "on payment of a large ransom, and on their

<sup>1</sup> KY, pp. 281-282

<sup>2</sup> Valuing the *dīnār* at 9s., Briggs has calculated that this sum would make £81,000. See his Eng Trans, p. 38 fn


<sup>3</sup> TA, p. 5; TF, Briggs's Trans., Vol. I, p. 38.

stipulating for *an annual tribute*.<sup>1</sup> According to both 'Utbī and Firishta, Jayapāla after being released resigned the crown to his son. He "shaved his head, and threw himself into fire and went into the lowest pits of hell." But they differ as to the reasons which led him to this decision. 'Utbī says: "Now in mid-India it had been a long time established as a rule that if any king fell as a prisoner into the hands of the Muslims, he should no longer hold his kingdom and that no more allegiance should effectually appertain to him." But Firishta says: "It is said that, in those days, a custom prevailed among the Hindus that whatever *rājā* was twice overpowered by strangers became disqualified to reign."<sup>2</sup> As Jayapāla was defeated more than twice, I think the tradition contained in the *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī* is more reliable.

Jayapāla was succeeded by his son Ānandapāla in about 1001-02 A.D. At this time the extent of the territories of the *Sāhis* in the south reached the borders of the Amirate of Multan and included the principality of Bhera (Bahātīh, Bhātīah) situated on the west bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range. Taking advantage of the misfortunes of Jayapāla, its feudatory *rājā* Bijay Rāy appears to have "refused to pay his proportion of tribute to Ānandapāla."<sup>3</sup> Maḥmūd made this a pretext to invade the *Sāhi* dominions again in 1004 A.D. Firishta says that Maḥmūd undertook this invasion because "the tribute from Hindustan has not been paid." It is not unlikely that Ānandapāla represented to the Sultān that he was unable to pay anything so long as

<sup>1</sup> KY, p. 283, TF, p. 38. According to the TN, Vol. I, p. 82, Jayapāla was kept as prisoner at Man-Yazid, in Khurāsān. The sum of his ransom is fixed by the same authority at 80 dirhams, but, as Raverty points out, this is probably a mistake for 80,000. See *ibid*, footnote 7.

<sup>2</sup> KY, p. 283; TF, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> TF, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 39; Briggs writes the name of the ruler of Bhera as 'Beey Ray.' But in the lithographed text it is  and so it can be read as 'Bijay Rāy,' i.e., Vijaya-rāya.

he was not paid by the *rājā* of Bhera. But what appears to be more probable is that next to Peshawar Mahmūd wanted another stronghold on the plains of the Punjab, to serve as a base for his ambitious programme of plunder and temple spoliation. Bhera was such a place. In the picturesque language of 'Utbī: "this city had a wall whose height could be reached only by eagles. Its sentinel, if he wished, might hold converse with the stars, and its watchman, if he desired, might give kisses upon the lip of the planet Venus"<sup>1</sup> From its safe retreat therefore he could deal easy blows against the Muhammadan principalities of the lower Indus valley, and what was more important, crush the *Śāhis*, whose territory blocked his advance into the rich countries of the trans-Gangetic plain. The *rājā* of Bhera "relying on his lofty hill and drunk in the pride of his numerous followers, came out of the city and trusting in the might of his heroes and the majesty of his fortune, stood the engagement." For three days successively the battle raged fiercely outside the walls of the city, until the Indians were driven into the fortress, which was besieged. Bijay Rāy escaped from the fort with a few followers but being pursued "drew his piercing *lhanjar*, and falling, resigned his fearless life, and impure soul... ..amidst the ranks of hell." Mahmūd thereupon "spread the carpet of the Muhammadan religion and law, and drew the people of those provinces into the bond of Islam, and arranged the construction of mosques and pulpits."<sup>2</sup>

Soon after the conquest of Bhera, Mahmūd turned his attention to Multan, whose rulers had most unwisely dissolved their alliance with the *Śāhis* and stood aside while the fortunes of Jayapāla and his son were being laid low by the cruel blows of the unscrupulous Turk. Its ruler Dā'ūd now realised when

<sup>1</sup> KY, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 324-25 The stubborn nature of this fight and the heroic character of the *rājā* are fully borne out by Firishta, who says that the Muslims suffered so much that they "were on the point of abandoning the enterprise," and "were frequently repulsed with slaughter" TF, Briggs's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 39-40.

it was too late that "if a barrier was not expeditiously raised against this roaring torrent" it would soon overwhelm the states of India whether they be Hindu or Muslim. In 1005 A.D. when Maḥmūd's intention came to his knowledge, he appealed to Ānandapāla to come to his assistance, and Firishta informs us that the latter "true to his alliance," responded to the call.<sup>1</sup> According to 'Utbi, Maḥmūd after crossing the Indus sent to Ānandapāla "a person to request of him that he would permit a passage through the midst of his kingdom that the army of Islam might pass. He, however, placed the hand of repulse upon the face of the Sulṭān's request, and took the road to stubbornness and obstinacy."<sup>2</sup> The struggle that ensued was thus caused by the perfectly legitimate objections of Ānandapāla to the use of his territory as a base of operations against a friendly and peaceful power. Maḥmūd at once extended "the hand of plunder, levelling, destruction and burning into his villages and cities." Ānandapāla was defeated and driven from "one strait into another and from one path to another" until he was expelled to the province of Kashmīr. According to Firishta, Ānandapāla was defeated near Peshawar and pursued as far as the town of Sodra (Wazīrabad, 50 miles north of Lahore) on the left bank of the Chenab.<sup>3</sup> It seems likely that it was during this campaign that Sukhapāla, one of the sons of the Śāhi king, was taken prisoner in Peshawar by Abu 'Alī Simjuri, one of the generals of Maḥmūd. Sukhapāla appears to have accepted Islam under the name of Nawāsa Shāh, and when Maḥmūd hastened from Multan to meet the Turkish Ilak Khān, he "placed the management of the affairs of Hindustan" in the hands of this prince.<sup>4</sup> The crossing of the Oxus by a fresh body

<sup>1</sup> TF, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

<sup>2</sup> KY, pp. 327-28.

<sup>3</sup> TF, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> The name is نواسه شاه. Reynolds gives it wrongly as "Nawastah Shāh or (Zab Sais)." See the Arabic text of *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī* given on the margin of *Ta'rikh ul-Kāmil*, Bulak, Cairo, 1874, Vol. XI, p. 158. KY, p. 388; TF, Vol. I, p. 41; TA, p. 6.

of the Turks under Ilak Khān was only one of the acts of the drama which was being played in the North of Hindukush, at least from the beginning of historic times. Before the act was over the Yamīnīs of Ghazna, like the *Sāhis* before them, were driven into the valleys of the Punjab rivers. The struggle was even then extremely fierce. This war though in no way directly connected with the history of the *Sāhis*, yet affords us interesting evidence of their nobility, and if we may be permitted to say so, lack of opportunism which is the basis of all successful statesmanship. Al-Bīrūnī tells us that when Maḥmūd was thus fighting a life-and-death struggle with Ilak Khān and "imploring the Almighty to strengthen his right hand and forgive his errors," Ānandapāla sent the following letter to the Sultān of Ghazna :—

"I have learned that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khurāsān. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot soldiers and 100 elephants, or if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression which this will make on you. I have been conquered by you, I do not wish that another man should conquer you."<sup>1</sup>

Al-Bīrūnī informs us that this epistle was sent to Maḥmūd when the relations between them "were already strained to the utmost." "The same prince," says he, "cherished the bitterest hatred against the Muhammadans from the time when his son was made a prisoner."<sup>2</sup> Though all will share al-Bīrūnī's admiration for the "noble bearing and sentiment" of the prince, historians will nevertheless deplore that by his inaction Ānandapāla lost the only chance of crushing his foe whose unscrupulous ambition unchecked by any moral considerations was soon to bring about the extinction of his line. His short-sighted policy was again responsible for the defeat of his

<sup>1</sup> Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, pp 13-14.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14.



son Sukhapāla, who had returned to the Hindu fold and had thrown off his allegiance to Maḥmūd. This prince took full advantage of the pre-occupations of Maḥmūd in Khurāsān and expelled all the officers of the Sultān from India; but unaided, he was no match for Maḥmūd, who soon after his great victory over Ilak Khān "marched with a great expedition towards India." Sukhapāla was defeated, taken prisoner, and after being compelled to pay 400,000 dirhams was imprisoned for the rest of his life.<sup>1</sup> The nemesis of his faulty policy came in 1008 A.D. when Maḥmūd, disregarding all his noble sentiments, invaded his territories under the pretext of an unfriendly act when Maḥmūd attacked Multan in 1005 A.D. According to Firishta, "Ānandapāl, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides inviting the assistance of other princes of Hindustan, who now considered the expulsion of the Mahommedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly the *rājās* of Ujain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi, and Ajmer entered into confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards Punjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field<sup>2</sup> .. The Hindu women on this occasion sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts), to furnish resources for the war; and the Gukkurs and other warlike tribes joining the army, surrounded the Mahommedans, who were obliged to entrench their camp."<sup>3</sup>

It is surprising however that the contemporary historian 'Utbī gives not the slightest hint about this confederacy. He simply states that "Ānandapāl came to confront him (Maḥmūd) with a numerous army." Niẓām ud-Dīn is also silent on the point. Under the circumstances it is perhaps reasonable to doubt the accuracy of this historian of the 17th century. In

<sup>1</sup> KY, pp. 338-39; TA, p. 6, TF, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Mr V Smith has accepted this statement as historical and has suggested that the Kanauj prince was Rājyapāla, the Kalinjar prince Gaṇḍa, and the Gwalior chief Kacchvāha Kirtirāja. The Delhi and Ajmer chiefs according to him belonged to the Tomara and Cahān tribes; see JRAS, 1909, Vol. I, p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> TF Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 46.

later times Maḥmūd was regarded as a champion of Islam, and it is not impossible that Firishta has exaggerated the amount of opposition which faced Maḥmūd. At any rate there is no evidence outside Firishta that this common danger galvanized the Indian states of Northern India into common action. According to 'Utbī the battle took place on the banks of the Wāhind (Und; Indus). Firishta says that the two armies "arrived in sight of each other on a plain on the confines of the province of Peshawar."<sup>1</sup> The same authority says that the two armies "remained encamped forty days without coming into action," and "the troops of the idolaters daily increased in number." The following account of the battle is taken from *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta*: "Maḥmūd.....ordered 6,000 archers to the front to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by Gukkurs, who, in spite of the king's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops and followed them so closely that no less than 30,000 Gukkurs with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons, penetrated into the Muhammadan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and in a few minutes 5,000 Muhammadans were slain. The enemy were at length checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter, till on a sudden, the elephant, upon which the prince who commanded the Hindus rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha balls, and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic amongst the Hindus, who seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also."<sup>2</sup> In the pursuit 20,000 Hindus are said to have been killed, but it is surprising that after such a victory the spoil that fell to the Sultān was only 30 elephants. This is also confirmed by Nizām ud-Dīn; but 'Utbī gives the number as 60. The serious nature

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*; p. 840 In Reynold's translation the name of the River is Wāmūd while in Elliot it is Wāhind (Vol. II, p. 33). Reynold appears to have mistaken "W" for a "P" TF, Briggs' Trans. Vol. I, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> TF, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 46-47.

and obstinate character of the contest is however confirmed by the following extract from the last historian : “ And from the time that the falcon of morning took his flight from the nest of the horizon, until the crow of darkness, closed her wing, the fire of battle burnt, and the pieces of men’s bodies, hacked by the sword coloured the earth as if by anemones. And it had nearly happened that the army (of the Sultān) were wounded (worsted), and that the infidels had obtained the high hand. However...the Sultān with his own guards made a charge, under which the feet of the infidels were unable to stand.”<sup>1</sup> After this victory Maḥmūd raided and plundered the rich temple of Nagarkot<sup>2</sup> (A. H. 400=1009 A D.) Soon after Maḥmūd again renewed his depredations on the *Śāhi* dominions, and virtually put an end to their independent power. ‘Utbī informs us that “ when the king of Hind witnessed the marks of the wound of the Sultān’s standard in the nearest and most distant part of his kingdom, and ascertained his weakness in resisting the army of Islam, he sent the chiefs of his kindred and the flower of his guards on an embassy to offer submission to the Sultān, and humbled himself, and bound himself to tribute and fidelity, and appointed 60 yokes of elephants to be sent by him as a service to his beloved fortune, and assigned a payment to be mutually arranged, which should be sent yearly by the nobles of that province, and the people of that district to his treasury. And that by way of acting as viceroy, he should keep 2,000 men at his court, and that at all recurring days, and returning months and years he should express fidelity to these conditions, and that the successors and the sons of every one, who should occupy royalty and obtain command in India should proceed upon this decree and

<sup>1</sup> KY, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Referred to as fort of Bhīm ; probably the Epic hero of that name and not any *Śāhi* prince. The value of the booty obtained here as calculated by Briggs was 400 lb. of gold ingots, 4,000 lb. of silver bullion, 40 lb. weight of pearls and precious stones and about £313,333 in specie ; see his Trans., Vol. I, p. 48, fn ; see also Elliot, Vol. II, p. 425.

should obey and follow this law.”<sup>1</sup> The historian naively remarks : “thus the road for caravans and merchants between the districts of Khurāsān and Hind became open.” But more important still, India beyond the Sutlej became open to the rapacity of the Ghaznavid masquerading under the guise of religious zeal. In 1011-12, Mahmūd, disregarding the protests of Ānandapāla, plundered and desecrated the rich temple of Jagarsom (*Cakrasvāmin*) at Thanesar.<sup>2</sup> “The soldiers ravaged and pillaged whatever they could lay their hands upon, broke the idols and carried Jagarsom to Ghaznīn.” According to Firishta, Ānandapāla was not only forced to make arrangements for the safe passage of Mahmūd’s army but “conducted himself with so much policy and hospitality towards Mahmūd, that he returned peaceably to Ghazni.” But he nevertheless records that Mahmūd did not penetrate further east from Thanesar from “apprehension of Ānandapāla, Raja of Lahore.” It was urged by his officers that it would be impossible to keep possession of the conquests in the Ganges-Jumna valley unless the *Śāhis* were completely destroyed.<sup>3</sup> So in 1013-14 A.D., without any provocation on their part Mahmūd again marched against them.

But in the meantime Ānandapāla had died, leaving his son Trilocanapāla to succeed him on the throne.<sup>4</sup> According to al-Bīrūnī he ‘was the very opposite of his father,’ who, as

<sup>1</sup> KY, pp. 361-62

<sup>2</sup> TF, Brigg’s Trans., Vol. I, pp. 51-53. Firishta preserves a copy of the letter containing the request of Ānandapāla to spare the temple, see *ibid*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 52

<sup>4</sup> According to al-Bīrūnī the next prince was Trilocanapāla. He is supported by the *Rājataranginī* of Kalhana, VII, 38 ff, which refers to a *Śāhi* prince of this name, who was a contemporary of Samgrāmarāja (1003-28). The fights of this prince with Hammīra which led to the extinction of the *Śāhis* are clearly referred to by the Kashmirian chronicler, and are in agreement with what is known of the *Śāhi* ruler from Muslim historians. Under the circumstances the *Naro-Jaypāl* of TA (see p. 8, and fn. 2) and *Jaypāl* of TF (Brigg’s Trans., Vol. I, p. 54) appear to be wrong. The difficulty of the Muslim writers in understanding and spelling this name is shown by al-Bīrūnī’s rendering. ‘*Taro-janpāl*,’ which however is the nearest rendering of Trilocanapāla; see also Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 426-427, where he wrongly takes *Jaypāl* to be the correct name.

we have seen, "cherished the bitterest hatred" against the Musalmans. By this al-Bīrūnī probably means that Trilocanapāla was not so inimically disposed towards Maḥmūd. But this did not save him from the fury of the Ghaznavids, who were now bent on the complete destruction of his dynasty. Both Nizām ud-Dīn and Firishta tell us that Maḥmūd first marched against "the fort of Nandanah which is situated among the Bālnāth hills" (Salt range).<sup>1</sup> Finding himself unable to meet the Sultān alone with any hope of success, Trilocanapāla "left tried warriors for the protection of the fort" and retired into the valley of Kashmir. The fort surrendered after a siege, and Maḥmūd then followed the *Sāhi* prince who had in the meantime taken up with his son Nidar Bhīm a position "which was narrow, precipitous and inaccessible." In this supreme crisis of the fortunes of the *Sāhis*, Trilocanapāla appears to have appealed for help to the Kashmirian king, Saṃgrāmarāja (1003-1028 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> As a result of this appeal Tuṅga, the prime minister of Kashmir, who had already married Bimbā a *Sāhi* princess to his son, was sent with a large army to the assistance of Trilocanapāla. Kalhana has preserved the following interesting record of this expedition and the subsequent conflict with the *Hammīra*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Babur-nāma*, Eng. Trans. by A. S. Beveridge, 1921, Vol. II, p. 452; Bābur places the Bālnāth hills 5 marches from Sind-water (Indus). *AGI*, pp. 189-90; *IGI*, Vol. XXI, p. 412 ff.; XXIII, p. 360. It is probable that Nandanah was in the Jhelum district, *Castes and Tribes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. I, p. 289. But see *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 17 fn., where its situation is given as '30° 43' N. and 73° 17' E'.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, VII, 47. Kalhaṇa unfortunately does not give the date of this appeal, and the discrepancies in the chronology of the Muslim chroniclers make it difficult to fix the date with certainty but Stein's suggestion that it was 1013 A.D. appears to be reasonable. See his Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 107, and notes on verses 47-69 of Book VII. Also his *Sāhis von Kabul*, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, VII, 48-63, 103. The identity of *Hammīra* with Maḥmūd was recognised by Reinaud. Thomas had shown that it is derived from the Arabic title *Amīr ul-mu'minīn*, which appears on the coins of the Ghaznavids. See Stein's footnote on verses 47-60 of Book VII, in his Eng. Trans. Also *infra*, chapter on the *Candratreyas* (Candellas).

“When he, together with his son, had been hospitably received by the *Sāhi*, who had gone to meet him, and had been in the land for five or six days, the *Sāhi* noticed that they gave no thought to night watches, the posting of scouts, to military exercises, and other (preparations) proper for an attack, and spoke thus to *Tunga*, who was intoxicated (with self-confidence).

Until you have become acquainted with the *Turuṣka* warfare you should post yourself on the scarp of this hill, (keeping) idle against your desire.

This good counsel of *Trilocana(pāla)* he in his pride did not accept, but remained, together with his troops, eagerly looking out for battle.

Thence he crossed with rather a small force to the other bank of the *Tauṣṭī*, and defeated a corps which Hammīr had sent on reconnaissance.

Though he was filled thereupon with pride, the *Sāhi* experienced in war, repeated again and again the same advice he had given before.

Blinded by his desire for battle, he did not accept the *Sāhi's* counsel. Advice is no use to those whose destruction is near.

In the morning then came in fury and full of battle array, the leader of the *Turuṣka* army himself, skilled in stratagem.

Thereupon the army of *Tunga* dispersed immediately. The *Sāhi* force, however, was seen for (some) time moving about in battle.

Even when the *Sāhi* army was gone, Jayasimha rushed about fighting, also *Śrīvardhana* and *Vibhramārka*, the *Dāmara*, of *Samgrāma's* family.

These three valiant men, fighting on the terrible field of battle, which resounded with the (tramp of) horses, preserved the honour of their country from being lost.

Who would describe the greatness of *Trilocanapāla* whom numberless enemies even could not defeat in battle?

*Trilocanapāla*, causing floods of blood to pour forth in battle, resembled Śiva (*trilocana*) when sending forth the fire which burns the world at the end of the Kalpa.

After fighting crores of armour-clad soldiers in the battle this (prince) who was experienced in affairs, came forth singly from among the foes pressing (around him).

When *Trilocana(pāla)* had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce Candālas which (resembled clouds of) locusts.”<sup>1</sup>

In the passage quoted above Kalhana vividly describes the great personal bravery of Trilocanapāla. The battle took place on the banks of the river *Tauṣī*, which is probably the *Tohī* of Prun̄ts (*Parṇotsa*=mod. Punch) flowing into the Vitastā above the town of Jhelum.<sup>2</sup> Stein has shown that “through the valley of the Prun̄ts Tohī leads the most convenient route toward Lohara (Lohārīn). From there again, a route much used in old times, leading over the Tos<sup>a</sup>maidān Pass opens access to Kashmīr. It is actually by this route that we find two years later Maḥmūd attempting the invasion of Kashmīr.”<sup>3</sup> Trilocanapāla appears to have strongly entrenched himself on this mountainous route, and apparently advised Tuṅga to do the same, “keeping (himself) idle.” The account of ‘Utbī shows that Maḥmūd could not gain any decisive advantage over the *Sāhi* so long as he remained “entrenched behind stones.” It was only when the Indians “descended from their narrow passes into the open plain” that the Gaznavids “picked them up like a bird picking up grains with a sharp beak.”<sup>4</sup> Thus the statement of Kalhana, that the battle was lost owing to the overbearing assurance and carelessness of Tuṅga who refused to occupy a safe defensive position assigned to him by the experienced *Sāhi*, appears to be borne out by the Muslim chronicler.

<sup>1</sup> Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, pp. 272-73.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarāṅgī*, Stein's Eng. Trans., p. 107; also his notes on VII, 4-69 on p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> KY, p. 390.

The account of Kalhana that after Trilocanapāla left the field the Caṇḍālas (Turks?) "overspread the land like locusts" is also supported by Muslim historians. Niẓām ud-Dīn tells us that after dislodging the *Sāhi*, Maḥmūd entered the valley of Kashmir, and "carried away much booty in the shape of prisoners of war, and gold, and after converting many infidels to Islam, and laying the foundations to Islam, went back to Ghaznīn."<sup>1</sup> Kalhana tells us that even after this defeat Trilocanapāla did not cease to make heroic efforts to recover his kingdom and that "the *Hammīra* did not breathe freely, thinking of the superhuman powers of the illustrious Trilocanapāla."<sup>2</sup> We are told that in his subsequent contests with the Turuṣkas the *Sāhi* king mainly relied on his force of elephants, but Kalhana makes it clear that his efforts bore little fruit. He plainly regards the defeat, described above as the final stroke that brought about the downfall of the once mighty dynasty.<sup>3</sup> According to al-Bīrūnī, Trilocanapāla was killed in A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021) no doubt in one of these struggles against the Yamīnīs.<sup>4</sup>

Kalhana describes the defeat of Trilocanapāla as only an incident in the rapid decline of 'the royal glory of the *Sāhis*.' In his time (c. 1150 A.D.) the very name of the *Sāhi* kingdom had nearly vanished, and one asked oneself whether "with its kings, ministers, and its court, it ever was or was not."<sup>5</sup> But he also bears ample evidence to the profound impression that was produced on the minds of all contemporaries by their destruction. The following statement of al-Bīrūnī not only corroborates the Indian historian, but also shows how powerfully even the Muslims, the worst enemies of the *Sāhi*'s were impressed by their greatness."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *TA*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VII, 64-65.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 66-69; see also Stein's Eng. Trans. of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> *KH*, Eng. Trans. by Sachau, Vol. II, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VII, pp. 66-69.

<sup>6</sup> *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. II, p. 18.



“The *Hindu Shāhiya* dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.”

The *Śāhis* though destroyed as a reigning power in the Punjab, appear to have lingered for some years in the hilly districts south of *Lohara* (Lohkot of the Muslim chroniclers),<sup>1</sup> under the leadership of Bhīmapāla.<sup>2</sup> Some of Maḥmūd's later invasions in this direction may have had the destruction of this last remnant of the *Śāhis* as one of their objectives. According to al-Bīrūnī, Bhīmapāla was killed in A.D. 1026.<sup>3</sup> The *Śāhi* princes then took shelter in the Kashmirian court and took a prominent part in the history of the Loharas (1003-1128 A.D.). Kalhaṇa mentions “Rudrapāla and other *Śāhi* princes” (*Śāhiputrāḥ*) who were most dear to king Ananta (1028-63 A.D.) and “exhausted

<sup>1</sup> See note E. by Stein in Vol. II, pp. 293 ff. of his Eng. Trans. of the *Rājatarāṅginī*.

<sup>2</sup> Muslim chroniclers mention Rāi-Jaypāl of Kanauj and his son prince Bhīmapāla, and Elliot has identified them with the princes of the *Śāhi* family known to them as Tarō-Janpāl, Naro-Jaypāl or Jaypāl (II) and his son Nīdar Bhīm. Elliot remarks that “Like as the reigning family was driven from Kabul to Bhera, and from Bhera to Lahore, so it seems now to have been driven from Lahore to Kanauj.” But apart from the unlikelihood of the *Śāhi* dominions extending so far east, we have to take into account the last princes of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj. The Jhūsī copperplate of Trilocanapāla clearly shows that the princes of Kanauj during this period were Rājyapāla and Trilocanapāla; and it is likely that the Muslim chroniclers confused the former name with Rāi-Jaypāl of the *Śāhis* with which they were familiar. It is also significant that the last battle which destroyed the independence of the *Śāhis* should have been fought in the north of the Jhelum district, which is far removed from Kanauj. The Jhūsī plate only says that Trilocanapāla was the successor of Rājyapāla, that does not exclude the possibility of the latter having another son named Bhīmapāla. It should also be noted that Kalhaṇa, who shows such wide knowledge of the *Śāhis* during this period, does not mention the *Śāhi*, Bhīmapāla, and it is not impossible that al-Bīrūnī in describing him as a *Śāhi* prince may have fallen into an error. In any case Nīdar Bhīm (Bhīmapāla), son of Trilocanapāla, must be differentiated from Bhīmapāla, son (?) of Rājyapāla. See *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 34; *JRAS*, 1909, Part I, pp. 276-81; *EHI*, 1924, p. 398, fn. 1; *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 45, 47-49, 461-62. For further discussion about the relationship between Rājyapāla, and Bhīmapāla, see *infra*, chapter on the *Gurjara-Pratihāras*.

<sup>3</sup> *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13.

the kingdom's revenues by the large salaries they drew."<sup>1</sup> One of these, "Diddāpāla, though he drew daily 80,000 (dīnnāras) from the king, could yet not sleep in peace at night." Another, Anaṅgapāla " (that) Vetāla, who was the king's favourite, was ever planning the breaking up of the golden statues of gods. Rudrapāla protected those, who robbed (others) of their property and lives, and was a safe refuge for thieves, Caṇḍālas and the like. *Kāyasthas*, who were Rudrapāla's intimates, oppressed the people," while through his companionship, "the king was led into evil habits, just as Suyodhana, through that of Karna."<sup>2</sup>

The quotations cited above distinctly show that the *Sāhis* during this reign wielded great power at the Lohara court; but they had at the same time degenerated from the noble ideals of their ancestors. But that they were still brave soldiers is illustrated by the repulse of the invasion of the Darads by Rudrapāla who, we are told, cut off the head of the Darad lord and re-established his "awe-inspiring splendour."<sup>3</sup> Rudrapāla however soon died of the "*lūtā* disease and other *Sāhi* princes too found an early death."<sup>4</sup> Their deaths for a time caused the *Sāhis* to lose their power.<sup>5</sup> But there was again a revival of their influence in the reign of Kalaśa (1063-89 A.D.). Kalhaṇa speaks of "four arrogant *rājaputras* from the *Sāhi* family, Bijja, Pittharāja, Pāja, and another" as his favourites. They are said to have induced the king "to take to a way (of living) which is followed by the wicked."<sup>6</sup> Some of the queens of king Harṣa (1089-1101) including his chief queen Vasantalekhā are described as *Sāhi* by birth and are said to have burned themselves on a pavilion of the palace, when the doomed king was attacked,

<sup>1</sup> *Rājatarangīnī*, VII, 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, VII, 146-53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, VII, 174-76.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, VII, 177-78.

<sup>5</sup> Kalhaṇa calls these chiefs *Sāhi-putras* and *Sāhi-tanayas*, *ibid*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, VII, 272-74.

at Śrīnagara, by the rebellious Ḍāmaras.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is evident that the *Śāhis* remained a factor in Kashmirian court life long after their extinction as an independent political power. Their influence, as we have seen, was not always beneficial; but they were always noted for their bravery and military capacity. It is interesting to note that even after their complete extinction in Kashmir a halo and a charm continued to surround the name *Śāhi*. Kṣatriya families outside that country still continued to trace their descent to these princes. Kalhana while describing the reign of Jayasīṃha (A.D. 1128-49) remarks: "To this day the appellation *Śāhi* throws its lustre on a numberless host of Kṣātrīyas abroad, who trace their origin to that (royal) family."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, VII, 956, 1550, 1571, 1579. Was the Dard ruler Vidyādhara *Śāhi*, the contemporary of Harṣa (c. 1089-1101), connected with these *Śāhis*? Note also the *Śāhi* king of Kīra mentioned in the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga Candella (c. 954-1002 A.D.), *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 123ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* VIII, 3230.

## APPENDIX

### COINS OF THE ŚĀHIS

*(The following coins are usually referred to the  
princes of this dynasty.)*

No.	Museum.	Metal and Weight.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Remarks.
1.	British Museum	Copper, about 40 grains.	Śrī-Kamaladeva	A haṁsa	Probably belongs to Kamalū or Kamaluks.
2.	"	" about 30 grains.	Śrī-Sāmanta-deva.	Bull and horseman.	Probably belongs to Sāmānd or Sāmanta
3.	"	Silver, about 55 grains.	"	"	"
4.	"	" about 45 grains.	Śrī-Bhīmadeva	"	Probably belongs to Bhīma.
5.	"	Copper about 40 grains.	Śrī-Veṅkadeva	Elephant and lion.	Not identified.
6.	"	Silver, about 45 grains	Śrī-Khamara-yaka.	Bull and horseman.	"
7.	"	"	Śrī-Aṣṭapāla-deva.	"	"
8.	"	Silver, about 55 grains.	Śrī-Spalapati-deva.	"	"

Through the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Allan I could examine all these coins in the coin cabinet of the British Museum. Specimens of the same type of coins belonging to numbers, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8, are preserved in the Indian Museum and the Asiatic Society of Bengal and have been noticed in the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, by Vincent A. Smith, pp. 246-49. Smith notices the variant readings of the legend of some of these coins. Thus the name which Mr. Allan reads as *Veṅka* has been also read as *Vakka*, *Varka*,

*Verka*, and *Vaṅka*, *Khamarayaka* as *Khadavayaka*, *Khudavayaka* and *Khudūvayaka* and] *Aṣaṭapāla* as *Aśatapāla*. I could not find the single copper coin of the Lion-and-peacock type in the British Museum which according to Bayley had the legend *Śrī-Kamara* or *Kamra*. But probably this is the same as No. 1.

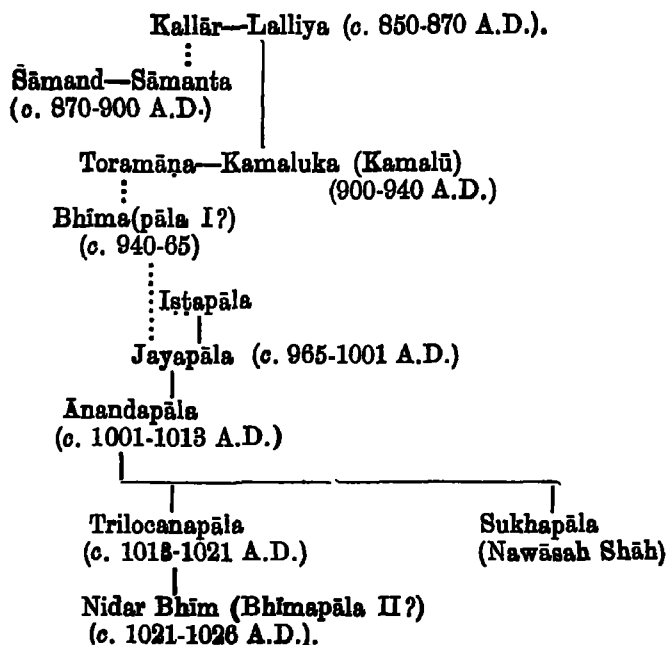
# GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

(Dates approximate)

## I. THE TURKI ŚĀHIS.

Last King Lagatūrmān (c. 850 A.D.).

## II. THE HINDU ŚĀHIS.



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## CHAPTER III

### DYNASTIC HISTORY OF KASHMIR

∠ The present State of Kashmir ' covers an area of 80,900 square miles, extending from 32°17' to 36°58' N. and from 73°26' to 80°30' E.' Its northern frontier almost touches the upper waters of the Ab-i-Panja. In the south it faces the Punjab districts of Jhelum, Gujrat, Sialkot and Gurdaspur. West to east it extends from the river Yarkhun to the Lingzi Thang Plains. Of this extensive area ancient *Kāśmīra* formed but a small portion. The political and geographical application of the term was ' restricted to the great basin of the Vitastā (Jhelum) and the side valleys drained by its tributaries above the Bārāmūla defile.' It was surrounded on all sides by a ring of high mountains, which can be conveniently divided into three main ranges. One of these, known as the Pir Pāntsal Range, formed the southern and south-western boundary of Kashmir. It extends from the Bānāhāl Pass to the valley of the Vitastā. In Kalhaṇa's time it was inhabited by the Khasās, the modern Khakkas, and was divided into a number of semi-independent hill states. In the south-east of this range was situated the principality of Kāsthavāṭa (mod. Kishtwar), whose history *Maana* has summarised power.<sup>1</sup> Between this states, which are more or less of a majay the hill state of Caru we can guess from these somewhat confused terms that the Valley must have passed in succession under the rule of the Mauryas, the

<sup>1</sup> For this account of the ancient geography and political topography of Kashmir I am indebted to Stein's admirable *Memoir*, in the 2nd vol. of his *Eng Trans. of Kalhaṇa's Rājataranginī*, Vol. II, pp 347-490.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājataranginī*, Eng Trans by Stein, Vol. II, pp. 439 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Rājataranginī*, of Jonarāja (Bombay Ed ), V. 153; Stein's *Eng. Trans of Kalhaṇa's Rājataranginī*, Vol. II, pp. 438-39.

<sup>4</sup> The chronicles of Śrīvara and Prājyabhaṭṭa carry on the account till 1586.

tract of the lower and middle hills between the Candrabhāgā and the Vitastā ' was known in ancient times as Dārvā-bhisāra.<sup>1</sup> Generally this region was split up into a number of smaller hill states, the most considerable of which was Rājapurī (mod. Rajauri).<sup>2</sup> On the north-west of Rājapurī was situated the principality of Lohara, which included the valley now known as Lohārin. To the west, in the lower valley of the Tauṣī (mod. Tohī) and perhaps extending up to the left banks of the Vitastā, this state was adjoined by the principality of Parnotsa (mod. Punch).<sup>3</sup> For the facility of communication between the Punjab and these hill states and the Kashmir valley nature had provided a number of passes through the Pīr Pāntśāl Range. Of these, we have already mentioned the easternmost one, the Bān'hāl Pass, the Bāṇāsālā of Kalhana<sup>4</sup> which 'owing to its small elevation (9,000 ft.) must have always been a convenient route of communication towards the upper Chenab Valley and the eastern of the Punjab Hill States.' The castle of Bāṇāsālā, which guarded this route, was in the hands of a Khaṣa chief in the 12th century. 'About 8 miles straight to the west of the lake Kōns'r Nāg the range is again crossed by a pass over 14,000 ft. high,' which under the name Siddha-patha (mod. Sīdau or Būdī) is mentioned by Kalhana.<sup>5</sup> 'It lies on a route which in an almost straight line connects Srinagar with Akhnur and Sialkot in the

10. in. About five miles due north of the (lake) Nāgān reach a pass now known as Reynolds, London; 10 Pañcāladhārā of Kṣer Vol. II, pp. 14-52.

11. *Ta'rikh-i-Firās* translated by John Briggs, London, Vol. I.
12. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmud-Dīn, English Translation by B. Dey, *Bibliotheca Indica*. New Series. No. 1383, Calcutta, 1913.
13. *Jāmi'ul-Hikāyāt* of Muhammad 'Aufī, Extracts Translated in Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 155-203.



central part of the Punjab.' The next considerable depression which was also an ancient line of communication, was the Tōṣ<sup>a</sup>maidān Pass, which connected Srinagar with the Western Punjab, *via* Lohara. During the reign of the Lohara kings (c. 1003-1154 A.D.) this route acquired special importance in the history of Kashmir. Beyond this, in the north-west, the Pīr Pāntśāl Range gradually descends into the Vitastā valley which was one of the great gates of Kashmir, connecting it with Uraśā (mod Hazara), Gandhāra (mod Rawalpindi district), and the regions to the west. It was through this route that Yuan Chwang and Ou-K'ong came to Kashmir. As the route ended in Kashmir at Varāhamūla<sup>1</sup> (mod Bāāmūla) it is convenient to designate it after the name of that town. The kings of Kashmir appear to have held Vitastā valley as far as Bolyāsaka<sup>2</sup> (mod Buliasa) as an outlying frontier district. Beyond this, up to the borders of Uraśā, the valley was known as Dvārāvātī (mod. Dvārīdī).<sup>3</sup> North of Dvārāvātī in the lower valley of the Kṛṣṇā (mod. Kishen Ganga), lay the semi-independent Khaśa principality of Karnāha (mod. Karnāv) <sup>4</sup>. Between Dvārāvātī its old Karnāha, the Kāpnāg Range accompanies the Vitastā for 18, of course the *Rājatarangīnī* of Kalhana, who finished his work in c. 1150 A.D. Kalhana's work was continued by Jonarāja, who briefly traces the downfall of Hindu rule in the Valley in 1339 A.D. and gives an account of the early Muslim rulers till 1420 A.D.<sup>4</sup> For the earliest portion of Kashmirian history Kalhana has summarised a number of earlier chronicles, which are more or less of a mythical character. But we can guess from these somewhat confused accounts that the Valley must have passed in succession under the rule of the Mauryas, the

<sup>1</sup> For this account of the ancient geography and political topography of Kashmir I am indebted to Stein's admirable *Memoir*, in the 2nd vol. of his *Eng. Trans. of Kalhana's Rājatarangīnī*, Vol. II, pp. 347-490.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarangīnī*, Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. II, pp. 439 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Rājatarangīnī*, of Jonarāja (Bombay Ed.), V. 153; Stein's *Eng. Trans. of Kalhana's Rājatarangīnī*, Vol. II, pp. 438-39.

<sup>4</sup> The chronicles of Śrīvara and Prājyabhaṭṭa carry on the account till 1586.

continues in a slightly south-easterly direction for about a 100 miles. The upper course of the Kṛsnā in this region was inhabited by the Dards, and was known as the Daraddeśa.<sup>1</sup> A route starting from the north of Mahāpadma (Wular Lake) crossed this northern range at Gurais on the Kishen Ganga, which is probably to be identified with Daratpurī,<sup>2</sup> the chief town of the Dards. From Gurais it leads to Astor and the Balti territory on the Indus. This route was guarded by the ancient fort of Dugdhaghāta (mod. Dud<sup>a</sup>khut) which was often a bone of contention between Kashmirians and Dards.<sup>3</sup> To the east of Dugdhaghāta the summit of the range gradually culminates in the Haramukuta (mod. Haramuk) peaks, round which cluster some of the holiest of Kashmirian *tīrthas*. Eastward from Haramukuṭa, the range which we have been following so far, meets near the head of the Sind valley, 'the great chain of snowy mountains which stretches from Mount Nangā Parvat in a south-easterly direction to the Nunkum Peaks in Sūru. A few miles south of this junction we arrive at a gap in the mountains,' which is generally known by its Ladākhi name of **Zōji-La**. This pass lay on a very important route connecting

this pass a range of mountains, forming the eastern boundary of Kashmir 'runs almost due south until it reaches the head waters of the Vitastā. It then turns to the north-west and at the Bān<sup>a</sup>hāl pass joins on to the Pīr Pāntśāl Range.' Towards the Chenab this range is pierced by two passes, viz., the Margan and the Parbal Pass, the latter of which 'forms the usual route towards Kāṣṭhavāta.'<sup>1</sup>

The above is a brief outline of the boundaries and the political frontiers of ancient *Kāśmīra*. The valley thus surrounded by nature's barriers was divided into two great divisions, viz., *Kramarājya* and *Madavarājya*. The capital, Śrīnagara, which has not changed its position since the days of Yuan Chwang, stood just at the junction of these two divisions.<sup>2</sup> The valley was thickly populated, and according to tradition contained 66,063 villages.<sup>3</sup>

For the history of this secluded valley we have practically no inscriptions either on metal or stone. But fortunately it possesses a number of chronicles which attempt to give a connected history of the land, from the earliest times down to its conquest by Akbar in 1586 A.D. The most important of these is, of course the *Rājataranginī* of Kalhana, who finished his work in c. 1150 A.D. Kalhana's work was continued by Jonarāja, who briefly traces the downfall of Hindu rule in the Valley in 1339 A.D. and gives an account of the early Muslim rulers till 1420 A.D.<sup>4</sup> For the earliest portion of Kāśmīrian history Kalhana has summarised a number of earlier chronicles, which are more or less of a mythical character. But we can guess from these somewhat confused accounts that the Valley must have passed in succession under the rule of the Mauryas, the

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<sup>3</sup> *Rājataranginī*, of Jonarāja (Bombay Ed.), V. 153; Stein's Eng. Trans. of Kalhana's *Rājataranginī*, Vol. II, pp. 438-39.

<sup>4</sup> The chronicles of Śrīvara and Prājyābhata carry on the account till 1586.

great Kuṣāṇas, and the Hūnas. Fortunately for us, Kalhana's account gradually approaches a historical character from about the 7th century A.D., when, thanks to the visit of Yuan Chwang (631-33 A.D.) and a number of notices in the Chinese annals, we can check the statements of the Kashmiri historian. The accession of the Kārkota Durlabhavardhana in the first quarter of the 7th century marks an era in the history of the country.<sup>1</sup> For the first time the Valley came under the administration of a strong line of rulers, whose ambitious and powerful arms soon brought it into conflict with the princes on the Oxus, the Indus and the Ganges. By c. 631 A.D. Kashmir had already absorbed the hill states of Parnotsa and Rājapurī. In the west it had conquered Uraśā, and had come into conflict with the *Sāhis*, from whom it took Takṣaśilā (mod. Rawalpindi district) and extended its power as far as Sīmhapura (Salt Range) in the Punjab. It was probably due to this pressure that the *Sāhis* were compelled to remove their capital from Uḍabhaṇḍa (Und) on the Indus.<sup>2</sup> In the first half of the 8th century Kashmir became one of the strongest powers in Asia. Though many of the details of Lalitāditya's *digvijaya* are shrouded in myth and mystery, the story of his conquest of Kanauj in the Gangā-Yamunā Doab, Tukhārīstān in the upper Oxus valley, and Daraddeśa in the upper Kishen Ganga appears to be based on historical data.<sup>3</sup> He also maintained diplomatic relations with the Chinese emperor Hsien-tsung (A.D. 713-755), and waged successful war against the Bhauṭtas (Tibetans). It was also during this period that Kashmir first came into conflict with the Arabs. Balādhuri informs us that in the reign of the 'Abbasid

<sup>1</sup> Durlabhavardhana claimed descent from Nāga Karkotaka. According to the Epic and Pauranic tradition the Kārkotaka Nāgas were in the Deccan. The Haihaya king Arjuna, son of Kṛtavīrya is said to have captured Māhīmatī from these Nāgas. Does the claim of Durlabha indicate that he was a southerner? See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922, p. 266 and fn 1; also *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 44, 2036; III, 66, 2671; VIII, 34, 1489; *Harivaṃśa*, 168, 9502, *Padmapurāṇa*, VI, 242, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *BR*, Vol. I, pp. 186-47; *Life*, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Kalhana's *Rājataranginī*, IV, 131-264, Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, 88-92.

Caliph al-Manṣūr his governor of Sīnd, Ḥishām ibn ‘Amr at-Taghlibi (c. 768-72 A.D.), ‘conquered Kashmīr, obtaining many prisoners and slaves.’<sup>1</sup> By ‘Kashmīr’ Balādhurī probably meant that portion of the Punjab, north of Multan, which came into the possession of the Kārkoṭas at this time. In the second half of the 8th century, Kashmir was ruled by another powerful prince of this line named Jayāpīḍa. The details of his unceasing campaign and marvellous escapes from adversaries, as given by Kalhana, have more the appearance of romance and fancy than history;<sup>2</sup> but behind this fantastic colouring there appears to have been a historical figure who made desperate efforts to maintain for the Kārkoṭas the prominent position won for them by the victories of Durlabhavardhana and Lalitāditya. Whatever may have been the success attained by Jayāpīḍa, it is certain that during the inglorious reign of his successor the power of Kashmir gradually declined, till, as we shall see further on, it was again restricted to its original limits, the Vitastā basin, east of Bārāmūla.<sup>3</sup>

After another century and a half (c. 700-855 A.D.) the Kārkoṭas were overthrown by the Utpalas. “With the accession of Avantivarman (A.D. 855-6 to 833),” the first king of the dynasty, “we reach that period of Kashmir history for which Kalhana’s work presents us with a truly historical record. The use of contemporary accounts from the commencement of the Fifth Book onward becomes evident, not only from the generally sober and matter-of-fact character of the narrative, but also from the details henceforth furnished regarding many petty events, the memory of which could not have maintained itself in popular tradition, and from the use of exact dates. The fact can scarcely be accidental that Avantivarman, the first king, the

<sup>1</sup> *KFB*, Part II, pp. 230-31. I have already discussed the possible effect of these raids on the foreign policy of Kashmir, in my chapter on the *Sāhis*, see *supra*, pp. 71 and 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarāṅgī*, IV, 402-591. Stein’s Eng. Trans., Vol. I, pp. 98-95.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 97.

date of whose death is shown by Kalhaṇa with year, month, and day, stands at the head of a new dynastic list. It seems to indicate that records based on contemporary annals were contained among Kalhana's sources only from the commencement of the Utpala dynasty onwards."<sup>1</sup> The reign of Avantivarman is remarkably free from any ambitious foreign policy or wars of aggression beyond its frontiers. But his reign is important as an era of internal peace and consolidation. Aided by his able *mantri* Śūra, he initiated a series of reforms which soon healed the wounds of misgovernment and internal troubles of the preceding reigns. One of these troubles was the growth of the power of the Dāmaras. The Dāmaras are first mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the reign of Lalitāditya, who is said to have asked his successors not to leave to the villagers "more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for (the tillage of) their fields. Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Dāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king."<sup>2</sup> Aided by the weak rule of the later Kārkoṭas, this powerful rural aristocracy was gradually growing up from the well-to-do landholding class. Their rapacity and insubordination were permanent sources of trouble in later Kashmirian history. But even as early as this reign their land-grabbing instinct is well illustrated by the story of the Dāmara Dhanva of Lahara (mod. Lar district), who took away all the villages belonging to the shrine of Bhūteśvara. We are told by Kalhana that Śūra treated him like a son, and he was so powerful that when summoned to the presence of the *mantri*, "he made the earth shake with the tramp of his foot soldiers, and did not bend his back." The minister realised the danger to the state from the growth of this new factor in the polity, and meted out the extreme penalty

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV, 347-38; see Stein's Note G in Volume II of his *Eng. Trans.*, pp. 304 ff.

of the law to the miscreant.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the building activities of Śūra must be mentioned the formation of a 'fine town called Śūrapura' (mod. Hūr<sup>a</sup>pōr) at the Kashmir end of the Pīr Pāntāl route, to which city he transferred the watch station (*dhakka*) from Kramavarta (mod. Kāmelankōṭh).<sup>2</sup> This minister, his wife Kāvyadevī, and his son Ratnavardhana were all devotees of Śiva, and built many temples and *mathas* in honour of that god.<sup>3</sup> The king, we are told "conformed to the pleasures of his minister as (if it were that) of a deity, bore himself (outwardly) as a worshipper of Śiva, though he was (in reality) from childhood a worshipper of Viṣṇu." He constructed the temple of Śiva Avantiśvara and made other benefactions to the shrines of Tripureśvara, Bhūteśa, and Vijayeśa.<sup>4</sup> But foremost among the foundations of this reign was the town of Avantipura (mod. Vānt'pōr) whose ruins "rank among the most imposing monuments of ancient Kashmir architecture, and sufficiently attest the resources of their builder."<sup>5</sup>

Avantivarman and his minister also appear to have been liberal patrons of letters. Amongst the poets who obtained fame during his reign Kalhana mentions four, viz., Ānandavardhana, Ratnākara, Śivasvāmin, and Mukṭākana.<sup>6</sup> Of these the first was the author of two works, yet extant, the *Dhvanyāloka*, a rhetorical treatise, and the poem *Devīśataka*, both of which 'were commented upon towards the close of the 10th century.' Ratnākara has been rightly identified with the author of *Haraviṣaya*, who composed this work under Cippata Jayāpīḍa (826-38 A.D.). Mukṭākana 'appears to be known otherwise only from quotations in two treatises of Kṣemendra (11th century),' while Śivasvāmin is 'perhaps identical with

<sup>1</sup> *Rājatarangī*, V, 48-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, V, 39, see also III, 227 and Note D in Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, p. 291 ff.,

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, V, 37-38, 40-41.

*Ibid*, V, 45-46.

*Ibid*, Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 97.

*Rājatarangī*, V, 32-36

the poet, verses of whom are given in Kṣemendra's *Kavikanṭhābharaṇa* and some later anthologies.'<sup>1</sup>

But the foremost achievements of this reign were the regulation of the waters of the Vitastā and vast undertakings of drainage and irrigation in the Valley. Kalhaṇa tells us that this work was first begun by king Lalitāditya, but it soon fell through under the feeble kings who succeeded Jayāpīḍa, with the result that the land was overtaken by disastrous floods and the price of a *khāri* of rice rose to 150 *Dinnāras*.<sup>2</sup> The person who thought and carried out the necessary steps was a man of extraordinary engineering skill. A foundling picked up by a *Candāla* woman and brought up by a Śūdra nurse, Suyya, became a 'teacher of small boys' and having attracted attention by his 'brilliant intellect,'<sup>3</sup> was entrusted by Avantivarman with the necessary funds to carry out his projects. Thanks to the minute topographical description of Kalhaṇa and the researches of Stein we can still after the lapse of more than 1,000 years trace the steps taken by Suyya. Among his measures the most important was the changing of the confluence of the Sindhu and Vitastā, which formerly flowed to the left and right of the Trigrāmī (mod. Tregaon), to their present position near Shādipūr. He diverted the combined waters into a new bed leading "into that part of the Wular which by its depth and well defined boundaries is naturally designed as a great reservoir to receive the surplus water of dangerous floods." He then constructed stone embankments along this course for 7 *yojanas*, (about 42 miles). By this means he reclaimed the marshes south of the Mahāpadma, and founded there flourishing villages protected by circular dykes, which came to be known as *Kuṇḍala*

<sup>1</sup> *Rājataranginī*, Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, p. 189, note on V. 34; *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS.* by G. Bühler; extra number of the *JBRAS*, 1897, pp. 42, 65 and 66; Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, 1891, Part I, pp. 491, 654; *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, Ed. by Peterson, 1886, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājataranginī*, V, 68-71. For *Dinnāra* and *Khāri*, see Stein's Note H in Vol. II of his translation, pp 308-28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, V, 74-80.



from their appearance of round bowls (*Kuṇḍa*).<sup>1</sup> "He (then) arranged (accordingly) on a permanent basis for the size and distribution of the watercourse for each village, and (by using for irrigation) the *Anūlā* and other streams embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce." Previous to these operations he had removed the rocks which had rolled down from the mountains at Yakṣadara (mod. Dyār<sup>a</sup>gul, some 3 miles below the eastern end of the Bārāmūla gorge) into the Vitastā and constructed stone walls to protect it against any future fall of rocks. The result of these operations are described as follows by Kalhana :

"There where previously from the beginning of things the purchase price of a *khārī* of rice was 200 *Dinnāras* in times of great abundance, in that very land of Kaśmīra henceforth—O wonder!—the *khārī* of rice came to be bought for 36 *Dinnāras*."

Suyya's memory is preserved to this day by the town of Suyyapura (mod. Sōpur), which he founded on the bank of the Vitastā, where she leaves the waters of the Mahāpadma.<sup>2</sup>

Avantivarman died as a devout Vaiṣṇava in the *Laukika* era 3959 (A.D. 883) at the *Tripureṣa* hill (mod. Triphar).<sup>3</sup> Soon after his death a civil war began amongst the proud and numerous descendants of Utpala, who all "aspired each and all to the throne." The *Pratīhāra* Ratnavardhana secured by his exertions the kingdom for Śaṅkaravarman, the son of Avantivarman. But the *amātya* Karṇapa raised his cousin Sukhavarman to the status of *yuvārāja*.<sup>4</sup> The result was a civil

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Barnett suggests that *Kuṇḍa* may mean rings or bracelets.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarangīnī*, V, 81-111; Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol I, p. 98, Vol. II, Note 1, pp. 329-36; and *Memoir*, sections 68-71, pp. 418-22.

<sup>3</sup> See Stein's note on V, 46, Eng. Trans., Vol I, pp. 192-93. Cunningham refers to this king the coins with the legend *Adi . nṛīta* (*Ādityavarma* ?) ; *CMI*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Rājatarangīnī*, V, 128-29; his father Śūravarman, a step-brother of Avantī, enjoyed 'wide powers of *yuvārāja*' in the previous reign; see V, 22.

war, "during which the kingdom was at every moment as placed in a swing." Śaṅkaravarman defeated his rival with difficulty, and after fighting many battles with Samaravarman and other rivals, at last secured his position.<sup>1</sup> After consolidating his power at home, he is reported to have undertaken a series of expeditions to recover the foreign possessions which were lost during the weak rule of the later Kārkotas. In spite of the beneficial measures during the reign of Avantivarman, Kalhana admits that Kashmir during the period 'had become reduced in population and wealth'. The expeditions of the king which Kalhana describes with so much poetic flourish, and in one of which the king met his death, leaves us in no doubt that the boundaries of the kingdom were again restricted to the Vitastā basin, east of Varāhamūla. With a large army whose advance guard alone, according to the exaggerated estimate of Kalhana, consisted of "9 lakhs of foot-soldiers, 300 elephants, and 1 lakh of horsemen" the king marched forth from the *dvāra* and following the Pīr Pānt̐sāl route,<sup>2</sup> invaded Dārbābhī-sāra. At the approach of the Kashmirian army, its king Naravāhana took refuge in the mountain gorges.<sup>3</sup> Śaṅkaravarman then captured and imprisoned a prince named Harigana, and gradually reached the outskirts of the Punjab plain, "wholly bent on the conquest of Gūrjara." Prthvīcandra, the king of Trigarta (Kangra), who had previously given his son Bhavancandra as a hostage, is reported at this stage to have come towards Śaṅkaravarman to do homage, but fearing capture, "fled far away, failing in resolve." Kalhana's description does not show that Trigarta was actually conquered, and Stein is probably right in assuming that no "material success was achieved by him in the hills east of the Ravi." But he appears

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 130-35.

<sup>2</sup> On this point see Stein's note on I, 122, 302; IV, 404; V, 137, 143-44, in his *Eng. Trans.*, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> Naravāhana, though innocent, was later slain by the king, who was afraid of treachery. See V, 209.

to have met with better success in his struggle with the *Gūrjarā-dhipa*, Alakhāna. I have already described elsewhere the possibility of some sort of an alliance between the *Adhīrāja* Bhoja, Alakhāna, and the *Sāhi* Lallīya.<sup>1</sup> Though Śankaravarman claims to have curbed the sovereign power of Bhoja and “uprooted in battle the fortune of Alakhāna, he seems to have gained no substantial success. His only conquest probably was the *Takka-deśa*, the region between the upper waters of the Chenab and the Ravi.<sup>2</sup> This land Alakhāna is said to have humbly given up, “preserving his own country, as (if he had saved) his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger.” The Gūrjara lord was no doubt saved from a more serious defeat by the support of Lallīya *Sāhi*, against whom however Śankaravarman does not appear to have gained any success. The only other expedition of this king was towards the Indus through the Bārāmūla defile, and was undertaken to avenge the death of his *dvārādhipa*<sup>3</sup> at Vīrānaka, in the Vitastā valley, below the gate of Bārāmūla. Kalhana informs us that after destroying Vīrānaka the king conquered numerous territories on the banks of the Sindhu (Indus) and received the homage of their terror-stricken kings. As he was marching back through Uraśā from this expedition he was fatally wounded in the neck, by a “swift-flying arrow” discharged by a *Śvapāka*, in the course of a conflict with the inhabitants. While the arrow was being pulled out he died, in the Laukika era 3977 (A.D. 902).<sup>4</sup> In describing the subsequent march of the army towards Kashmir, Kalhana tells us that it reached “Bolyāsaka in their own territory” after 6 days’ march.<sup>5</sup> This shows that in spite of the energetic efforts of Śankaravarman he could not extend the boundaries of his state

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, chapter on the *Sāhis*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, 187-56, 209; *Takka-deśa* has been identified with the *Tsch-kia* of Yuan Chwang, the capital of which was close to the old city of She-kie-lo (Sākala=Sialkot).

<sup>3</sup> Eng Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, Note on V, 214.

<sup>4</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, 214-22. In V, 389-90 he identifies the *Dombas* with the *Śvapākas*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, V, 225.

beyond the limits of the sub-montane regions adjoining Kashmir on the west and south. From Kalhaṇa's silence about the king's operations in the north and east, it must be assumed that he made no efforts to recover the possessions of the Kārkoṭas in these directions.

Though this king's military expeditions did not result in any considerable success, yet their expenses appear to have been a severe drain on the resources of Kashmir. To meet this, the king was driven to take exceptional measures for raising revenue, which caused severe hardships to the people. Kalhaṇa describes in detail this elaborate system of taxation.<sup>1</sup> The king established two new revenue offices called *Aṭṭapatibhāga* ('the share of the lord of the market') and *Gr̥hakar̥tya* ('domestic affairs'). The former officer was probably placed in charge of a new "variety of direct taxes on market shops, artificers, etc." while the receipts of the other officer possibly included fees levied at certain domestic events, such as marriages, *yaññopavitas*, etc. We are told that "by deducting or adding to the (due) weights, by fines on the villages and similar imposts, he amassed revenue for the *Gr̥hakar̥tya* (office)," and "he appointed in this special office five secretaries (*divira*) and the sixth the treasurer (*gañjavara*)..... Lavaṭa."<sup>2</sup> Under the pretext "that they were the (king's legal) share of the selling price" the king next proceeded to take "from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal wood, and other (articles of worship)." He also resumed the villages which were granted to the temples as *Agrahāras*, on the understanding that a fixed amount should be returned as compensation (*pratikara*) from the income of these villages. These lands were then cultivated directly by the State, but the amount of the *pratikara* due to the temples was reduced by diminishing the weight in the scales by one-third. He then "plundered straightway 64 temples, through special officers (placed

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 165-81.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarāṅgī*, V, 167, 176-77, 301, *Gr̥hakar̥tyādhyākāra* occurs in VII, 42, see also VIII, 1428; Stein's note in his Eng. Trans. on V, 167 and 177; Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 399 ff.

over them) under the pretence of exercising supervision.”<sup>1</sup> But the most serious taxation was certainly the systematic organization of the *corvée* (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi*), which broke the backbone of the poor. “Villagers, who did not turn up to carry their allotted loads, were fined by the value of the latter at enhanced rates, and the same fine was levied the following year a second time from the village as a whole.” Kalhana mentions 13 kinds of *corvées* which were introduced by the king. Furthermore, “by levying (contributions) for the monthly pay of the *Shandakas* (?), village clerks (*grāmakāyasthas*) and the like, and by various other exactions, he drove the villagers into poverty.” Against this oppressive system of grinding taxation the king’s son Gopālavarman, is said to have protested but his remonstrances were scornfully rejected by the king<sup>2</sup>

Kalhana records with bitterness that under this rule the learned men lost all respect while power fell more and more into the hands of the plundering *Kāyasthas*. The king “from fear of having to be liberal was averse to the society of distinguished men,” and “poets like Bhallaṭa, and others had to lead the meanest existence.” This Bhallaṭa has been identified with the author of the extant *Bhallataśataka* and the dictionary called *Padamañjarī*, who is often quoted by Ksemendra.<sup>3</sup> The king, according to Kalhana, did not speak “the language of the gods (among men, i.e., Sanskrit), but used vulgar speech (*apabhramśa*) fit for drunkards,” and under him cultured habits became the object of ridicule.<sup>4</sup> But that he was not entirely heterodox is shown by his building of two temples of Śiva, *Śaṅkaragaurīśa* and *Sugandheśa*, which were raised in a city built by him and named Śaṅkarapura (Mod. Paṭan, a village, 74° 37' long. 34° 10' lat.), after himself. Kalhana with evident

<sup>1</sup> *Rājatarāṅgī*, V, 168-71.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, V, 172-75 and Stein's note on the verses in his Eng. Trans.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, V, 181, 204, Stein's note on V, 204 in his Eng. Trans., Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, 1891, Part I, p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, V, 206-08.

pleasure remarks that this city was only known “for the weaving of (woollen) cloths, purchase and sale of cattle, etc.,” and never became famous like Parihāsapura, which the king plundered to build his city.<sup>1</sup>

The copper coins of this king of the usual seated-goddess-and-standing-rājā type, are common enough. From him onwards we find Kalhana’s list of kings illustrated by the evidence of an unbroken series of coins.<sup>2</sup>

I have already described the violent death of this king in the land of Uraśā. For sometime the Kashmiri army was in great risk of being overwhelmed by its enemies; but thanks to the prudence of Sukharāja and other ministers it was led home in safety. The king’s death was concealed, and “by means of cords which made his head bend down and rise like that of a puppet, they caused him to return the greeting of the feudatories who had come to do homage.” When the army reached Bolyāsaka within Kashmir, the funeral rites of the king was performed. Three of his queens, including Surendravatī and a clever and grateful Velāvitta (?) named Jayasimha, followed the king to death. Kalhana tells us that, “struck by the curse of the people,” the king had lost during his lifetime 20 or 30 children without (previous) illness. But before his death he entrusted his surviving minor son Gopālavarman to the care of his mother, queen Sugandhā, the daughter of the illustrious Śimharāja, “the ruler of the northern region.”<sup>3</sup> The ministers respected the wish of the dying king, and placed Gopālavarman on the throne under the guardianship of his mother. The widowed queen soon “became very dissolute through sensual enjoyments” and fell in love with the *mantri* Prabhākaradeva. The only important incident of this reign is a successful expedition

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 156-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, p. 101; *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45; see also *CCIM*, 1906, pp. 269-70.

<sup>3</sup> V, 157. Stein suggests that Śimharāja may have been a ruler of the Dard or some neighbouring territory

undertaken by this minister against the *Sāhis* of Udabhāṇḍapura. The war resulted in the defeat and dethronement of the reigning *Sāhi*, possibly Sāmand (Sāmanta). After placing on the throne Lalliya's son Toramāṇa-Kamaluka (Kamalū), the minister returned to Śrīnagara in triumph.<sup>1</sup> Flushed with victory, he grew arrogant and began to cause "the humiliation of brave men." For sometime he plundered the wealth of the State in his post of *Kosādhyakṣa*, and when the young king, "by degrees realising the state of things, insisted on an examination of the treasury-chests," the minister ascribed all that was missing to the treasury to expenses in the *Sāhi* war. Finding the king unconvinced, and realising the danger of his position, he, with the assistance of his relative Rāmadeva took adequate steps, so that the young prince "fell into a hot fever and died after a rule of two years" (904 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Then Gopālavarman's supposititious brother Samkaṭa, "who had been picked up from the highway," obtained the throne. But he too died after a reign of ten days. Thereupon, Sugandhā herself assumed the royal power "at the bidding of the subjects." She built the town of Gopālapura (mod Gauripur, 75°3' long 33°57' lat.?), the Gopālamathā, the temple of Gopālakeśava, and also a town after her name "for the increase of religion." During this reign we hear for the first time of the *Ekāṅgas* and the *Tantrins*. The former appear to have been a body organised in military fashion but employed chiefly for police duties and can probably be compared with the '*pattan Nizāmat*,' which was maintained in Kashmir until a few years ago, or the *gendarmes* of Continental Europe.<sup>3</sup> The *Tantrins* were a body of foot-soldiers who probably derived their designation from their tribal name, and owed their close organisation to ethnic affinities<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>2</sup> V, 239-41. Kalhaṇa ascribes his death to witchcraft, but it looks more like poisoning. For his copper coins see Cunningham's *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45; *CCIM*, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> V, 249; Stein's note on it in his *Eng. Trans.*

<sup>4</sup> V, 248; and Stein's note on the verse in his *Eng. Trans.*

Aided by the weak rule, of Śaṅkaravarman's successors, these organisations assumed the character of close corporations, and began to play the part of "true Praetorians." Kalhana tells us that in the reign of Sugandhā the *Tantrins* "had formed a confederacy, and were strong enough to punish or to favour the rulers of this land." She carried on her administration for two years, relying on the *Ekāṅgas* and through the good will of the *Tantrins*.<sup>1</sup> But the moment she tried to take an independent line, she came into conflict with them and was hurled from power. As Avantivarman's family had died out, she assembled the *mantris*, *sāmantas*, *Tantrins*, and the *Ekāṅgas* in council and proposed to invest Nirjitavarman, a grandson of Śūravarman, and a son of Sukhavarman, with regal power. This prince was notorious under the nickname *Pangu*, and was in the habit of spending the night in dissipation and all day in sleep. Her proposal therefore did not meet with ready acceptance. The *Tantrins* in the meantime united in a separate faction and placed Pārtha, the ten-year old son of Nirjitavarman, on the throne (906 A. D.). The unfortunate queen was compelled to leave the royal palace, "making her rolling tears take the place of a necklet of pearls." In 914 A. D. she came out from her retirement at Huṣkapura (mod. Uskur), and tried to recover her power with the assistance of the *Ekāṅgas*. In the struggle that followed the *Tantrins* were victorious. The union of the *Ekāṅgas* was broken while the unfortunate queen herself was taken prisoner and put to death (914 A. D.).<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime Paṅgu was acting as the guardian of the child-king. But, as Kalhana puts it, he together with the ministers was bent only on the amassing of bribes. The kings, says the chronicler, "were in the service of the *Tantrins*, and

<sup>1</sup> V, 248-49.

<sup>2</sup> V, 251-52. For her copper coins see *CMI*, Plate IV and p. 45; V. Smith, *CCIM*, p. 270.



ousted each other like *grāmakāyasthas*, by offering greater and greater bribes. In this land, the rulers of which had conquered Kanyakubja and other countries, the kings now maintained themselves by giving bills of exchange (*hundlikā*) to the *Tantrins*.' The ministers 'intrigued in deep-laid plots,' for the throne, and a famine caused by a flood "appeared like a caustic thrown in a wound" (917-18 A.D.). Crops failed and the price of a *khārī* of rice rose to a 1,000 *Dinnāras*. The waters of the Vitastā became entirely filled with corpses, and the land covered with bones like one great burial ground. But in this great calamity the ministers and the *Tantrins* became wealthy 'by selling stores of rice at high prices.' The king would only take that person as minister who raised the sums due on the *Tantrins*' bills. His callous attitude to the sufferings of his people is thus vividly described by Kalhaṇa: "As one might look from inside his hot bathroom upon all the people outside distressed by the wind and rain of a downpour in the forest, thus for a long time the wretched Paṅgu, keeping in his palace, praised his own comfort, while he saw the people in misery." <sup>1</sup>

The next 18 years of Kashmir history (918-36 A.D.) are entirely dominated by the *Tantrins*, who made and unmade kings. In A.D. 921 Pārtha was overthrown by his father Paṅgu, whom the *Tantrins* supported and installed as king. But he died in 923, after having placed on the throne his young son Cakravarman. Pārtha with the assistance of the *Tantrins* tried to recover his throne, and fought a battle with the *Ekāṅgas*, without decisive results. In the meantime the child-king was protected under the guardianship of his mother Bappaṭadevī, and then for 10 years under that of his grandmother Kṣillikā. In 933 A.D., however, the *Tantrins* overthrew him and appointed as king Śūravarmā (I), the son of Paṅgu by Mṛgavatī. The uncles and ministers of this king,

who was of good character, caused his overthrow "by not paying what was due to the *Tantrins*." He was deposed in 934 A. D., and the guards made the 'liberal Pārtha once more king.' But in 935 Cakravarman, who offered them 'great riches' was again crowned. But he soon fled being unable to meet the bills of the *Tantrins*. His 'deceitful minister Saṁbhuvardhana, whom he had placed in charge of the *Gṛhakṛtya* office then got himself installed in the same year, by "promises of yet greater bribes." But in 936 A. D. Cakravarman with the assistance of the *Dāmaras* Saṁgrāma raised a large army, and inflicted a terrible defeat upon the *Tantrins* outside Padmapura (mod Pāmpar, 74°59' long. 34°1' lat). This victory, in which Cakravarman appears to have displayed considerable personal bravery and which caused the death of five to six thousand *Tantrins*, broke the backbone of this military corporation.<sup>1</sup> But as the battle was won 'with the assistance of numberless *Dāmaras*,' it introduced, as we shall see further on, another element of danger in the body politic from this landed aristocracy.<sup>2</sup> Cakravarman after he had killed Saṁbhuvardhana and cleared the kingdom of his enemies, soon fell under 'the power of parasites and committed acts which were cruel and devoid of judgment' One of these cost him his life and throne. The king, enamoured by the singing and dancing of two beautiful *Domba* girls named Haṁsī and Nāgalatā, took them to his seraglio. Haṁsī was raised by the love-blinded king to the rank of chief queen, and enjoyed the royal privilege of being fanned with chowries. This alliance appears to have raised the status of the *Dombas* in the State. But the flagrant violation of caste-rules, the shock caused by their free entrance into places of worship, the galling subservience of the proud *Dāmaras* to the pleasure of this low-caste people, and the king's treacherous conduct towards the *Dāmaras*, at last produced an

<sup>1</sup> V, 327-47.

<sup>2</sup> V, 439, 445-48; these verses show the growing power of the *Dāmaras*.

inevitable reaction. A body of these barons, suddenly surprised him at night in the Domba-queen's quarters, and "killed him in the embrace of the crying *Svapāki*, while his body rested on her swelling breasts."<sup>1</sup> This event occurred in 937 A.D. The 'foolish ministers' then installed 'the wicked son of Pārtha,' called Unmattāvantī, who is described by Kalhaṇa as "worse than wicked." "His chief ministers were those who could make music with their noses, shoulders, etc., and who would bang their skulls with knocks and blows." We can form an adequate estimate of these ministers by the conduct of Parvagupta, "who danced in the royal assembly with his loin cloth taken off." The following are some of the instances of this king's revolting sports. Kalhaṇa tells us that :

"Instigated by wretched companions, he exercised himself in the use of arms by hitting naked women in the hollow, between their breasts with thrown daggers.

"He had the womb of pregnant women cut open in order to see the child, and also cut off limbs of labourers to test their power of endurance."

Encouraged by the wicked Parvagupta, who was plotting to secure the throne himself, he imprisoned and starved to death all his half-brothers, and at last killed his father Pārtha in his retirement at the Jayendravihāra at Śrīnagara with revolting cruelty.<sup>2</sup> But before the "long-continued laugh" of amusement of his cruel deed was over, he became afflicted with a consumptive disease, and after suffering immeasurable pains died in 939 A.D. Kalhaṇa tells us that, not to speak of his subjects, even the 14 queens of his seraglio were delighted at his death.<sup>3</sup>

"The parricide miscreant king, when his descent to hell was near, placed on the throne a young child called Śūravarman (II), whom the servant-girls of his seraglio had procured from

<sup>1</sup> V, 354-413; for his copper coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> For the copper coins of Pārtha see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45. *COIM*, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> V, 418-44. For his copper coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45.

somewhere and falsely declared to be the king's son." Before the child-king's position could be consolidated, the commander-in-chief (*Kampanādhpati*),<sup>1</sup> Kamalavardhana, advanced on the capital from Maḍavarājya, and easily defeated the royal troops. He, however, very foolishly did not ascend the throne at once, but 'collected all the Brahmans and canvassed them in his desire for the royal power.' The Brahmans, who are described by Kalhaṇa as 'resembling bulls without horns,' dressed in coarse woollen cloaks, met in an assembly and debated the question for 5 or 6 days. At last their choice fell upon Yaśaskara, the ambitious and eloquent son of Prabhākaradeva, 'the secret paramour of Sugandhā,' who had just returned from abroad.

With the accession of Yaśaskara in A.D. 939 the Utpala dynasty came to an end. Kalhana gives a favourable description of the reign of the new king. "The land became so free from robbery that at night the doors were left open in the bazars, and the roads were secure for travellers. As he exercised careful supervision, the functionaries, who had plundered everything, found no other occupation but to look after the cultivation."<sup>2</sup> The chronicler illustrates the judicial sagacity of the king by two stories which appear to be based on fact, and mentions the building of a *maṭha* for students from *Āryadeśa*.<sup>3</sup> Yet he was not entirely free from defects. His excessive joy at the death of his eldest brother, his connivance at the love-intrigues of the *Maṇḍaleśa* Velāvitta with his queens, his infatuation for the courtesan Lallā, who "yet had meetings with a Candāla watchman" and association with those "who had eaten the food remnants of the *Dombas*," are mentioned among his faults.<sup>4</sup> To this last fault Kalhaṇa ascribes his

<sup>1</sup> V, 447. See Stein's note on this verse in his *Eng. Trans.* He has explained that *kampana* here means *army* and not a *country*.

<sup>2</sup> VI, 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> VI, 14-67, 87-88; one of the stories is also found in *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 386

<sup>4</sup> VI, 68-84.

abominable' and lingering disease which overtook him towards the end of his reign. Rejecting the claims of his young son Saṃgrāmadeva, "as he knew that he was not begotten by himself," he then had Varnaṭa, the son of his paternal grand-uncle Rāmadeva, consecrated "by the ministers, *Ekāṅgas* and feudal chiefs." But Varnaṭa gave offence to the king by not visiting or even enquiring after his condition, and the scheming Parvagupta at the last moment persuaded the dying prince to grant the throne to Saṃgrāmadeva. Feeling his end to be near, he then proceeded to his *maṭha*, where his death was hastened by a dose of poison (948 A D.)<sup>1</sup>

The child-king Saṃgrāmadeva, who was nicknamed *Vakrāṅghri* (crooked-footed), was installed as king under the guardianship of his grandmother. But the real power was wielded by the six *mantris*, Parvagupta and his five colleagues. Parvagupta had been intriguing to seize the crown since the days of Unmattāvanti. He now put out of the way the others, together with the king's grandmother, and began to display conduct which "created the mingled impression of *rājan* and *rājānaka*." Disarming suspicion by serving the child-king by bringing him food, etc., he eluded the 'hostile *Ekāṅgas*' under the cover of a heavy snowfall, and, surrounding the palace, killed the boy-king in A D 949. Then, throwing the dead body, 'with a stone bound to his neck,' into the *Vitastā*, he seated himself on the vacant throne.<sup>2</sup>

Parvagupta rose from humble circumstances, his grandfather being a mere clerk (*divira*). He appears to have been a strong ruler, and Kalhana tells us that the "malevolent princes, *Ekāṅgas*, chiefs, ministers, officials and *Tantrins* (*pārthiv-aikāṅga-sāmanṭa-mantri-kāyastha-tantri*) were all afraid of him." But his reign was characterised by fiscal oppression.

<sup>1</sup> VI, 69, 84, 90-107. For another version of his death VI, 108-112. For his copper coins, CMI, see Plate IV, and p 45.

<sup>2</sup> VI, 114-25.

He is said to have "accumulated treasures, and thus again raised to power the functionaries, those plagues of the people." With his ill-gotten riches he founded the shrine of Śiva Parvateśvara, near the site of Skandhabhavana-vihāra in Śrīnagara.<sup>1</sup> Then, worn out by cares and agitations he was seized by dropsy and died in the precincts of the Sūreśvarī Tīrtha (mod. Iśbar on the shore of the Dal lake) in A.D. 950.<sup>2</sup>

He was succeeded by his son Kṣemagupta, a worthless young man addicted to licentious habits and drinking, and fond of evil company. In the hands of "Vāmana and other roguish sons of Jisnu" he danced "just as if he were a doll pulled by strolling players with strings." Of the disgusting revels and corruptions of his court it will be sufficient to quote only the following verse of Kalhana: "Among his minions the two beggars Hari and Dhūrjaṭi were simpletons in the art of procuring, as they protected the virtue of their mothers"<sup>3</sup> In order to kill the Ḍāmara Saṃgrāma, who had taken asylum in the famous Jayendravihāra, the king burnt it down and founded the temple of Kṣemagauriśvara with its ruins. The only important incident of his reign is his marriage with Diddā, daughter of Siṃharāja, the lord of Lohara, and grand-daughter of the *Sāhi* ruler Bhīma.<sup>4</sup> From this time onward the influence of the *Sāhis* and the House of Lohara gradually increased in the Kashmirian court and had important consequences on its future history. We are told that Diddā so much engrossed the mind of the king that he "became known by the humiliating appellation *Diddā-Ksema*." The truth of this statement of Kalhana is verified by the copper coins of this king with the legend *Di-Ksema* which is no doubt a contraction of the above name. It is certainly an indication of the prominent position held by the young queen during her husband's reign. This conclusion is

<sup>1</sup> See Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, Note K, pp. 339-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, note on VI, 137; VI, 147-48. For his coins, see CMI, Plate IV, and p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> VI, 166.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, chapter on the *Sāhis*, pp. 77-78; see also VI, 178.

further strengthened by the fact that while the coins of Kṣemagupta bearing the name of the queen "are extremely common,... the single name coin is unique."<sup>1</sup> In the course of a jackal hunt, the young king was shaken with fright by seeing "a flame issuing from the mouth of a howling jackal." As a consequence of this, the king contracted *lūtā* disease,<sup>2</sup> and died in A.D. 958.<sup>3</sup>

The period of approximately half century (958-1003 A.D.) which follows is dominated by the masterful personality of Diddā. Abhimanyu, the young son of Kṣemagupta, was next installed as king under the guardianship of this widowed queen-mother. The first incident of the reign was a terrible conflagration in Śrīnagara, which "purified the land by burning the great buildings which the contact of the kings who had been touched by the *Dombas* and *Candālas* had defiled." The next incident was the downfall of the *Sarvādhikāra* Phalguṇa the conqueror of Rājapuri (mod. Rajauri), who outshone all other ministers 'by counsel, courage, energy, and all other good qualities' He had incurred the enmity of Diddā because he had given his daughter Candralekhā to the last king. He was also an object of hatred to all other ministers because of his ability and high office. When the proud minister perceived his critical situation and when new dishonour was continually showered upon him by the queen, he laid his sword at Varāha-kṣetra and retired with his troops to Parnotsa (mod. Punch). The queen next found Mahimān and Pātala, sons of two daughters of Parvagupta conspiring for the throne. They had grown up "in the king's palace as if they were his own sons," and wielded great influence. But Diddā turned them out of the royal palace, and when they raised a formidable rebellion she

<sup>1</sup> CMI, Plate IV, and p. 45; CCIM, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> In VI, 185 and 187 Kalhaṇa describes it as a variety of eruptions, "resembling split lentils," which covered the body, and was accompanied with fever.

<sup>3</sup> Because he often showered bracelets on the arms of his courtiers he acquired the *śiṛṇḍa* Kaṭkaṇavarṇa. See VI, 161 and 301.

quickly bought off their Brahman supporters. The result was a temporary reconciliation between Mahimān and the queen.<sup>1</sup> One of the bribed Brahmans, Yaśodhara, was made the commander-in-chief, but as soon as he displayed energy in defeating the *Sāhi* Thakkana, Diddā grew suspicious and believed in the accusation that Yaśodhara 'had taken money for keeping Thakkana on his throne.'<sup>2</sup> When Diddā attempted to banish him on this charge, his supporters raised a formidable rebellion and besieged her in the palace. But, thanks to the assistance of the minister Naravāhana and the valiant defence of the *Ekāngas*, the rebellion was crushed, and the queen took terrible vengeance on her disaffected ministers. We are told that "Those treacherous ministers, who during sixty years from the Laukika era 3977 (A.D. 901-02) onward had robbed sixteen kings, from king Gopāla (varman) to Abhimanyu, of their dignity, lives and riches, were quickly exterminated by the energy of queen Diddā..." This victory induced the grateful queen to make Naravāhana her chief councillor 'with the title of *Rājānaka*.' For sometime "she slept when he slept, took food when he took it, rejoiced in his joy, and from sympathy felt dejected when he was despondent." But soon Sindhu, the treasurer, put into her head that the minister was gradually trying to usurp royal power. This belief led her to heap such insults upon Naravāhana 'that tormented by disgrace he committed suicide.'<sup>3</sup> An attempt to kill the sons of the *Ḍāmara Saṃgrāma* next involved her in a rebellion of the landed aristocracy. Being unable to cope with these troubles, she recalled Phalguṇa to her side. At this time the king, who, though weak, was a learned and handsome man, developed consumption and died (972 A.D.). He was succeeded by his young son Nandigupta.<sup>4</sup> The death of her son came as a great shock

<sup>1</sup> VI, 190-225.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, chapter on the *Sāhis*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>3</sup> VI, 228-77.

<sup>4</sup> VI, 278-93. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45. *CCIM*, p. 270.



to the queen-regent, and for one year she was engaged in laying the foundations of temples, *mathas*, and cities for acquiring religious merit. Kalhaṇa records the tradition that "she made 64 foundations in different localities" and enclosed with stone walls almost all the temples the surrounding walls of which had been burnt down." Amongst her more important pious foundations may be mentioned the temples of Viṣṇu Diddāsvāmin, the cities of Diddāpura, and Kaṅkanapura, and several *vihāras* and *mathas* for the residence of foreigners. One of these, Diddāmatha, has left its memory in the name Dīd<sup>a</sup>mar, which is now applied to the western end of Srinagar on the right bank of the Vitastā.<sup>1</sup> But this burst of pious enthusiasm was short-lived. Kalhaṇa had already indicated a fatal weakness in her character when her courage failed before the funeral pyre of the dead husband. Before long "The officers who held charge of foreign affairs, the royal household and other posts" began to visit the queen's bed-chamber without scruples. This factor in her character, together with a passionate desire for power, soon brought about a violent reaction. As a result of this she killed her little grandson Nandigupta by 'employing witchcraft' in 973 A.D., and two years later in a similar way disposed of another grandson, Tribhuvana, who had been raised to the throne in his place.<sup>2</sup> In 975 she put "her last grandson Bhīmagupta on that path which bore the name throne" The opportune death of the venerable minister Phalguṇa removed the last restraint, and "thereafter she committed hundredfold excesses by open misconduct, infuriated just as a female elephant in rut which has torn off its face-covering." Even ministers and leading men became procurers of her "many paramours." As the child-king Bhīmagupta after four or five years "became a little developed in intellect and recognised that the affairs of his kingdom and his

<sup>1</sup> VI, 300, VII, II; VIII, 349, also Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> VI, 189, 198, 310-12 For the coins of these two kings see CMI, Plate IV, and p. 45; also CCIM, p. 270.

grandmother's way of living were not right," he was imprisoned and put to death by various tortures (980-81 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Shortly before this event Diddā had been captivated by a young Khasa from Parṇotsa named Tuṅga. He had at first come to Kashmir as a herdsman of buffaloes, and later obtained employment as a letter-carrier in the Foreign Office. When Diddā herself ascended the throne in 980-81 A.D., the infatuated queen made him "the *Sarvādhikāri*, and raised him above everybody." Four brothers of Tuṅga were also placed in high offices. The result was that the former ministers whom Tuṅga and his brothers ousted, united and raised a rebellion which was headed by the Lohara prince Vīgraharāja, son of Diddā's brother. He began his campaign by inducing the Brahmans holding the chief *Agrahāras* to enter upon a solemn fast. But before the disturbances could proceed further Diddā by a judicious distribution of gold amongst the Brahmans brought the sacred fast to an end, and the rebellion soon collapsed. A second attempt of Vīgraharāja was also crushed by the vigorous action of Tuṅga. At this time Prthvīpāla, the king of Rājapuri, who probably acknowledged the supremacy of Kashmir, 'showed arrogance,' and practically destroyed an invading force sent from Śrīnagara. But Tuṅga and his brother retrieved the disaster by suddenly penetrating into Rājapuri by another route. Owing to the diversion caused by the burning of his capital, Prthvīpāla was defeated and the remnant of the Kashmirian forces rescued. Prthvīpāla was forced to pay tribute to Tuṅga who on his return to Śrīnagara was invested with the post of Commander-in-chief by the grateful queen. The last recorded incident of Diddā's reign was a rising of the Dāmaras, whose hosts however were destroyed by her brave lover "with the courage of a lion." After this she selected Saṃgrāmarāja, a son of her brother Udayarāja, for the rank of *Yuvarāja*, and died in 1003 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VI, 318-32. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45, also *CCIM* p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> VI, 318-22, 338-65. For her coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45. *CCIM*, p. 271.

In spite of all her glaring defects Diddā was certainly gifted with energy and statesmanship of a high order. This is nowhere better attested than by this last step, which secured a change of dynasty without any political upheavals. Saṃgrāmarāja was the younger brother of Vīgraharāja, prince of Lohara. His accession thus led to the foundation of the first Lohara dynasty in Śrīnagara. Before the queen died she had "made Saṃgrāmarāja and Tunga and the rest take the oath by sacred libation that they would not harm each other." So Tunga remained in power even after the death of Diddā. An attempt on the part of the Brahman councillors to bring about his fall was crushed by Tuṅga's energy. Kalhana admits that besides his bravery Tuṅga had been always "eminently prudent in his conduct, and wholly bent on satisfying the people." But old age and the "cares of endless official and other affairs" gradually weakened his discretion, and he took the false step of appointing "a low-born mean *Kāyastha*, Bhadreśwara by name," in charge of the *Gṛhakṛtya* office. The administration of this officer, whose hereditary occupation "had been to trade in night-soil" resulted in fiscal oppression and much suffering of the people. His position was further weakened, when on being sent to help the *Śāhi* Trilocanapāla against Maḥmūd of Ghazni, he brought about the defeat of the Hindu forces on the banks of the Toṣī, by his inordinate folly and vanity.<sup>1</sup> After this defeat, when he returned to Śrīnagara in disgrace the intrigues against him gained a fresh start. Even the king's brother Vīgraharāja began to urge in secret letters the removal of Tuṅga. The king, who was in sympathy with the conspirators, but whose weak 'character was equal to his courage,' only waited for a favourable opportunity. The opportunity soon arrived. One day the unsuspecting Tuṅga entered

<sup>1</sup> VII, 47-70; KY, pp. 389-92; TA, p. 8; TF, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 54. For details see *supra*, chapter on the *Śāhis*, pp. 95-97.

the palace with his son and a slender following, and was at once surrounded and killed by the conspirators. Thus died a valiant and loyal servant of the state, who, though of low origin, was never guilty of treachery,—no mean compliment in this period of Kashmir history. The officers who succeeded him were only noted for their licentious habits and rapacity, and “accumulated crores” by plundering the people and the treasury.<sup>1</sup>

The most important incident in the history of Kashmir after the death of Tunga was the futile attempt of Mahmūd of Ghazni to conquer the Valley. Kalhana in his account of the reign only incidentally refers to the cowardly conduct of the sons of the low-born Candramukha, ‘who on being sent by the king to fight with the Turuṣkas, like Tunga, turned, fled, and again came back to their own country.’<sup>2</sup> This incident most probably happened in connection with the attempt of Mahmūd to invade Kashmir after the defeat of Trilocanapāla. But unfortunately Kalhana does not supply us with any details of this grave danger to his country’s independence. For this we have to depend on the Muslim chroniclers who had recorded the history of the Yamīnī dynasty. I have already shown elsewhere how Mahmūd after his victory on the Toṣī in 1013 A.D., advanced into the foothills of Kashmir, and carried away much booty and plunder.<sup>3</sup> According to both Niẓām ud-Dīn and Firishta Mahmūd in A.H. 406 (A.D. 1015) returned to the attack. The latter gives the following account of this campaign: “Mahmūd in the year A.H. 406, revisited Kashmir with his army, in order to punish some revolted chiefs, and to besiege some forts, which he had not reduced in his former expedition. The first of these forts was Lohkot, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated the king’s utmost efforts; for not being able to reduce it during the summer season, he was obliged, on the approach of winter, to abandon his enterprise and return

<sup>1</sup> VII, 99-110.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 111-118.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, chapter on the *Śākis*, p. 98.

to Ghazni. On his route he was misled by his guides, and falling into extensive morasses, from which he for several days could not extricate his army, many of his troops perished, and he failed in all the enterprises of this campaign''<sup>1</sup> Nizām ud-Dīn, though brief, substantially agrees with this story.<sup>2</sup> Stein has shown that this fort, which blocked Maḥmūd's advance into Kashmir, is to be identified with al-Bīrūnī's Lahūr (or Lauhūr)<sup>3</sup> and the fort of Lohara of Kalhana, situated not far from the Tōs-maidān Pass.<sup>4</sup> Starting from some place on the Punjab plain between the Indus and the Jhelum, Maḥmūd must have been advancing along this route. He may have been following the Toṣī (mod. Tohi) river from some position north of the modern town of Jhelum, where he defeated Trilocanapāla in 1013 A.D. Though Maḥmūd was repulsed and failed to enter the valley, yet it seems that he succeeded in conquering a portion of the 'sub-montane regions which adjoin Kashmir on the south.' This is proved by 'Utbī who tells us that when Maḥmūd started on his expedition against Kanauj (1018 A.D.) he was waited upon by Jankī, son of Samhī, the ruler of the pass of Kashmir, who marched 'in front of him as a guide crossing valley after valley.'<sup>5</sup> In A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021) Maḥmūd again invaded Kashmir and invested the stronghold of Lohkot, "but finding it altogether impregnable he decamped" and proceeded to Lahore<sup>6</sup> Nizām ud-Dīn

<sup>1</sup> *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol I, pp. 54-55

<sup>2</sup> *TA*, Trans. by B. Dey, p. 9

<sup>3</sup> *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Trubner, Vol I, pp. 208 and 317

<sup>4</sup> *Eng Trans Rājataranginī*, Vol I, p. 108; Vol II, Note E, pp. 293-300

<sup>5</sup> In the original Arabic Text of the *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī*, the name is clearly given as

جنکي بن سمهي See the text printed on the margin of *Ta'rikh ul-Kāmil*, Bulak, Cairo, 1874, Vol XII, p. 73 Reynolds in his translation from the Persian version of the text gives the name as 'Habālī-'bn-Shāsanī,' see p. 451, Elliott (Vol. II, p. 42) gives the name as Sablī, son of Shāhī, son of Bamhī.' I do not know where Prof. Habib gets the name 'Sali.' See his *Maḥmūd of Ghazni*, p. 36. As 'Utbī, the contemporary historian distinctly calls him "ruler of the pass of Kashmir" we cannot accept the statement of Firishta that he was lord of the whole valley (I am indebted to Dr. Mirza of Lucknow University for help in comparing the original Arabic Text.)

<sup>6</sup> *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 65.

tells us that the siege was personally conducted by the Sultān "for a month" before he retreated towards Lahore.<sup>1</sup>

Samgrāmarāja died in the year 1028 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Harirāja. He was a popular prince, and during his brief reign appears to have taken steps for the preservation of law and order in the State. But his reign was cut short by sudden death after a reign of 22 days, and Kalhaṇa refers to a general report that the licentious queen-mother Śrīlekhā "had used witchcraft against her son who was dissatisfied with her conduct." The design of the queen to capture the crown was frustrated by the prompt action of the assembled *Ekāṅgas* and the king's milk-brother Sagara, who placed her young son Ananta on the throne. The attempt of Viṅraharāja, the ruler of Lohara, who had been intriguing for the throne for a long time, also proved a failure. He advanced from Lohara by rapid marches, burnt down the "Gate" (*dvāra*), and unexpectedly appearing in Śrinagara, threw himself into the Loṭhikāmaṭha.<sup>2</sup> But the troops of Śrīlekhā killed him and his followers by setting fire to the place.<sup>3</sup>

During the first part of the reign of Ananta, the *Śāhi* princes (*Śāhi-putrah*), who had taken shelter in Kashmir after the destruction of their power in the Punjab, wielded great power at his court.<sup>4</sup> They were intimate friends of the king, and used to draw high salaries. One of them, Rudrapāla, who had married Āsamatī, a daughter of Inducandra, the prince of Jālandhara, induced the king to marry her somewhat younger sister Sūryamatī. Though the influence of these *Śāhis* on the king and the State was not wholly beneficial, yet their bravery often helped Kashmir to tide over the dangers of foreign invasion, and civil war. Hardly had the new king established himself on the throne

<sup>1</sup> TA, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 120; 139-41.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 127-41;] for the coins of Samgrāmarāja, see CMI, Plate V, and p. 46, also CGIM, p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> For details *supra*, chapter on the *Śāhis*, pp. 99-101.

when the powerful Commander-in-chief Tribhuvana challenged him at the head of the Dāmaras and practically the whole army of the State. But fortunately the *Ekāṅgas* and the mounted soldiers remained loyal and with these Ananta attacked and defeated the rebel forces at Śālāsthala after a fierce contest.<sup>1</sup> As a reward for their loyalty the grateful king “relieved the *Ekāṅgas* of the uncertain dependence on the *Akṣapaṭala* office and gave them instead a fixed assignment” amounting to 96 crores of *Dinnāras*.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after this the *gañjādhipa* Brahmarāja, having quarrelled with Rudrapāla, again raised certain Dāmaras against the king. The rebellion assumed serious proportions when that disaffected official succeeded in inducing ‘Acalamaṅgala, king of the Darads, together with seven *Mleccha* princes’ to invade Kashmir. But thanks to the bravery of Rudrapāla ‘the *Mleccha* kings were all slain or captured and the king of Kashmir obtained much plunder in gold, jewels, and other presents.’ The *Sāhi* prince further presented his sovereign with the head of the Darad king.<sup>3</sup> It is likely that by the word *Mleccha*, Kalhana meant Muslim chiefs from the Upper Indus valley. Bilhana, however, referring to this victory in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, designates the enemies of Ananta as *Sakas*.<sup>4</sup>

After a general epidemic of death had removed Rudrapāla and a large number of *Sāhi* princes, Ananta gradually came under the influence of his able queen Sūryamatī, who bore the second name of Subhatā. Kalhana mentions various pious foundations of this queen. To the vicinity of one of these, the shrine of Sadāśiva, the royal couple transferred their residence after the death of their son Rājarāja.<sup>5</sup> In the meantime the

<sup>1</sup> VII, 143-160. On the place of battle see Stein's note on VII, 159, in Vol. I of his *Eng. Trans.*

<sup>2</sup> VII, 161-63.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 166-76.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. by Bühler, Bombay, 1876, XVIII, 33-34; for *Saka* in the sense of Muḥammadans see *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 108 and Plate X. By *Saka*, Bilhana may have hinted at the Turkish origin of the *Mleccha* princes.

<sup>5</sup> VII, 180-87.

king had not given up his extravagant ways, which he had learnt from the *Sāhis*. His attachment for foreign jesters, and fondness for horses and other foreign luxuries involved him in heavy debts. One of his creditors, Padmarāja, a foreign trader, for some time held even the royal diadem as security for his debts. We are told that "in every month on the day of the solemn reception, these emblems of regal dignity were brought from his house to be used in the royal assembly" Kalhana incidentally informs us that through this man, the Paramāra king, Bhoja (c 1010-1055 A.D.) arranged for the regular supply of water, from the sacred spring of Kapateśvara in Kashmir to Mālava. This reveals the interesting fact that in spite of the political isolation of Kashmir due to its mountain barriers and the conquest of the Punjab by the Muslims, there was still regular intercourse between Kashmir and the other Hindu States of Northern India <sup>1</sup>

The disgrace to the country due to the king's financial embarrassments was at last removed by Sūryamatī, who redeemed the royal debts by her own savings. From this time onwards the queen took the "king's business in hand," and he "did what he was bid to do." As the behaviour of the royal couple to each other was irreproachable, the arrangement worked well. Sūryamatī secured the services of a number of honest and competent ministers. Kṣema, a barber, organised the *Pādāgra* office,<sup>2</sup> and filled the empty treasury "by the impost of *dvādasa-bhāga*, and other means." Keśava, a Brahman from Trigarta, became a successful minister, and yet—a thing unique in Kashmiri history—still remained poor. Haladhara, the son of a Vaiśya temple watchman, gradually rose in Sūryamatī's service till he obtained the Prime-ministership (*Sarvādhikārikā*). He wisely abolished the 'royal privilege of marking gold which enabled the officials to estimate the private m

<sup>1</sup> VII, 188-96; Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 197-203, 210, on the office of *Pādāgra* see Stein's note in his Eng. Trans., I, p. 286.



of individuals and which in its turn offered unique opportunities for the confiscation of private property by rapacious kings. He executed some of the 'detested horse-trainers who robbed property and women,' and by his liberality and steps for appeasing the sufferings of the people became popularly known as 'the abolisher of imposts.'<sup>1</sup> Saved from his financial distress by the wise internal government of his queen, king Ananta now turned his attention to foreign conquest. Bilhana in his *Vikramānkaśekhara* tells us that Ananta's supremacy was acknowledged by Campā, Dārvābhisāra, Trigarta, and Bhartula.<sup>2</sup> This is borne out by Kalhaṇa, who ascribes to this ruler 'victories over various kings.' He first invaded Campā, and after 'uprooting king Sāla placed a new ruler on the throne.' The suggestion of Kielhorn that Sāla is to be identified with king Sālavāhanadeva mentioned in a Chamba copper-plate, and that of Vogel, that the prince raised to the throne was the latter's son Somavarman, have been generally accepted.<sup>3</sup> Encouraged by this success, Ananta appears to have made a number of rash inroads into foreign territories. In one such expedition in Vallāpura, situated in the lower hills to the east of Jammu, his troops 'became worn out' and were with difficulty extricated by Haladhara. In a similar attack on Uraśā, 'the enemy blocked the routes' and his retreat was only made possible when his Commander-in-chief 'cleared the roads.'<sup>4</sup> But while the king was trying to re-assert the suzerainty of Kashmir over the surrounding hill states, trouble was brewing nearer at home. The Dāmaras of Kramarājya rose in rebellion and killed the *Dvārapati* Rājeśvara, while the trusted Haladhara 'became an object of slander on account of his continual attendance upon the queen.' Things became still worse when, goaded

<sup>1</sup> VII, 204-214.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. by Bühler, XVIII, 38.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 218, 14, Vol. XVII, 1888, pp. 8, 9 and 11; *Antiquities of Chamba State* by Vogel, Calcutta, 1911, pp. 102-03, 185, 193; Stein's note on his *Eng. Trans.*, Vol. I, pp. 286-87 on VII, 218.

<sup>4</sup> VII, 219-21.

continually by his wife, and against the advice of his trusted ministers, he abdicated his throne in favour of his son Kalaśa in 1063 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The inordinate fondness of Sūryamatī for this unworthy son, who rumour held to be the child of a petty official substituted on the death of the queen's own child, was, as we shall see, a source of infinite sufferings to the king and the country. For the time being however Haladhara by his diplomatic skill succeeded in inducing Ananta to resume his royal power. Kalaśa was kept under strict supervision, serving in state functions "like an assistant, acting as if he were his father's Purohita" While in the harem, the jealous Sūryamatī "made the queens of her son constantly do the work of slave-girls, until they did not refuse to do even the smearing of the house-floor with cow-dung, etc."<sup>2</sup> About this time the cousin of Ananta, the Lohara prince Kṣītirāja, being disgusted with his rebellious son Bhuvanarāja, bestowed his kingdom upon Utkarsa the second son of Kalaśa. Another good fortune for Kashmir at this time, was the conquest of 'Rājpurī and other regions' whose chiefs were forced to pay tribute by the brave Commander-in-chief Jindurāja.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime the arrangement by which Kalaśa continued to be king and the real power remained in the hands of his parents, appears to have worked smoothly. But Kalaśa came more and more under the influence of depraved and licentious parasites. Kalhana mentions 'five or six procurers' who were constantly at work to secure the king's 'enjoyment of the wives of others.' In one of these scandalous intrigues at night his presence was detected, and he was soundly belaboured by the *Candāla* guards of the house. His life was only saved with difficulty by declaring his identity. This dishonourable conduct of Kalaśa, caused an open rupture between father and son. When his efforts to imprison his son were frustrated by the

<sup>1</sup> VII, 222-23;

<sup>2</sup> VII, 240-50, 427, 435 and 487-488.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 251-67.

fondness of Sūryamatī, anger and disgust at his wife's conduct led Ananta to retire in 1079 A.D. to the *Tīrtha* of Vijayeśvara (mod. Vij<sup>a</sup>brōr). There he was followed by his wife, court and most of the troops.<sup>1</sup> Kalaśa however was not long in taking advantage of this false step. After reorganising his administration at the capital and raising an infantry force by loans from rich people, he attacked his parents in their new residence. Fortunately for Ananta, the Dāmaras and the cavalry remained loyal. But he was again prevented from crushing his son by his wife, who, perceiving the weakness of her son, induced him to march back to his own capital.<sup>2</sup> But the enmity between father and son went on increasing, and when Ananta offered the royal dignity to the scions of his father's cousin Jassarāja, Sūryamatī, fearing evil for her own descendants, called Kalaśa's son Harsa to Vijayeśvara. Harsa, though well-guarded succeeded in eluding his father's cavalry, and arrived in safety at the residence of his grandparents. This made Kalaśa more judicious in his conduct towards his father, and when "the Brahmans held a solemn fast against father and son, in order to put a stop to their hostility which caused ruin to their country," Ananta relented and lived at the capital for a period of two months. But coming to know that their son was trying to imprison them, the royal couple hurried back to their retreat at Vijayeśvara. Kalaśa now took drastic steps to undermine the power of his parents. Realising that their firm position in the country was largely due to their wealth, he set fire and burnt down the town of Vijayeśvara with the residence of his father. Ananta thus lost many of his possessions and with them much of his power. Kalaśa then began to press him to leave Kashmir and retire to Parṇotsa. When his 'masterful wife' also 'urged him on again and again with taunts to effect this project,' the much harassed prince severely rebuked her for her

<sup>1</sup> VII, 273-356.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 362-81.

baneful influence on his fortunes. The abusive retort of the angry queen led him to commit suicide 'by driving a knife into his anus.' Sūryamatī atoned for her faults by dying 'with a bright smile' on the funeral pyre of her husband. Ananta's age exceeded 61 years when he died in 1081 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

The tragic death of his parents had a magic effect on the character of Kalaśa. 'Taking an oath by sacred libation,' he effected a reconciliation with his son Harsa, and induced him to come back to the city 'with his grandparents' treasures.' Kalhaṇa tells us that at this time "there arose in the king a righteous disposition, a legitimate care for wealth which altogether removed his poverty." As the king began to "look after the country as a householder after his house, no one among the people felt misery." After establishing internal stability with the assistance of able officers like Vāmana, Kandarpa, and Vijayasīmha, and founding many temples and pious endowments,<sup>2</sup> the king then turned his mind to foreign conquests. Taking advantage of a civil war between Saṃgrāmapāla, the minor prince of Rājapurī, and his uncle Madanapāla, he effectively intervened in the affairs of that state and re-established Kashmir's supremacy over its prince, Uraśā, which was unsuccessfully invaded by his father, was next attacked. His general Malla with a small cavalry force crossed the Kishen Ganga, and carried off "king Abhaya's kingdom with his herds of horses." The result of this vigorous foreign policy of Kalaśa was seen in the year 1087-88, when there appeared in the king's court the following princes: "Kīrti, the ruler of Baddhāpura (?); Āsaṭa, king of Campā; Kalaśa, lord of Vallāpura; Saṃgrāmapāla, lord of Rājapurī; Utkarṣa, Lohara's ruler; Saṅgata (?), king of Uraśā; Gāmbhīrasīha, chief of Kānda; and Uttamarāja, the ruler of Kāṣṭhavāṭa."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VII, 390-434. For his coins see *OMI*, Plate V, and p. 46; *CCIM*, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 486-518 and 523-32.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 533-90. On the identification of the princes, see Stein's note on his *Eng. Trans.*, Vol. I, p. 315.

Though the identification of these rulers and the names of their principalities are not known in all cases, it is clear that Kalaśa had successfully carried out the old policy of Kashmir, by re-asserting its hegemony over the mountain states that surrounded it from Uraśā in the west to Kaṣṭhavāṭa in the east. Among this list of princes Āsata, the chief of Campā has been identified with the prince of the same name of the Chamba genealogical lists and copper plates.<sup>1</sup> Kalaśa was married to Bappikā, a sister of this prince, during the reign of Ananta. His son Harṣa was the offspring of this union.<sup>2</sup>

Unhappily the latter part of Kalaśa's reign was clouded by mutual suspicion between him and his son Harṣa. According to Kalhaṇa the latter was even in his early youth 'an embodiment of all sciences.'<sup>3</sup> A brave and powerful soldier, he soon acquired the reputation of "knowing all languages, a poet in all tongues, and as a depository of all learning." An accomplished musician, he amused his father "in public with songs as if he were a singer." Attracted by his personality and liberality, distinguished men from various countries came to his father's court. As his miserly father left them unnoticed, he 'assigned salaries' to these men. These expenses and his natural love for magnificence put him into financial difficulties. For a time he tided over these by supplementing his meagre allowance by presents from his father; but at last he was persuaded by the repeated efforts of Dhammaṭa to join a conspiracy to dethrone his father. The plot was however betrayed to Kalaśa, who, after vainly trying to obtain a repudiation of the conspiracy from his son, at last ordered his arrest (c. 1088).<sup>4</sup>

The conduct of his son brought on a violent reaction in the character of Kalaśa. During the last seven years (1081-1088

<sup>1</sup> Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, pp. 108, 187-202. Stein. Eng. Trans., *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 819, 1512.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 819.

<sup>4</sup> VII, 609-77.

A.D.) he had not entirely given up his evil habits. Kalhaṇa indeed notices that girls born in distant lands were bought for him from the Turuṣkas, and "with these and the wives whom he had often taken away from others.....he brought the number of the ladies in his seraglio to 72." But he preserved his strength by "the use of fish-broth and other aphrodisiacs."<sup>1</sup> He now threw away all discretion and even treated "some of his son's wives as if they were those of an enemy." His character 'sank to the level of animals,' and the severe strain of these habits soon told on his health. Conscious of approaching death, he brought as his successor his second son Utkarṣa from Lohara. Soon after he died in 1089 in his 49th year before the image of Mārtaṇḍa with the sound of music accompanying the coronation of the new king.<sup>2</sup>

Harṣa, as we have seen, was imprisoned by his father. Attempts were made to poison him in prison even by his own immoral wives. But thanks to the vigilance of his personal servant Prayāga, he kept himself alive with the food secretly brought by him. When Utkarṣa became king he transferred his brother to a more closely guarded prison and refused to allow him to go abroad.<sup>3</sup> In the meantime the administration of the new king met with increasing opposition. "Miserly like a *Śrotṛiya* and of mean character in his actions, he was not liked by the people, who are eager to have masters of large minds." The opposition found a capable leader in the king's step-brother Vijayamalla, who was disaffected for not receiving his promised daily allowance from the greedy king. Joined by Jayarāja, another son of Kalaśa, and some Ḍāmaras, he defeated the king's troops and besieged him in his palace at Śrīnagara. The ostensible object of the attack was to release Harṣa. Though Utkarṣa soon realised that the death of Harṣa would undermine this danger, his delay and vacillation, Harṣa's tact

<sup>1</sup> VII, 519-22.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 684-730; For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V, and p. 46; also *CCIM*, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 685-94, 706-07, 737-48.

and the vigour of Vijayamalla's attack all conspired to save Harṣa's life. Released by his younger brother to effect a compromise with Vijayamalla, Harṣa boldly seized the throne by taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in the palace. The rumour of Harṣa's coronation spread like wildfire, and "made the councillors assemble from all sides, as the thunder of the clouds attracts the *cātaka* birds." Utkarṣa was imprisoned and soon after committed suicide by cutting the vital arteries of his throat with a pair of scissors. He died in his 24th year (1089 A.D.) after a reign of only 22 days.<sup>1</sup>

Thus after many vicissitudes of fortune Harṣa at last became king. He is perhaps the most dazzling figure in the whole range of later Kashmirian history, and produced a profound impression on his contemporaries. About his personal appearance Kalhaṇa says: "He wore earrings which flashed like the reflected image of the sun ; on his round, broad head-dress was fixed a high diadem ; he used to look round like a pleased lion ; his bushy beard was hanging down low ; his shoulders were like those of a bull, his arms great, and his body of a dark-reddish complexion ; he had a broad chest with a narrow waist and his voice was deep like thunder. Thus even superhuman beings would have lost before him their presence of mind." Already proficient in many languages, a master musician and noted for his liberality, he became as it were a veritable *Kalpavṛkṣa* to the artists and literary men of his time. We are told that the Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who had left his country in the reign of Kalaśa, and had attained high honour as *Vidyāpati* in the court of 'Parmāḍi, the lord of Karmāṭa,' when he heard this 'thought even his great splendour a mere deception.' His love of magnificence was shewn in his numerous palaces "having golden *Āmalaka* ornaments and buildings which reached to the clouds." He introduced into the land "elegant fashions, just as spring brings flowers into the forest." Kalhaṇa tells

<sup>1</sup> VII, 731-33, 754-561.

us that during his reign not only were the courtiers and officials allowed to dress in gorgeous raiments so that each was mistaken in public for a king, but for the first time braided hair, head-dresses and ear ornaments which were long regarded as royal privileges were introduced amongst the nobles.<sup>1</sup> Amongst other innovations Kalhana notices the king's love of *Dākṣiṇātya* fashion and the introduction of coin-types from *Karṇāṭa*. This statement of the chronicler is strikingly verified by the discovery of the gold and silver coins of the 'elephant' type which according to Cunningham are clearly "copied from the coins of *Karṇāṭa*."<sup>2</sup> As an evidence of prosperity Kalhana adds that the 'use of gold and silver *Dinnāra* became plentiful during this reign while that of copper money grew rare.' Though there is certainly a good deal of poetic exaggeration in this statement, yet it is significant that of all the Lohara kings only his gold and silver coins have hitherto been discovered. The king's fondness for amusements was illustrated in the brilliant courts which he held every night. Sleeping only "for two watches of the day...he passed his nights in the assembly-hall, which was illuminated by a thousand lamps, attending meetings of learned men, musical performances and dances."<sup>3</sup>

Harsa began his rule by wisely retaining many of his father's State officials. Vijayamalla, to whom he owed his throne, was specially honoured by him, while Jayarāja, his younger brother, who was placed at the head of the whole host of Chamberlains became 'to him more than his life.' Kandarpa was placed in charge of the gate, while Madana received the chief command of the army. In order to make himself accessible to the humblest of his subjects at all time he hung up "at the palace gates (*simhadvāra*)...great bells in all four directions, to be informed by their sound of those,

<sup>1</sup> VII, 874-88, 921-24, 935-38; for fashions of the ladies of the court see verses 928-31.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 926; *CMI*, pp. 36-37, 46, and Plate V. For his other coins see *CCIM*, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 943-50, 1140-41.



who had come with the desire of making representations.<sup>1</sup> These arrangements for a time worked well, and the position of the king became gradually consolidated. Kalhana makes it amply clear that the first part of the reign of this prince was eminently successful. Thus even when the powerful Vijayamalla became disaffected and raised the standard of treason, he was driven out of the country and compelled to take shelter in the land of the Darads, where he perished in an avalanche.<sup>2</sup> The king's arms were equally successful in foreign war. Thus Saṃgrāmarāja, "the proud lord of Rājapurī," who had become unfriendly was defeated by Kandarpa after a severe contest and compelled to pay tribute. Soon after this success Jayarāja and Dhammaṭa, another relative of the king, 'who was lusting for the throne,' formed a treacherous design to kill the king. The plot however came to the knowledge of Harṣa, who by his diplomacy and intrigue not only frustrated the conspiracy but also effected their destruction. But these plots by his brothers and relations whom he held so dear and whom he had given no cause of complaint, seem to have gradually embittered his character, and he soon after executed with the sword and hangman most of his relatives, including "Domba, the elder of the two sons of Utkarṣa, whom he had himself brought up."<sup>3</sup>

Another disagreeable feature of his character also gradually came into prominence. As a result of lavish extravagance and liberality by which "beggars became able to support others" he soon found himself in financial difficulties. Urged by some of his wicked ministers, he was persuaded to annex the treasury of the temple of Bhīmakeśava, which was long closed on account of a quarrel amongst the members of the *Purohita* corporation. Once started, the 'policy of temple-spoliation was rapidly developed by the king into a regular practice.' When the treasures of the temple were exhausted, he appointed an officer

<sup>1</sup> VII, 879, 884-98.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 899-916.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 967-1068.

named Udayarāja as 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images' (*dev-otpātana-nāyaka*). Under the supervision of this officer a systematic policy of robbing temples of their metal images was followed, and Kalhana observes that soon with a few exceptions "there was not one temple in a village, town or city, which was not despoiled of its images by that *Turuska*, king Harṣa." The use of this epithet by Kalhana has led Stein to suspect that Harṣa might have been affected by Muslim influences. While the association of the king with his 'Turuska captains' is in favour of this view, the fact that 'this perverse-minded king ate domesticated pigs until his death' seems to go against it. Kalhana tells us how statues of gods were at first defiled by pouring "excrement and urine over their faces." The agents appointed to do this work were heterodox 'naked mendicants' who after defiling them dragged the images along the roads "by ropes round their ankles, with spittings instead of flowers."<sup>1</sup>

The horror excited by these practices in a Hindu State can only be imagined. Yet it was this prince who in the beginning of his reign had 'profusely provided Brahmans with skins of black antelopes, cows with calves and other presents' while his ministers and wives had vied with each other in building temples and other pious practices.<sup>2</sup> His character appears to have gradually degenerated under the evil influence of his courtiers, who still represented all the immoral influences of Kalaśa's time. Indeed Kalhana remarks that soon Harṣa 'showed in all respects such weaknesses of moral sense as befitted a son of king Kalaśa.' The king's seraglio, became 'the embodiment of all that was immoral.' His father's wives who had brought him up in their arms, 'he took in his arms,' and he violated even his own sisters. "Confused in his senses, the king placed 360 women

<sup>1</sup> VII, 982-98, 1080-1090.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 951-57.

of doubtful character in his harem. He took there continually whatever women (he could get); only women of *Domba* and *Caṇḍāla* class he excluded.''<sup>1</sup>

The results of the steady degeneration of the king's character and administration was nowhere better illustrated than in the foreign relations of Kashmir. Poisoned by treacherous ministers, the king had exiled his only able and trusted general, the *Dvārapati*, Kandarpa, the conqueror of Rājapurī. On a second occasion, when the king personally undertook an expedition against this hill state, his want of firmness and treachery of the prefect of police Sunna led to his ignominious retreat. As the poet puts it, "from that time onwards the glory of the king vanished, and his epithet of *Pratāpacakravartin* faded away altogether." Another expedition, which resulted in still greater disaster, was his attempt to capture the fort of Dugdha-gḥāta from the Darads. The attack on the fort was undertaken on the report of the spies to the effect that the snow which was kept there for the use of the garrison had at that time become exhausted by a drought. But unfortunately for the king, the distress of the besieged was soon relieved by a heavy rainfall, and the Kashmirians rendered "miserable by the rain, remembered their houses" and began to retreat. The Darads took up the pursuit and spread confusion and slaughter in the ranks of Harṣa. Kalhaṇa notices that in the disgraceful rout Malla and his two sons Uccala and Sussala alone 'did not flee, but endeavoured to save the army,' which was left without leaders. While Harṣa thus failed in achieving success nearer home, he formed visionary projects to overthrow the Karṇāta king Paramardi and capture his queen Candalā.<sup>2</sup>

Amongst the various causes of the king's financial distress, Kalhaṇa had specially pointed out his 'extravagant expenditure

<sup>1</sup> VII, 958-64, 1142-49.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 1119-1200; *Vikramāñkadevacarita*, Ed. by Bühler, Introduction, pp. 38-41. Cantos VII to IX, describe Vikramāditya's marriage with the Śilabhāra princess, Candralakṣmī.

upon various corps of his army.' These disastrous expeditions only increased his troubles, and led him to impose heavier and more oppressive taxes. By this time not only had he run through the treasures of his father and grandfather and those brought by Utkarṣa from Lohara but also the wealth derived from temple-spoliation. In a desperate effort to raise revenue he appointed "numerous officers, who took their designation from frequent new imposts." "What more need be said? . . . he appointed also a 'prefect of nightsoil' to raise revenue." The country groaned under the oppression of the *Kāyasthas*. When things were in such a critical condition, 'the villages were suddenly flooded by an inundation and there arose an extreme scarcity of all wares' due to a famine (A. D. 1099). The price of a *Khāri* of rice rose to 500 *Dinnāras*, while two *Palas* of grape juice cost 1 *Dinnāra*. A plague raged over the land, while 'in broad daylight people were killed by robbers' who took 'golden bowls even from the king's own apartments.' 'Day and night the sound of the funeral music accompanied by loud lamentations' rose on every side.<sup>1</sup>

Taking advantage of the anarchical condition of the land, the *Ḍāmaras* gradually 'became overpowerful.' In the next two years of his reign Harṣa was engaged in an unceasing struggle against this landed aristocracy. Kalhaṇa gives vivid details of the king's ruthless policy against these barons of Kashmir, who at this period appear to have mostly belonged to the tribal division of the *Lavanyas*. "Wherever the king took his abode, there the people formed wide-spreading triumphal garlands with the horrible heads of the *Lavanyas*." Driven out by the angry king, "some of them ate cow's meat in the lands of the *Mlecchas*, others lingered on by working water wheels, land mills, and the like." When he had exterminated the *Ḍāmaras* in Maḍavarājya, Harṣa hurried to Kramarājya. The barons of this place however banded together and for a time offered effec-

<sup>1</sup> VII, 1089, 1100-07, 1216-1226.

tive opposition to his generals.<sup>1</sup> When things were in this desperate condition, Harṣa committed a grave blunder which ultimately caused the loss of his life and throne. I have already referred to the bravery of Uccala and Sussala in the disastrous retreat from Dugdhaghāta. Though they had done nothing against the king, Harṣa was led to harbour suspicions against them. But being warned of the murderous intentions of the king by a friendly courtesan, the brothers effected their escape from the city in A. D. 1100. Uccala fled to Saṃgrāmapāla, king of Rājapurī, while Sussala betook himself to the court of Kalha, the ruler of Kaliṅjara.<sup>2</sup> Kalhaṇa tells us that these two princes were 'through Jessarāja, Guṅga, and Malla, the fourth direct descendants from Kāntirāja, the brother of Didda and uncle of king Saṃgrāmarāja of Kashmir.'<sup>3</sup> The futile attempts of Harṣa to capture them only increased their importance, and the disorganised Ḍāmaras rebels soon found in them not only capable leaders but also successful pretenders for the throne of Kashmir. Urged by the oppressed barons, Uccala in 1101 A.D. entered Kashmir through the Tos<sup>a</sup>maidān route.<sup>4</sup> The Ḍāmaras and Khāśikas from the mountains at once joined him from all sides. In the language of Kalhaṇa: "Masses of Ḍāmaras issued forth from all regions, just as bees from the holes in the ground when the snow melts." Uccala formed a junction with the barons of Kramarājya and occupied Parihāsapura. Here however he was attacked and defeated by Harṣa, and escaped with great difficulty.<sup>5</sup> It was after this victory that Harṣa broke up the 'glorious'

<sup>1</sup> VII, 1227-42.

<sup>2</sup> VII 1246-1258, Kaliṅjara, sometimes spelt Kālījara (VIII, 201, 618, 915), is apparently the hill fort called Kalunjur, on the frontiers of Kashmir, where Khwāja Aḥmad, the Vazīr of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was imprisoned for 18 years. See *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 89 and 99; also Stein's note on VII, 1258, in Vol. I of his *Eng. Trans. of the Rājatarāṅgī*. It must not be confused with the Kālījara modern Kalinjar in the Banda district of the U P.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 1282-87.

silver image of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava. But he foolishly failed to take prompt steps for the pursuit of Uccala who soon began to reorganise his forces.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime a new danger appeared in the south. Aided by the chief of Kalñjara, Sussala entered Kashmir through the Pir Pantsāl route, and, being encouraged by messages from his father, attacked and captured the watch-station of Śūrapura.<sup>2</sup> With the wealth thus obtained, he raised sufficient troops, and, after defeating the governor Paṭṭa, rapidly advanced on the capital.<sup>3</sup> While Harsa was trying to check Sussala in Maḍavarājya, Uccala again advanced with his Dāmara bands. As the barons accompanying him were mostly on foot, he avoided the plains, where the king was strong in cavalry, and taking a difficult mountain path suddenly appeared in Lahara (mod. Lār). In the south however, Sussala was for a time successfully checked by the brave Candrarāja, the king's newly appointed Commander-in-chief. After advancing as far as Advantipura, Candrarāja surprised and killed the *Kampaneśa* of Sussala. But in the north Harsa's troops were defeated by Uccala, who on his way to Śrīnagara, received the *Abhiṣeka* from the assembled Brahmans of Hiranyapura (mod. village of Raṇyil on the way to Srinagar from Lār).<sup>3</sup>

This event brought to a head the currents of treason and treachery which were already rampant in Harsa's court and were slowly undermining his authority. He found himself surrounded by ministers who kept on advising him to retreat with his wealth and family to Lohara. This the king refused to do, and recalling his son Bhoja, who had already started to seek refuge in the castle of Lohara, he tried desperately to weed out traitors from the city. Instigated by his *Sahi* queens, he killed Malla, who from Śrīnagara had been secretly instigating

<sup>1</sup> VII, 1257-80, 1292-1347.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 1348-53.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 1359-85.

his sons Uccala and Sussala to rebellion.<sup>1</sup> But the news of their father's death only made the brothers redouble their efforts. Sussala defeated and killed the valiant Candrarāja, and capturing Vijayēśvara, attacked Śrīnagara. Filled with the ambition of seizing the throne for himself, he now wished to prevent Uccala from entering of the city. But his purpose was frustrated by his unexpected defeat at the hands of the king's son Bhoja. In the meantime the treachery of Sunna, the Prefect of Police, and Nāga, the Town Prefect, had thrown open the gates of Śrīnagara to Uccala. After a desperate resistance at the bridge-head of the city Harsa was driven back into the palace, which was burned and plundered by a mob of infuriated "citizens and Dāmaras striking at each other with upraised weapons." The king's son Bhoja then took to flight, 'knowing that the kingdom was lost,' while 17 queens with Vasantalekhā at their head burned themselves on the four-pillared pavilion of the palace. Among the faithful servants who still clung to the king was Campaka, Kalhaṇa's father. The doomed king, who had not received any news of his son, now sent Campaka and other officers to follow up his track. Soon he was completely deserted by all his followers, and fled from Śrīnagara with only his personal servant Prayāga and a cook named Mukta. Kalhaṇa gives a pathetic description of the incidents which gradually led to his death. In this supreme crisis of life the king threw away his last chance when he forgot to take shelter in the house of the loyal Dāmara Nīlāśva. While hiding in a miserable hut on the Vitastā, below Śrīnagara, near a burning ground, he heard of the tragic death of his son Bhoja and was soon after himself killed with Prayāga by some supporters of Uccala (1101 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> At the time of his death

<sup>1</sup> VII, 1386-1497. He was not such an innocent man, as Stein following Kalhaṇa, represents him to be; see VII, 1349, where Malla is clearly inciting his sons to greater efforts against the king. This point makes it seem possible that the picture of Harsa has probably suffered to his disadvantage on account of his heterodox views and measures.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 1498-1717,

Harṣa was only 42 years and 8 months old. Thus miserably died a prince who in his dazzling qualities and monstrous vices as well as in his heterodoxy and traces of incipient insanity probably finds a parallel in Muhammad Tughluq.<sup>1</sup> We end his account by quoting the following verses of Kalhana, which admirably sums up this striking character :

“ The story of king Harṣa, which has seen the rise of all enterprises and tells of all failures ; which brings to light all (kinds of) settled plans and yet shows the absence of all policy ; which displays an excessive (assertion of the) ruling power and yet has witnessed excessive disregard of orders ; which (tells) of excessive abundance of liberality and of (equally) excessive persistence in confiscation ; which gives delight by abundant (display of) compassion and shocks by superabundance of murders ; which is rendered charming by the redundancy of pious works and soiled by the superabundance of sins ; which is attractive on all sides and yet repulsive, worthy of praise and deserving of blame ; which sensible men must magnify and deride, regard with love and yet feel aggrieved at ; which is to be blessed and to be condemned worthy of memory and yet to be dismissed from the mind.”<sup>2</sup>

The history of Kashmir for the next half a century is a story of continuous struggle between the king and the Pāmaras. The latter by siding with the numerous pretenders who appeared at this period soon reduced the power of the central government to a mere shadow. The forces that destroyed Harṣa soon brought about the downfall of all royal power in the valley, in spite of the energetic efforts of Uccala and his successors. Indeed the whole period from c. 1100 to 1339 A.D. may be described as one long evil dream for Kashmir. Civil war, famine, foreign invasions, corruption and treachery held the land in their firm grip till Shāh Mīr deposed queen Koṭā and founded the Muhammadan dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> For Muhammad Tughluq's character see *CHI*, Vol III, pp 136 ff.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 869-78, for the coins of Harṣa see *OMI*, Plate V.



Uccala after his accession to the throne (1101 A.D.) tried his best to set matters right. But with "robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure," he had a difficult task. He removed Sussala from Kashmir by making him independent ruler of Lohara, and then attempted to get his kingdom clear of the (Dāmara) robbers (*dasyu*) by diplomacy, as well as by open acts of repression. By Machiavellian cunning he destroyed the powerful Dāmara Janakacandra, and then proceeding to Madavarājya "executed Kāliya and other Dāmaras who were fond of rebellions." Thus, the king who had at first allowed the barons "to rise to high posts in remembrance of their past services, just as a sandalwood tree allows the snakes to climb upon it," mercilessly destroyed them, and for a time at least established his power over the land. He then turned to the task of the reform of internal administration. Kalhana praises Uccala's consideration for the common people and his sense of justice. We are told that "he used to go about alone on horseback, and whenever he heard the people, ignorant that he was the king, remarking upon a fault of his, he would quickly abandon it." As he took a vow that "he would commit suicide if any person should die by starving himself (*prāyopaveśa*) he caused the judges to be careful." The chronicler gives an interesting story,<sup>1</sup> probably based on genuine historical tradition of Uccala's acuteness in delivering judgment in difficult cases. The king kept the *Kāyasthas*, who 'were worse than crabs,' in check and punished and exposed their corruption before the public. Dismissed and out of employment many of them passed their time in "worrying astrologers by asking them to examine their nativities, dreams, omens and auspicious marks"<sup>2</sup> while others "ran about night after night begging for anything." Kalhana does not hide his pleasure at these strong steps against this corrupt official class. In times of famine Uccala saved his people from distress by "selling his grain stores at cheap prices." Many of the temples and *maṭhas*

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 123-127.

which were destroyed in the previous period were also restored by the piety of this ruler.<sup>1</sup>

The account given above proves that Uccala was an able and vigorous ruler. But he had also his faults. Among his vices Kalhana notices his 'jealousy of noble bearing, valour, intelligence, firmness and youth' of those around him. On account of this fault he is said to have 'destroyed the honour and life of numberless men.' Kalhana also blames his harshness: he openly discussed "the defects of his servant's descent, conduct, personal appearance, and the like." He was so fond of personal combat amongst his soldiers and officers that "women, when their husbands returned alive after going to the royal palace, thought that they had gained a day, but otherwise never felt safe. When the king saw soldiers killed who had glistening black hair, fine beards and splendid apparel, he felt delight instead of pain."<sup>2</sup> But much of this conduct is doubtless to be explained by the difficult conditions under which he had to work to build the royal power, and the necessity for ever wakeful cunning to destroy the rampant tendencies of rebellion and corruption. His policy finds justification in the repeated invasions of pretenders and the intrigues of his officers, which constantly disturbed his reign, and in one of which he met an untimely and violent death. Sussala, the king's own brother, for whom he had repeatedly shown 'tender regard' was the first to rise against him. Suddenly issuing out of the Tos'mai-dān Pass with a mobile force, Sussala 'rapidly moved like a falcon.' But Uccala was on his guard. With the assistance of the Dāmara Gargacandra he defeated his brother in several sharp engagements and drove him towards the land of the Darads. Kalhana makes it clear that it was again from affection for his brother that Uccala did not capture Lohara after this victory. Sussala with great difficulty, and after many months'

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 2-160.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 162-174.

journey "by routes hard to pass" at last regained his territory.<sup>1</sup> Soon after this the birth of Sussala's son Jayasīṃha in 1105-06 A.D. brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers.<sup>2</sup> Hardly had this danger been averted when the Dāmara Bhīmadeva with the assistance of Jagaddala, the king of the Darads, produced a son of king Kalaśa named Bhoja as a pretender for the throne. Uccala's diplomacy however was successful in persuading the Darad ruler to retire to his dominions. Without Darad support the rebellion speedily collapsed. Bhoja was thereupon betrayed and 'executed by the king like a robber.'<sup>3</sup> But a more serious possibility of danger appeared when Bhikṣācāra, the son of Bhoja and grandson of Harṣa, escaped from the king's custody and 'grew up secretly for the ruin of the people' in the court of the Paramāra king, Naravarman (c. 1097-1111 A.D.). At the time of Bhikṣācāra's escape he was a boy barely 6 or 7 years old, and it took some time before he developed into a menace to the stability of Kashmir.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime the city prefect Chudda who claimed descent from king Yaśaskara, began to aspire to royal power, and formed a dangerous conspiracy with his brother 'Raḍḍa and the rest.' They allied themselves with a number of disaffected officials, and waited for 4 or 5 years for a favourable opportunity. At last the conspirators surprised the king, when he was preparing at night to retire to his queens' apartments, and cruelly murdered him after a desperate struggle. He had only passed his 41st year when he died in 1111 A. D.<sup>5</sup>

That very night Raḍḍa with his bloodstained sword and armour 'placed himself on the throne, where he appeared like a Vetāla on a stone of the burning ground.' He assumed the name of Śaūkharāja, but he and the conspirators were soon

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 191-207.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 238-42.

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 209-13.

<sup>4</sup> VIII, 16-18, 224-36, For Naravarman see Kielhorn's 'List of Northern Inscriptions,' in *HI*, Vol. V, Nos. 79 and 82. Also *infra*, chapter on the Paramāras.

<sup>5</sup> VIII, 256-341; for his coins see *CMI*, Plate V.

defeated by the powerful pāmara Gargacandra of Lahara, who killed Raḍḍa with many of his fellow conspirators. Finding no one fit for the throne, Garga consecrated as king Salhaṇa, a step-brother of Uccala (1111 A. D). Kalhana notices the nobility of the character of Gargacandra, who, though requested, refused to seat himself on the throne.<sup>1</sup> Sussala, when he heard of his brother's tragic death at once marched with a slender following for Kashmir by way of Kāsthavāṭa. But Gargacandra opposed him, and after destroying his followers, compelled him to take to flight. Sussala escaped and after crossing many passes rendered difficult by heavy falls of snow again regained his kingdom. After this Gargacandra 'obtained exceptional power' over the king, and became the dictator in the State. Salhaṇa had "neither political wisdom, nor valour, neither cunning nor straightforwardness, neither liberality nor greed. Nothing prominent in his character."<sup>2</sup> He with his brother Lothana passed his days in low sensual pleasures, while 'robbers plundered the people in his very palace, even at midday.' For a time Gargacandra acted the king-maker, but he was soon attacked by rival barons with the king's connivance. Thereupon he formed a league with Sussala. The latter, in spite of this alliance, distrusted Gargacandra and took adequate precautions before he marched out again for Kashmir. When he appeared in the valley and gained some preliminary success "all except the king (Salhaṇa) joined him." The citizens and the Pāmaras vied with each other in offering him welcome, while Chuddā, Gargacandra's wife, presented him with her two daughters. Salhaṇa was then besieged in the palace, and after a brief struggle captured and imprisoned, when he had only reigned for 4 months less 3 days (1112 A.D).<sup>2</sup>

The character of the new king is represented by Kalhaṇa 'as the same as that of his elder brother.' Like him, "he

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 342-76.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 379-480.

kept ever his sword unsheathed from an apprehensive expectation of treason." Though 'by nature gentle,' the wickedness of the people had hardened him, and he only 'displayed outward moderation when his object demanded it.' But though he did 'not tolerate any improper arrogance on the part of his servants' unlike his brother he was free from the petty jealousy 'on account of dress and such matters of his officers.' Nor was he fond, like Uccala, of killing proud people by inducing them to fight duels. Harshness of speech, a blot on his brother's character, was also absent in him ; but he also lacked his brother's liberality in money matters. Kalhana specially notices his great eagerness for collecting wealth and the fewness of the occasions when he showed liberality. But he had all the vigour of his elder brother. A renowned horseman and a brave soldier, he vainly struggled till his death to check the rank growth of disruption and anarchy.<sup>1</sup>

Before he was seated on his throne for a month, Gargacandra, the powerful Dāmara of Lahara, refused to give up the young son of Uccala to the king and assumed a defiant attitude. Pressed by the energetic king and after withstanding a siege for some time in one of his hill forts, he was at last compelled to submit. At the end of this civil war there was a short period of peace, which was utilised by the king to consolidate his position at Lohara. He personally went there, and after imprisoning Salhana and Loṭhana in the fort and renewing his alliance with the neighbouring chiefs of Kālīñjara and Rājapuri returned to his capital.<sup>2</sup> But hardly had he reached Kashmir than a murderous attack was made on him by some Dāmaras of Devasarasa (mod. Div<sup>h</sup>sar pargana in the S.E. of the Valley). His charger was killed and he only escaped 'as a longer life was destined to him.' This was followed by an attempted invasion by Sahasramaṅgala and

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 482-99.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 519-20. Kālīñjara (VIII, 204 etc.) is spelt Kalīñjara in VII, 1256, see *supra*, p. 158, fn. 2.

other exiled nobles 'by the route of Kānda,' situated in the south-east of the Valley. When the king's vigilance had repulsed this invasion,<sup>1</sup> there appeared on the scene Bhikṣācāra, who in the hands of the rebellious Dāmaras soon became the most formidable rival of the king. This prince while on a pilgrimage at Kurukṣetra attracted the sympathy of a group of 5 princes from Campā, Vartula, Trigarta, Vallāpura and Babbāpura. Escorted by them, he appeared on the frontiers of Kashmir and was joined by numerous exiles. Among the princes who hospitably received him Kalhaṇa mentions Jāsaṭa, king of Campā. But the first attempts of Bhikṣācāra failed, on account of internal dissensions amongst his supporters. Gayapāla, his chief supporter, was treacherously murdered by his relatives, and 'the gold given for the expedition' having become exhausted, he was reduced to helplessness. For 4 or 5 years Bhikṣācāra's efforts were paralysed, and he lived in the house of Jāsaṭa, 'securing with difficulty mere food and clothing.'<sup>2</sup>

Sussala utilised this interval of peace to establish the finances of his state on a more secure foundation. For this purpose he secured the services of Gauraka as his prime minister (*Sarvadhikāra*). This minister by depriving the royal servants 'of the living they had found in numerous offices, always kept the king's treasury full.' The system of revenue administration and taxation established by Gauraka appears to have caused considerable suffering, and the king became unpopular by sending 'his sordid gains' for safety to the castle of Lohara.<sup>3</sup> In 1117 A.D. he found himself strong enough to attack Gargacandra. After undermining his position with the assistance of the rival Dāmara Mallakoṣṭha, Sussala forced Gargacandra to submit. Later on, when the Dāmara came to his court, the king had him arrested with his sons and

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 522-35.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 537-54.

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 560-78.

strangled in prison (1118 A.D). At this time Maṇidhara, the ruler of the Darads, paid a friendly visit to Kashmir.<sup>1</sup> Soon after this event Sussala took up the cause of Nāgapāla, who had sought his protection against his brother Somapāla, the chief of Rājapurī. Somapāla, when his friendly overtures failed, retaliated by inviting Bhikṣācāra to his court. To counteract this danger Sussala marched into Rājapurī with a large army and put Nāgapāla on the throne. But though the king stayed there for 7 months, 'causing terror to his various enemies,' the people of the hill state remained steadfast in their loyalty to their former chief; and when Sussala returned to Kashmir in A.D. 1119, 'Nāgapala too followed him, having lost his throne'<sup>2</sup> The military expenditure involved in this expedition led Sussala to increase the rigour of his taxations and reduce his expenditure. Even Gauraka was found unsuited for his duties and dismissed from his post. The king then began sending 'into the castle of Lohara masses of gold, having made them into gold bricks (ingots)' The result of this policy was increased discontent amongst the officials and the nobles, which after smouldering for some time burst into flame in 1120 in a great rising of the Dāmaras<sup>3</sup> In vain did the king try to overawe the barons by a reckless slaughter and imprisonment of prominent Dāmaras on whom he could lay his hands. The leaders of the rebellion, Prthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha, after gaining some minor successes against the king, 'gave the revolt unity and a well defined object,' by bringing Bhikṣācāra into Kashmir. Though 'the king exerted himself by violent efforts to check the growing ascendancy of the Dāmara hosts, his position daily grew more insecure on account of his injudicious acts. Thus by his ungrateful and harsh conduct he drove the loyal and

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 581-615.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 621-35.

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 636-61.

brave Commander-in-chief Tilaka into the enemy's arms. When in Āṣāḍha 1120 his troops were routed by Prṭhviḥara, Sussala remembering the tragic fate of Harṣa prudently sent his queens and family to the safety of the castle of Lohara. In the meantime the rebels with Bhikṣācāra at their head gradually surrounded Śrīnagara. Sussala defended his capital with great bravery. But he was harassed by the callous indifference of the citizens, by the sacred fasts of the Brahman assemblies, who by this means tried to gain control of the king's affairs, and by treachery and desertion on every side. In spite of this, the rebels hampered by dissensions in their camps, failed to penetrate the defences of the city. At last, 'when the Dāmara bands were thinking of retreat' a rebellion broke out amongst the king's own troops in the city, 'who with drawn swords blocked the doors in the royal palace' and demanded extra allowances. This new danger at last forced Sussala to decide to leave the city. Followed by 5 or 6 thousand soldiers, the king marched out of Śrīnagara 'on the 6th of the dark half of Mārgaśīras' in the year 1120 A.D. and by a judicious distribution of gold and his own presence of mind reached Lohara in safety.<sup>1</sup>

Bhikṣācāra then entered Śrīnagara in triumph. Janakasīmha the City Prefect, gave him his niece, while the Commander-in-chief Tilaka welcomed him with his daughter. But the inexperienced king blundered at every step in the task of government. The royal power gradually passed into the hands of Bimba, the *Sarvādhikārin*. Low parasites soon surrounded him. As Kalhaṇa puts it: 'With a simple-minded king, with negligent ministers and bold Dāmaras (*dasyu*) the reign was doomed from its very beginning.' In addition to this the king soon developed a taste for 'new women' and 'rich dishes.' The wives of the highest officials of the State carried on intrigues with the king 'like mares with a stallion.' Things became

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 662-826.



still worse when the two leading Dāmaras Prthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha, 'made the palace shake by their furious quarrels.' When things were in such a critical condition, the king 'in his madness' sent Bimba with an army by way of Rājapurī to attack Sussala at Lohara. Accompanied by Somapāla, the king of Rājapurī, and a force of Turuskas under Sallāra Vismaya, possibly a Muslim chief from the Lower Punjab hills, Bimba marched against Sussala. The Turuskas in this invasion were certain of success. Kalhaṇa records the interesting information that "every single horseman among them said boastfully, showing a rope, 'with this I shall bind and drag along Sussala.' " But the battle that followed on the banks of the Vitolā near Parnotsa resulted in complete victory for the Lohara prince (1121 A.D.) Many of the Turuskas 'went into the snares of death after dropping from fright the ropes they had bought to bind him.' With the remnants of the Muslim army Somapāla retreated to his own territories, while Bimba and the Kashmirians shamelessly deserted to Sussala's side.<sup>1</sup> While things were taking this unfavourable turn for him, Bhikṣācāra passed his days in the capital in the embraces of Bimba's wife. Soon after this victory Sussala received messengers from Mallakoṣṭha and Janakasimha urging him to make fresh efforts to regain his kingdom. Even ordinary people 'began to extol the (same) Sussala, who had been reviled before as subject to such greed, cruelty, and other vices.' The corrupt Brahman corporations held fasts and arrogantly cried: "without the Long-beard (Sussala) we cannot get on." In the midst of these developments, Sussala marched out of Lohara in 1121 A.D., and took possession of Śrīnagara, after an absence of 6 months and 12 days. Bhikṣācāra with Prthīhara fled to Rājapurī, and again grew powerful with the assistance of Somapāla.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 842-927.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 928-84.

The next seven years, which formed the duration of the reign of the restored Sussala (A.D. 1121-28), were darkened by constant struggles between Sussala and Bhikṣācāra. The latter had taken up a convenient position at the village of Puṣyānanāḍa (mod. Puṣiāna), at the southern foot of Pīr Pāntṣāl. From this refuge which was situated in Somapāla's territory, he repeatedly swooped down upon the Valley with his Dāmaras allies. These feudal barons, whom Kalhana during this period rightly designates as *dasyus*, soon found out that their real interest lay in the continuance of this civil strife. In the course of one of these raids Prṭhvīhara and Bhikṣācāra entered Madavarāja, and after defeating the royal troops at Vijayeśvara burnt the famous shrine of Viṣṇu Cakradhara at that place. In these constant struggles Bhikṣācāra gradually gained experience and developed into a brave and dashing soldier. But as the Dāmaras on the other hand grew apprehensive on account of his 'extraordinary prowess' and became lukewarm in his cause he failed to gain any decisive success. By exploiting these dissensions in the Pretender's ranks, Sussala soon succeeded in driving him back to Puṣyānanāḍa. The respite thus gained by the king was utilised by him in completely overhauling his entourage. Kalhana tells us that 'Henceforth his confidants and ministers were only foreigners, excepting a few of his countrymen who had loyally followed him to Lohara. Among the new officers appointed at this time was Sujjī, who was placed by the king in the post of a *Rājasthāna* (chief justice?). Though this new policy was no doubt necessitated by the persistent treachery and unfaithfulness of the Kashmirian officers and generals, it nevertheless aroused considerable apprehension, and Kalhana tells us that there was a general movement amongst most of the citizens to go over to the enemy. 'Only one in a hundred,' says he, 'remained after this by the king's side.' <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 959-1048.

Early in 1122 A.D. Bhikṣācāra returned to Kashmir with Prṭhivihara and other followers. In the subsequent struggles Sussala, after gaining some minor successes in Vijayakṣetra, was compelled to retreat towards Śrīnagara, and lost heavily while crossing the Gambhīrā (confluence of the Vitastā and Viśokā). He reached the capital with 'only the thousandth part of his army.' As the royal troops were completely destroyed by Prṭhivihara, the king was again besieged in Śrīnagara. But though Sussala lost many troops, he kept up his courage, and with the assistance of 'twenty or thirty Rājputras' from Campā, Vallāpura, and the hill-regions to the south of Kashmir, held the besieging armies at bay. It was no doubt to the bravery and devotion of these Rajput mercenaries that Sussala owed his victory over the rebels near the Gopādri (mod. 'Takhti-Sulaimān), S.E. of the city (1122 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> After this defeat the Dāmaras were compelled to raise their siege, and Sussala resumed the offensive. But his success appears to have been limited. In the spring of 1123-24 Bhikṣācāra again besieged the capital, and unceasing encounters took place all round Śrīnagara. In one of these engagements, the Dāmaras set fire to the city, which was soon 'reduced to a heap of earth.' Still the bravery and superior tactical skill of Sussala, prevented the city from falling into the hands of the enemy, but as the foodstores of the capital had been completely consumed by fire, while outside the city the Dāmaras seized all the produce of the fields and blocked the roads, Śrīnagara soon fell into the grip of a terrible famine. People died by thousands and the stench produced by the decomposing corpses in the Vitastā became unbearable. The ground became, 'white with the fragments and skulls from fleshless human skeletons.'<sup>2</sup> The sufferings of the brave king were further increased at this time by the news of the death of his beloved queen Meghamañjarī. In his dejected state of mind

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 1051-1118

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 1155-1212.

Sussala thought of renouncing his throne, and with this object in view brought his son Jayasīṃha from Lohara and had him crowned in Āṣāḍha, 1123 A.D. But he soon grew suspicious even of his son, and kept all real power in his own hands. Fortune, however, at last appeared to smile on him. Soon after his son's coronation 'the blockade of the city, the drought, the plague, the robberies, and other troubles ceased.' The rebels were defeated at Kalyānapura (mod. Kalampōr in the Sukru Pargana, 74° 54' long. 33° 48' lat.), and Bhikṣācāra and his Dāmara supporters were thereupon compelled to retire to Śamālā (mod. Hamal district to the west of Sopur).<sup>1</sup> The king now formed a plan for destroying his hated enemy by getting hold of his person. For this purpose he entered into a plot with Utpala, 'the constant companion' of the powerful Dāmara Tikka. 'He asked him under promises of power and grants to kill Bhikṣācāra at Tikka's seat, and then Tikka.' But the wife of Utpala persuaded him to change his plan and form a conspiracy to kill the king himself. In spite of warnings by trusted servants, the king constantly held secret conferences with Utpala and his associates. On one of these occasions, when Sussala was unattended by guards, they approached him under the pretext of making a 'communication' and brutally killed him, in 1128 A.D. At the time of his death Sussala had only passed his 55th year.<sup>2</sup>

The news of the king's death produced wild confusion in the palace, in the midst of which the murderers escaped with the dead body of the slaughtered king. For some time Jayasīṃha was helpless, and was in danger of meeting with the same fate as his father. But, fortunately for him, the rebels did not attack his place of residence. In this crisis Jayasīṃha decided upon a wise plan, and announced in the city with beating of drums a general amnesty in the following

1 VIII, 1217-64.

2 VIII, 1245-59, 1281-1348. For his coins see CMI, Plate V, and p. 46. CCIM, p. 272.

terms: "Whatever a person may have taken to himself, that is now forsaken by me, and amnesty is given to those who have joined the enemy, guilty though they may be." The result of this was magical. The almost deserted king soon found himself surrounded by citizens shouting blessings upon him. Kalhana notices that this judicious step was 'an almost complete departure from the procedure followed by the immediately preceding kings'. The king's position improved so rapidly that when Bhikṣācāra next attempted to enter the city, he was easily repulsed by Pañcacandra, the son of Gargacandra who had joined the king. Sujji and other trusty officials of Sussala also soon cut their way to the capital through the Dāmaras bands from the various parts of the Valley, and saved the king from all immediate danger.<sup>1</sup> The subsequent efforts of Bhikṣācāra were defeated by Sujji on the Gambhīrā and at Dāmōdara, south of Śrīnagara. By a judicious use of bribes the king then isolated from Bhikṣācāra's side many of the prominent Dāmaras, and the pretender, finding himself almost alone, left Kashmir. Somapāla who had concluded a treaty with Jayasīṃha, did not give him refuge in Rājapuri, and Bhikṣācāra soon found out that 'even the gods have no pity in Trigarta, no morals in Campā, no generosity in Madra-land, and no goodwill in Dārvābhīṣāna'. He rejected with scorn the advice of his councillors to temporarily retire to Naravarman's<sup>2</sup> country. He, however, accepted the invitation of his father-in-law, and stopped at his house on the bank of the Candrabhāgā. Thus within a brief period of four months Jayasīṃha found himself firmly settled on the throne.<sup>3</sup>

But though peace was thus apparently established, the ominous sound of the drums of the marching Dāmaras was

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 1340-44, 1349-1426.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 1532-33. Who was this Naravarman? The person of this name mentioned in VIII, 228 and 511 has been rightly identified with the Paramāra Naravarman (c. 1097-1111 A.D.). He appears to have died before the accession of Jayasīṃha in Kashmir in A.D. 1128. See *supra*, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 1488-1584.

still heard from every corner of the land. Each one of the Dāmaras appeared to the people 'as more splendid than the king with his pack horses, parasols, steeds,' their numerous hosts and castles.<sup>1</sup> While the country had suffered unspeakable sufferings in the long drawn civil war, it had led to the consolidation of the power of these feudal barons, who mercilessly plundered the villages and openly defied the kings. Sussala had tried with all his vigour to turn the tide, but in spite of his energy and ruthless cruelty his sword had failed to re-establish the power of the central government. His son now changed the policy so long followed by his uncle and father. Sheer force of arms had failed to curb the barons. Jayasimha now tried to combat the disruptive forces by his Machiavellian diplomacy and unscrupulous cunning; and the very fact that he succeeded in maintaining himself on the throne for 27 years (1128-1155 A.D.) is in itself an ample proof that he gained a substantial measure of success. But the cancer was never cured, and it continued to be the bane of Kashmirian polity even far into the Muhammadan period.<sup>2</sup>

For the time being, however, Jayasimha made a splendid start. His brave Commander-in-chief Sujja and the astute Chamberlain (*Pratīhārī*) Laksmaka soon baffled all the attempts of Bhikṣācāra to invade the Valley from the south. Utpala, the murderer of Sussala, was also captured and killed. Even when Sujja, driven into exile by the intrigues of the autocratic Chamberlain, joined Bhikṣācāra, Jayasimha's diplomacy succeeded in isolating and destroying the pretender in the castle of Bāṇasālā (1130 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> But his career of success soon received a severe check. Before the jubilations at the destruction of this dangerous enemy was over, there came to the king's camp at Vijayakṣetra, the news of the loss of Lohara. Through the treachery of some officials, Loṭhana, the brother of the

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 1535-39.

<sup>2</sup> See VIII, 1070 and Stein's note on the word *Upavesana*, on p. 84 of the 2nd volume of his *Eng. Trans.*

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 1549-1794.

ex-king Salhana, who had been imprisoned in the castle, escaped from his fetters and captured the fort with all the hoarded treasures. Realizing the danger from the loss of the family stronghold, Jayasimha sent a large army under Laksmaka to recapture Lohara. But the expedition which was undertaken in the 'fierce heat of early summer,' ended in disaster. When an epidemic of 'cold fever' in the Kashmirian camp compelled Laksmaka to retreat, he was suddenly attacked at night by Sujji and Somapala. The royal army was completely destroyed, and the Chamberlain was taken prisoner. The number of soldiers who died by fever alone is estimated by Kalhana at 10,000.<sup>1</sup> But fortunately Jayasimha did not lose his firmness at this calamity. He ransomed Laksmaka from Somapala for 36 lakhs, and tried by intrigues to recover his lost kingdom. For a time however, Lothana, with the able guidance of Sujji, who had become his minister, countered all his attempts with success. But a plot in his court deprived Lothana of his crown and raised his nephew Mallarjuna to the vacant throne (1131 A.D.). The new prince however proved to be a feeble ruler, and squandered the wealth accumulated in the castle in extravagance and profligacy. Jayasimha was not long in taking advantage of the situation and forced his cousin to pay tribute. After winning over Sujji to his side, he then drove out Mallarjuna from the castle of Lohara in 1132 A.D.<sup>2</sup> When Sujji, who had been reinstated in his post of Commander-in-chief, became discontented, Jayasimha caused him to be treacherously killed, with his friends and relatives. Hardly had the king brought about the fall of Sujji, when he was confronted with an invasion by Mallarjuna and the powerful Dāmara Koṭṭheśvara. But Jayasimha's diplomacy again triumphed. Mallarjuna, who had taken up a position in the hills south of Kashmir, was captured in 1135 A.D., and soon afterwards his supporter was also safely lodged in prison.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 1795-1906.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 1904-2024.

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 2063-2309.

The period that follows appears to have been one of comparative peace. The administration of Laksmaka proved effective, and it was probably at this time that Jayasimha undertook the restoration of the many temples and *maṭhas* ruined during the last civil war<sup>1</sup>. In foreign affairs too the king obtained some success. While he effectively interfered in the affairs of the State of Vallāpura, he appears to have maintained friendly diplomatic connections with the Gāhadavāla king Govindacandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.) of Kanauj, and possibly also with Aparāditya (1138 A.D.), the Śilāhāra prince of Koṅkana<sup>2</sup>. His attempts to interfere in the affairs of the Daraddeśa, however, involved him in serious difficulties. Viddasīha, the *de facto* ruler of that country, stirred up a serious rising on the northern frontier of his kingdom. Encouraged by him, Lothana in 1143 appeared as a pretender, with the powerful support of the Dāmara Alankāracakra, Bhoja, a son of king Salhana, and Vighraharāja, a half-brother of Jayasimha. But the rebels were soon besieged by the royal army in the castle of Śīrahśilā, and, thanks to the energy of the minister Dhanya, Alankāracakra was compelled to surrender Lothana and Vighraharāja in the spring of 1141 A.D.<sup>3</sup> In the autumn of the same year Bhoja escaped from Śīrahśilā and appeared as a pretender for the crown. He was accompanied by the Darad ruler Viddhasīha and his Mushm (*mleccha*) allies from the Upper Indus valley. The invading army was led by Rājavadana, an able and disaffected officer of Jayasimha, and had the support of Triloka and other powerful barons. While this army advanced from the north to the vicinity of the

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 2376-80. For his other acts of piety see VIII, 2393-2402.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 2458; Stein's note on the verse in his *Eng. Trans.*, also Buhler's *Report in JBRAS*, 1877, p. 51. The poet *Manikya*, the brother of Alankāra, the Supdt. of the great treasury (*brhmalgaṇṭha*) of Jayasimha, describes a *sabhā* of scholars in the XXV canto of the *Śīkhanṭha-carita*. In this *sabhā* which was held in Alankāra's house, Suhala and Tejakaṇṭha, the ambassadors of the Gāhadavāla and Śilāhāra princes respectively, were present (XXV, 102 and 110); see also Stein's note on VIII, 2423 in his *Eng. Trans.* of the *Rājataranginī*.

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 2456-2641.



Mahāpadma, Loṭhaka, the son of Prthvīhara, the adversary of Sussala, led another Dāmara army from the south. Kalhaṇa in great detail describes the mazes of intrigue and diplomacy by which, aided by the bravery of his trusted officer Rīlhaṇa, Jayasīṃha at last extricated himself from this danger. While Rīlhaṇa defeated Loṭhaka in the south, Śaṣṭhacandra stood like a mountain against the onslaughts of the Daradas, *Mlecchas* and *Turuskas*. Fortunately for the king, the invaders in the north became suddenly demoralised after this check and 'prepared for flight.' But the country remained in suspense, and it was not till Jyaisṭha 1145 A.D., when the mediation of the chief queen Kalhanikā led to the surrender of Bhoja, that the incipient Dāmara rebellion collapsed.<sup>1</sup> The next few years up to 1149-50 A.D., when Kalhana finished his work, appear to have been comparatively uneventful. It was during this period that Jayasīṃha crowned his young son Gulhaṇa as the ruler of Lohara.<sup>2</sup> Kalhana mentions numerous pious foundations of the king and his court during these years.<sup>3</sup>

The history of the next period, *i.e.*, from 1148-49 to 1339 A.D. roughly a period of 200 years, is the record of the gradual decline of Hindu power in the Valley, till it was supplanted by Islam. We can only trace a brief outline of the incidents that happened during this time with the help of Jonarāja's chronicle and occasional help from Muslim sources. According to Jonarāja, Jayasīṃha ruled for another five years, during which he undertook a successful expedition against an unknown Muslim (*Yavana*, *Turuska*) king.<sup>4</sup> On his death in Phālguna, 1154-55 A.D., he was succeeded by his son Paramāṇuka. This king neglected the duty of protecting his

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 2690-3244.

<sup>2</sup> VIII, 3301. For the coins of Gulhaṇa see *CMI*, Plate V and p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 3343-3360. For coins of Jayasīṃha see *CMI*, Plate V and p. 46 ; *CCIM*, p. 273.

<sup>4</sup> *Dvītiya Rājatarāṅgī*, Ed. by Peterson, Bombay, 1896, 27-26. Unless otherwise mentioned, verses referred to are from this edition.

subjects, and only took steps to fill his own treasury with the assistance of two rapacious officers Prayāga and Janaka. He did not undertake any foreign expeditions and gradually he became a mere tool in the hands of his two ministers. His inglorious reign came to an end in Bhādra, 1164-65 A.D., after lasting 9 years 6 months and ten days.<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded by his son Vantideva, who died in 1171-72 A.D.<sup>2</sup> With him the Lohara dynasty seems to have come to an end, for Jonarāja tells us that after his death 'the citizens for want of a worthy successor elected one named Vuppadeva.'<sup>3</sup> He was 'like the *Rākṣasa* chief covered with grass.' Jonarāja describes him as a great fool, and relates some humorous incidents illustrating his character, one of them being an order to increase the size of stones by feeding them with milk. When he died, after a reign of 9 years 4 months and 2½ days (c. 1180 A.D.), the throne passed to his brother Jassaka,<sup>4</sup> who proved to be a still greater dunce. In spite of his unwillingness to accept the responsibility of the kingdom, the *Lavanyas* (Dāmaras) crowned him, no doubt thinking that their chances of aggrandisement increased with the weakness of the central government. During this reign the two Brahman brothers Kṣukṣa and Bhīma rose to great power, and were only prevented from seizing the throne by their fear of the feudal barons. Jassaka reigned for 18 years and 10 days, and died in Māgha of c. 1198 A.D.<sup>5</sup> He was succeeded by his son Jagadeva. Jonarāja gives a favourable description of this ruler. He was well versed in science, and is said to have, like a surgeon, extracted the dart of evil laws from the country. He 'looked with an equal eye on the servants of the state,' and did his

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-52. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V. Cunningham reads the name as *Sri-para(mānaka)deva*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Calcutta edition, 1835, the name is Varttideva, see verse 49, while the *AAK*, has Dati, see Vol. II, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> In the Calcutta edition the name is Vopyadeva, see verse 50.

<sup>4</sup> Verses 52-58.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 59-67; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 378, has Jas Deva.

best to establish peace in the country. But the officers soon drove this inconvenient ruler out of the country. With the assistance of a loyal minister named Guṇākara-rāhula the king succeeded in recovering his throne. But he was soon after poisoned by Padma, his 'lord of the gate,' and died after a reign of 14 years 6 months and 3 days (c.1212-13 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Jagadeva, his son Rājadeva had fled to Kāsthavāta ; but the enemies of Padma brought him back to Kashmir. A civil war followed. But fortunately for the prince, when he was besieged in the fort of Sahāṇa, Padma was accidentally killed by a *Candāla*. Rājadeva was then anointed king by the *Bhattas*. The royal power however was seriously curtailed by the powerful *Lavanyas*. One of them, Balādhyacandra, Lord of Lahara, took possession with his soldiers of half of Śrīnagara, 'and the king,' we are told, 'was unable to cope with him.' He died after a reign of 23 years 3 months and 27 days (c 1235 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> His son Saṃgrāmadeva, who succeeded him, appears to have been a more powerful prince. He is said to have 'terrified his enemies as the lion does the elephant.' But his attempts to put down the feudal barons were largely frustrated by the treachery of his younger brother Sūrya who held the responsible post of *Pratinidhi*. When his evil intentions were detected by the king, Sūrya fled from the capital and raised a rebellion with the assistance of the powerful Dāmaras Candra of Lahara and Tunga of Śamālā. In the struggle that followed Tunga was defeated and Sūrya captured and killed. But this civil war had helped to build the power of the sons and relatives of Kalhaṇa.<sup>3</sup> The king began to 'fear them as serpents,' and became

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, 68-78 , *AAK* gives the reign-period as 14 years and 2 months only. See *ibid* For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V and p 46 , *CCIM*, p. 273 V. A. Smith reads the king's name as *Jāgadeva*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 79-91. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V.

<sup>3</sup> Like the author of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, this Kalhaṇa was also a Brahman. Dr. Barnett thinks that they were probably not identical. It may however be pointed out that the author of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* also belonged to a ministerial family.

anxious 'to save his royal power' His attempts to save his crown however proved unavailing, and he was compelled to take shelter with the lord of Rājapuri. After this, utter anarchy prevailed in Kashmir, and "the kingdom was for a long time devoured by the *Dombas*, even like food polluted by the touch of low people." How long this state of anarchy prevailed it is difficult to say, but in the end the king succeeded in defeating his enemies in a battle near Rājapuri and recovered his power. He however unwisely 'did not kill the sons of Kalhana because they were Brāhmanas,' and was soon after cut down by them in about the year 1252 A D. after a reign of 16 years and 10 days. Jonarāja describes this king as 'a benefactor of his country,' and a *Kalpadruma* to poets and learned men. The poet Yaliśaka is said to have made this king the hero of his compositions. His piety is proved by his building of the *Śri-Viśāla* a house containing 21 rooms, at Vijayeśvara, 'for the habitation of cows and Brāhmanas.'<sup>1</sup> Samgrāmadeva was succeeded by his son Rāmadeva, who, after taking prompt measures to execute his father's murderers, entrusted the actual work of administration to one Prthvirāja. The new king on the whole appears to have been successful in his administration. His queen Śrī-Samudrā, established at Śrīnagara on the Vitastā a *matha* 'marked with her name' As no offspring was born to this king, he adopted the son of a Brahman of Bhiṣāyakapura as his own. When he died in c. 1273 A D. after a reign of 21 years 1 month and 13 days,<sup>2</sup> Lakṣmaṇadeva succeeded his adoptive father. The new king was a learned man, but as 'a painted stone does not take the beauty of a jewel,' he never developed the vigour and bravery of a Kṣatriya. He was therefore soon defeated and killed by a Muhammadan (*Turuṣka*) invader named Kajjala in c. 1286 A.D. after a reign of 13 years 3 months and 12 days. Jonarāja mentions the founda-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, 92-108.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 109-117.

tion of a *maṭha*, by the chief queen Mahelā, by the side of her mother-in-law's *maṭha* at Śrīnagara.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to trace the events that followed. Most probably the last ruler left no sons to succeed him, and there appears to have followed a period of complete anarchy. Out of this chaos arose the figures of Samgrāmacandra, the lord of Lahara, and Siṃhadeva, who is described by Abu'l-Faḍl as 'chief of Labdar of Dakṣinapārā'.<sup>2</sup> The latter declared himself king; but so long as Samgrāmacandra lived, his power was restricted to the valley of the Ledarī (mod. Līdār), which flows into the Vitastā between Anantanāg and Vījabror.<sup>3</sup> After the death of his rival he succeeded to the kingdom, now much reduced in size. Jonarāja mentions a number of pious foundations of this prince, and on the whole the first part of his reign appears to have been comparatively successful. But gradually through association with 'bad men' he 'became devoid of his belief in God' and an intrigue with the beautiful daughter of his nurse resulted in the loss of his life and throne, in c. 1301 A.D. He reigned for 14 years 5 months and 27 days.<sup>4</sup> The next king was his brother Sūhadeva. This prince with the assistance of Kāmasūha, one of the murderers of his brother, succeeded in establishing his authority in the whole of Kashmir. Jonarāja tells us that 'like a second Arjuna, the king established his authority on the borders of Pañcagahvara' (mod. Panj-gabbar, situated on the east of Rājapurī in the valley of the Upper Ans river).<sup>5</sup> He owed his success probably to the bravery of Śāhamera (شاه میر, i.e., Shāh Mīr), a Muslim adventurer of Rājput origin who with his relatives migrated to Kashmir and entered the king's service in c. 1313

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, 118-122

<sup>2</sup> *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> *Jonarāja*, v. 123; Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, see I, 87 and Stein's note on the verse in his Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 15. Also *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 412-13.

<sup>4</sup> *Jonarāja*, 123-37.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 138-42; *Rājatarāṅgīnī* of Kalhaṇa, Stein's Trans., note on I, 317 on p. 47.

A.D.<sup>1</sup> The prosperity of the reign is shown by the foundation of the town of Garbharapura by the king's son Babhruvāhana.<sup>2</sup> But unfortunately for the king, the promise of peace and prosperity in his administration was completely destroyed by two foreign invasions, which not only destroyed his power, but also led to the destruction of Hindu rule in the valley. One of these was led by Duluca, who is described by Jonarāja as the *Camūpati* of the great king (*Caṁravanti*) Karmasena. According to the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* he (Dalju) was the chief commander under the king of Kandahar. Stein has suggested that he was probably a Turk who came to the Valley through the Zōji-Lā pass. The suspicion that he was a Muhammadan appears to be confirmed by the fact that his army included *Tājika*, *Turuṣka*, and *Mleccha* troops.<sup>3</sup> He had under him an army of 60,000 troops, and the king, finding it hopeless to oppose him, took refuge in the hills and tried to turn him back by granting him a subsidy.<sup>4</sup> For this purpose he imposed a special tax on all castes. The confusion in the kingdom considerably increased when the Brahmans began to hold solemn fasts as a protest against the cowardly conduct of the king. While the country was thus harassed by Duluca, a Tibetan (*Bhotṭa*) invader, named Rūcana (Tibetan—*Rin-Chen*), appeared in the valley by the same route. The capital was invested by the invaders from the east and the north. According to Jonarāja Duluca 'destroyed innumerable gods, and afraid of the excessive cold of Kashmir,' at last went out 'by a good military road,'

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Faḡl is wrong when he gives the name of the prince under whom Shāh Mīr first took service as Sinhadeva II. According to this authority the adventurer is said to have traced his descent from the Epic hero Arjuna. See AAK, Vol. II, pp 378 and 386. Jonarāja (v. 143 and 146) gives the name of his father and grandfather as Kuruvāha and Tāharāja. Stein points out that he came from the south; see his Trans. of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p 181.

<sup>2</sup> Jonarāja, 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 152-55; AAK, Vol. II, p. 386; Stein's Eng. Trans., *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, p. 408.

taking with him almost all the able-bodied men of the Valley as his slaves. "When the Rākṣasa Duluca went away, the son found not his father, nor father his son, nor did brothers meet their brothers. Kashmir became almost like a region before the creation, a vast field with few men, without food and full of grass." In the confusion the king Sūhadeva appears to have lost his life, after a reign of 19 years, 3 months and 25 days (c. 1320 A. D.). According to Jonarāja, one Rāmacandra, who was probably a relative and officer of the last king had for a time offered effective resistance to Rīṇcana. But the latter had him treacherously killed in the fort of Lahara, and seized the royal power in the valley. He married Koṭādevī, the daughter of the deceased and after taking under his service Śāhamera, established his rule over the whole Valley.<sup>1</sup> Under the able and vigorous administration of Rīṇcana Kashmir for a time again enjoyed a short period of peace. Jonarāja describes two episodes illustrating the king's power of judgment and sense of fairness. He kept the *Lavanyas* in check by creating division amongst them by 'secret devices.' Abu'l-Faḍl tells us that he was famous for his munificence, and 'eventually adopted the religion of Śāhamera through intimacy of association with him. Jonarāja notices that Devasvāmī refused to initiate him in Śaivism, as he was a *Bhotṭa*, and as such unworthy of such favour. The career of this king unfortunately was brought to a close by a conspiracy through which the king was wounded in the head and died from its effects in c. 1323 A. D.<sup>2</sup> During Rīṇcana's administration Śāhamera had gradually risen in power; and when Rīṇcana died, he left his queen Koṭādevī and son Haidara in his charge. As Haidara was still a minor, Śāhamera raised Udayanadeva, a relative of Rīṇcana to the throne. He married the widowed queen Koṭādevī, and

\* *Jonarāja*, 156 ff.; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 386.

\* *Ibid*, 206-54.

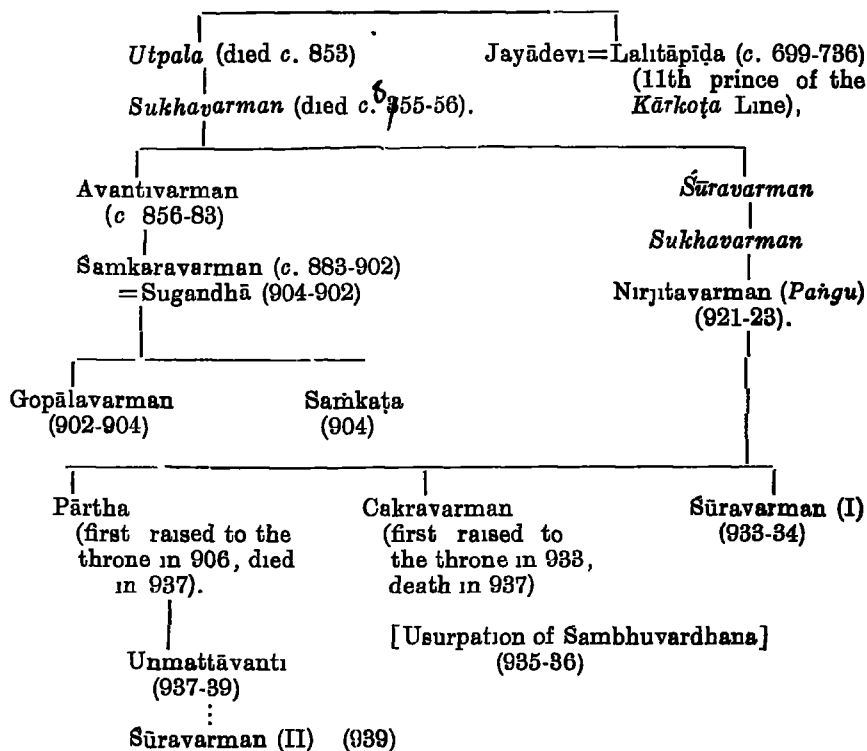
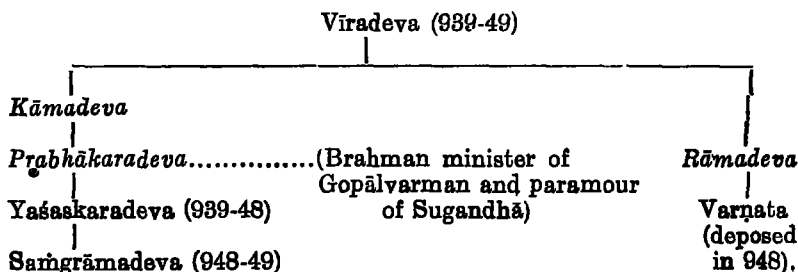
conferred important offices on Jyaṁśara Ālleśara, the two sons of the king-maker. The queen continued to wield great power while the king 'spent his time in bathing, in penance and in prayer.' Taking advantage of the weakness of the king, the *Lavanyas* again began to molest the kingdom, and Śāhamera 'frightened the king day and night by holding up Haidara before him even as one frightens a bird by holding up his hawk.' Śāhamera strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the 'lord of the gate' and other nobles, and soon confined the king's power to the limits of the palace. After an inglorious reign of five years the king 'left the world polluted by the touch of Śāhamera' in 1338 A. D. Koṭādevī, from fear of Śāhamera, kept his death a secret for four days and then assumed the control of the kingdom with the assistance of the *Lavanyas*. Śāhamera at first seemed to acquiesce in the arrangement, but soon after, when the queen had gone to Jayāpīdapura (same as Jayapura), near the present village of Andarkoṭh, he seized the capital, and after defeating the loyal *Lavanyas*, besieged the queen. Jayāpīdapura was a strong place, being surrounded on all sides by water, but the queen was won over 'by the specious flattery and intrigue' of the adventurer and agreed to share her bed and throne with Śāhamera. After a day's married life she was treacherously imprisoned, and Śāhamera declared himself king of Kashmir, under the title of Śrī-Śaṁsadīna (Shams ud-Dīn) in 1339 A. D.<sup>1</sup> The dynasty of Shamsud-Dīn was succeeded by the Chakk dynasty in 1561. In the reign of Ya'qub Shāh, the fifth of this line, Kashmir was annexed by Akbar (1586 A. D.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 255-252; *AAK*, *ibid.*, pp. 386-97, gives the date as 'the year 742 A. H.' (1341-42 A. D.). I have accepted the date of Jonarāja which is Laukika 4415.

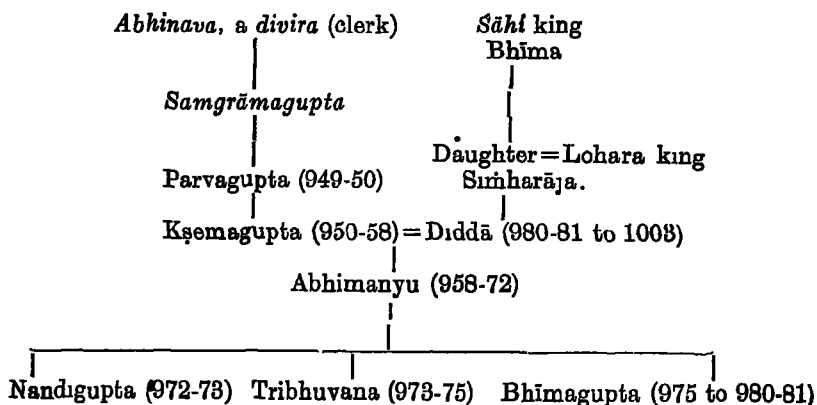
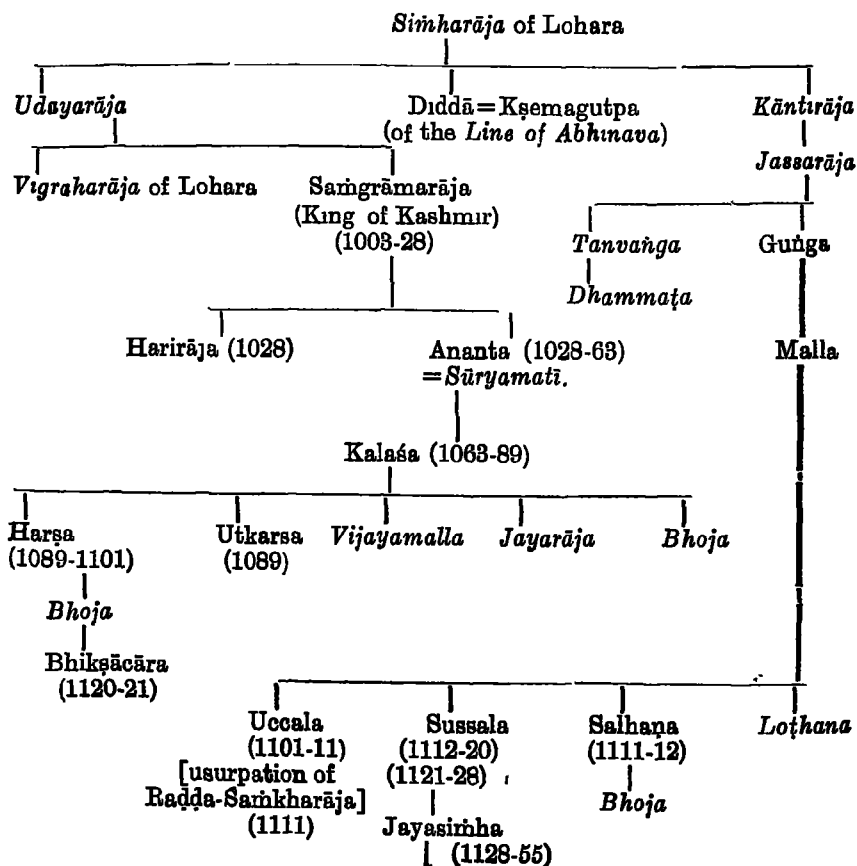
<sup>2</sup> For the history of Kashmir of this period see *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 277 ff.

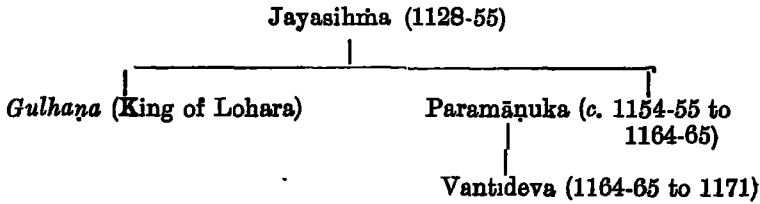


## GENEALOGICAL TABLES.\*

I. *The Kārkoṭas* (c. 631 to 855 A.D.).II. *The Utpalas* (c. 855-856 to 939 A.D.):III. *Successors of the Utpalas* (939 to 1003 A.D.).(a) *Line of Viradeva* (939-949):

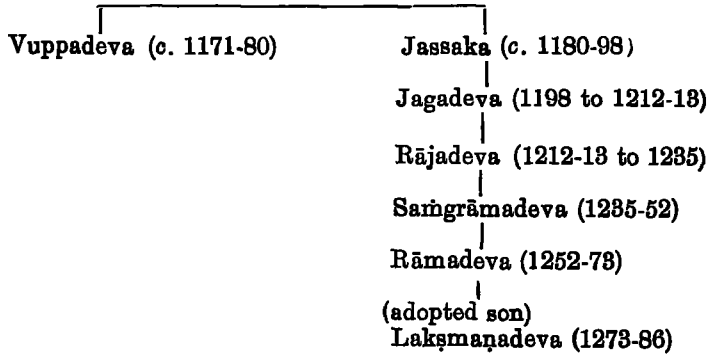
Princes whose names are in *italics* did not reign. Uncertain relationship is shown by vertical dots

(b) *Line of Abhinava (949-1003):*IV. *The Lohara Dynasty (1003-1171 A.D.):*

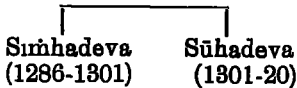


V. *Successors of the Loharas (c. 1171-1339 A.D.) :*

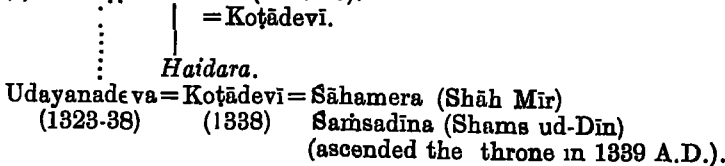
(a) *Line of Vuppadeva (c. 1171 to 1286).*



(b) *Simhadeva and his successor: (c. 1286 to 1320)*



(c) *Bhoṭṭa Rāncana (1320-23).*



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## CHAPTER IV

### DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NEPAL

The modern State of Nepal extends along the southern slopes of the Himalayas for a length of about 500 miles. "Its general direction is from north-west to east, between the 80th and 88th degrees of E. longitude, the most southern and eastern angle reaching as long as the 26th and its most northern and western corner as high as the 30th degree of N. latitude. In shape, therefore, the country is long and narrow, varying in breadth from 90 to 100 miles, while its area is estimated at 54,000 square miles. Along the northern boundary Nepal adjoins Tibet, on the east it is bounded by the State of Sikkim and the District of Darjeeling;" on the south by Behar and the United Provinces, and on the West by Kumaun and the river Kali. The territory of Nepal is divided into three main natural divisions by lofty ridges which take off from the high peaks of Nanda Devi (25,700 ft.), Dhaulagiri (26,826 ft.), Gosainthan (26,305 ft.), and Kinchinjunga (28,146 ft.) "These ridges stand out at right angles from the central axis of the Himalayas and run parallel to each other nearly due south towards the plains." The western division is drained by the river Kauriala (Karnali or Gogra) and its tributaries the Kali, Babai and Rapti. The central division is watered by the seven streams which uniting form the river Gandak, and are known to the Nepalis by the name *Sapt-Ganlakī*. The eastern division is similarly known as the *Sapt-Kosi*, the country of the Seven Kosis, of which the most important is the San Kosi. Compared with this large region ancient *Nepāla*<sup>1</sup> seems to have occupied a much smaller

<sup>1</sup> For the mention of *Nepāla* in literature and its etymological explanation, see Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Vol II, pp. 62-68.

area. The application of this term appears to have been more or less restricted to the "undulating plain of nearly oval shape" which lies between the basins of the Gandak and the Kosi. It has an average length "from north to south of about 20 miles and an average width of 12 to 14 miles." It lies 4,700 ft. above the sea-level, and is surrounded on all sides by mountains, which rise to a height of 7,000 to 9,000 ft. It covers an area of 250 square miles, and is watered by the small stream Bagmati. This portion is still known as the 'Valley of Nepal.' It was only in comparatively recent times that the conquests of the Gurkhas extended the geographical and political application of the term to the whole tract between Almora and Darjeeling.<sup>1</sup>

For the history of Nepal we have a number of local chronicles, which attempt to give a connected history of the Valley from the beginning of creation down to modern times. The early attempts of European scholars like Kirkpatrick and Wright<sup>2</sup> to write a history of Nepal were almost solely based on these *Vamśāvalis*. It remained for an Indian scholar, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, to demonstrate the unhistorical character of these documents.<sup>3</sup> His publication of the "Inscriptions from Nepal,"<sup>4</sup> in 1880 revealed for the first time the necessity of building on the more solid foundation of archaeological evidence. Since then his work had been ably taken up by Bendall, Fleet, Sylvain Lévi, and a number of European and Indian scholars, and it has now become possible, though much still remains doubtful, to give a fairly accurate idea of the political events in the Valley from about the 2nd century of the Christian era downwards. For the pre-Christian period we have no epigraphic evidence,<sup>5</sup> and must still depend on the

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed account of the orographical and geographical features of the State, see *IGI*, Vol. XIX, 1908, pp. 25ff.

<sup>2</sup> *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, by Colonel Kirkpatrick, London, 1811. *History of Népal*, edited by D. Wright, Cambridge University, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, 1884, Vol. XIII, pp. 411-28.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 1880, Vol. IX, pp. 163-94.

<sup>5</sup> Excepting the Rummindei and Nigali Sagar epigraphs of Aśoka.

Vaṁśāvalīś. These chroniclers, in their attempts to give a complete picture of the history of their country, have connected their accounts with the legendary four ages of the world and the Bhārata war on the field of Kurukṣetra. From the time of the sage Nemi, dynasties of the Gopālas, Ābhīras, Kirātas, the Somavaṁśīs, and the Sūryavaṁśīs are said to have held the Valley in succession till we come to the time of Amśuvarman, the founder of the Thākuriś. The mention of Amśuvarman, who is referred by the chroniclers to 101 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> brings to light the fictitious character of the chronology adopted in the local Vaṁśāvalīś. This prince has been rightly identified with Ang-shu-fa-ma of Ni-p'o-lo (*Nepāla*) mentioned by Yuan Chwang, who flourished in the first half of the 7th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The Vaṁśāvalīś have thus antedated him by about 700 years. The anxiety to connect their heroes with the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war and the lack of any authentic list of kings led these chroniclers to introduce in their lists many mythical kings of the Purāṇas and to assign to most of the princes reigns of truly patriarchal length, besides lengthening the reigns of many historical kings. Even then they failed to bridge the enormously long period which in their chronology separated the mythical from the historical period.<sup>3</sup> But though the Vaṁśāvalīś as a whole have thus little or no historical value, it is nevertheless possible that they may contain in their narration of the events of the pre-Christian period some elements of historical truth. The period assigned to the Gopālas and Ābhīras might have been dominated by nomadic tribes who were in their turn supplanted by the Kirātas, in all likelihood a Tibeto-Burman people who lived between the high Himalayan plateau, the mouth of the Ganges, and the neighbouring sea-coast. Prof. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out that the Nepalese

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, 1884, Vol. XIII, p. 413. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 69

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, 1884, Vol. XIII, p. 419; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp 69, 144 ff.; *BB*, Vol. II, pp. 80-81; *YC*, Vol. II, pp. 83-85.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, 1884, Vol. XIII, pp. 412-17, 419.

usage still gives the name Kirāta to the country between the Dudh-Kosi, and the Arun, and that there is evidence that the Kirātas once occupied a much more extensive area in Nepal.<sup>1</sup> The passing away of the Kirātas and the reign of the Somavamśhis probably marks the definite entry of Nepal into the domain of precise historical tradition. Paśuprekṣa of this dynasty is credited by all the Vaṃśāvalis, with having introduced the Hindu social system into the Valley. According to Prof. Lévi, the Nepal era, which in his opinion starts from 110 A.D., probably marks the date of the expulsion of the Kirātas from Nepal.<sup>2</sup> With the rule of next dynasty, the Sūryavamśi, Licchavis, we are first introduced to dated epigraphic records. The inscriptions, from the Chāṅgu-Nārāyana pillar inscription of Mānadeva to the Khopasi inscription of Śivadeva, are dated in the years 386 to 520 of an unknown era.<sup>3</sup> There has been considerable difference of opinion amongst scholars about the epoch of this era. As early as 1884 Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested the reference of the dates used by the Licchavi Mānadeva to the *Vikrama* era (58 B.C.),<sup>4</sup> while Fleet in the next year referred them to the *Gupta* era (319-20 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> The latest theory is that of Prof. Sylvain Lévi, who finds the astronomical data contained in the Kısıpıdı inscription of *Samvat* 449 in perfect agreement only with 482 *Śaka* current. Thus according to him the era starts from 110 A.D. (482-449 = 33 *Śaka*).<sup>6</sup> Whatever may be the real epoch of the era there can probably be little doubt that the first quarter of the 6th century of the Licchavi

<sup>1</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 72-78, *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 417; *HA*, 2nd Ed., 1926, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *JA*, 1907, tome IX, pp. 68-72, *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 48 and 51.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 163-68, Vol. XIV, pp. 97-98, *JA*, 1907, tome IX, pp. 49-91; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 1-81; Bandall, *A Journey in Nepal and N. India*, pp. 72-74; The Lagantöl fragmentary insc. mentioning the *dātaka Rājaputra Vikramasena* is dated in the year 535 of the same era; see *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, Vol. XIII, 425-26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 342 ff.; *GI*, *Appendix IV*, pp. 171 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *JA*, 1907, tome IX, pp. 68 ff.; and 78 ff.; *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 48 ff. and 70 ff.



era, when *Mahāsāmanta* Amśuvarman was gradually rising into power in Nepal, must fall in about the first half of the 7th century A.D. It was probably during the reign of one of the early Licchavis that the great Gupta emperor Samudra Gupta claimed respectful homage of the *pratyanta Nepāla-nrpati*.<sup>1</sup>

The rise of Amśuvarman is one of the most interesting incidents in the history of Nepal. It seems likely that the Thākuris, to which tribal group Amśuvarman belonged, held ministerial offices before the reign of Śivadeva. In the reign of the latter we find the *Mahāsāmanta* Amśuvarman's name associated with that of his sovereign in several charters, three of which are dated in the Licchavi era 518, 519, and 520.<sup>2</sup> All these inscriptions are issued from *Mānagrha*, the royal residence of the Licchavi kings built by Mānadeva. During this period he must have gradually assumed the position of the 'mayor of the palace,' and according to the *Varṇśivalīś*, strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of his sovereign. By the time the Harigaon inscription was issued, the revolution that was slowly taking place was complete. Śivadeva has disappeared from the inscriptions, which are now dated in a fresh era, and are issued from *Kailāsakūṭabhavana*, no doubt a new palace constructed by the usurper. Like the Nizāms and Peshwas of Mughul history, he however still retained his humble title of *Mahāsāmanta*, and is sometimes even given the simple honorific of *Śrī*. In an inscription of his successor, however, his sovereign power is recognised by the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*.<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions of Amśuvarman are dated in years from 30 to 39 of the new era.<sup>4</sup> Though there is unanimity amongst

<sup>1</sup> *GI*, p. 8, line 22

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 97-99, Bendall, *1 Journey in Nepal and N. India*, pp. 72-74. The date of this inscription read by Bendall and Kielhorn as 318 has been corrected by Lévi as 518. See his *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 126; Vol. III, pp. 61-64, 70-81; *JA*, tome IX, pp. 78-91; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 168-69.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 171-72; cf. the present position of the *Mahārājās* of Nepal.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 82-101; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 169-71; Bendall, *Journey*, pp. 74-76. According to Fleet the Satdhara inscription of this king was dated in 44 or

scholars about the age of Amśuvarman, the latter being identified with the Nepalese ruler who was dead shortly before the itinerary of Yuan Chwang in Northern India in about the middle of the 7th century A.D., yet there are considerable differences of opinion when it comes to determining the exact epoch of the era used in his inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> In his 'Considerations on the History of Nepal,' Bhagwanlal Indraji definitely rejected the possibility of Amśuvarman founding a new era, and offered plausible arguments for the belief that the era used was the Harṣa era. This view was accepted by Fleet in his critical examination of the 'Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nepal.' But the strength of their arguments were much weakened when Prof. Lévi showed that the passage of the *Harśacarita* which had so long been accepted as an allusion to the conquest of Nepal by Harṣa is capable of another interpretation.<sup>2</sup> A more serious objection to the acceptance of the view of Bhagwanlal is probably the fact that it seems to involve a contradiction of the statement of Yuan Chwang that Amśuvarman was dead when he visited Northern India (606-07 + 45 = 651-52 A.D.). Lévi has shown from Tibetan and Chinese sources that Nepal during Amśuvarman's reign was a vassal of the powerful Tibetan king Srong-btsan Sgam-po, to whom the Nepal king was compelled to give his daughter in marriage. In a note contributed to the *Journal Asiatique* the same scholar has tried to show that the year 34 of Amśuvarman corresponds to 629 of the Christian era. Thus, he came to the conclusion that the era used by the

45, see his *GI*, p. 180. Bhagwanlal dated it in 45 (?); see *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 171; also *Le Népal*, Vol. III, p. 142

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 419-22; Vol. IX, pp. 342-51; *GI*, pp. 177-91; see also Kielhorn's note in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 73, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> .....*ātra paramesvareṇa tuṣāra-śailodbhūvo durgāyā grhītaḥkaraḥ*, p. 101 of the *Nirṇayasāgara* Ed., translated by Bühler as "Here the supreme lord (Harṣa) took tribute from the land in the snowy mountains, that is difficult of access" (i.e., Nepal); see *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 40-41. But see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 143-44; Lévi takes the terms *tuṣāra* to be identical with *Tukhāra*, and translates it as: '(Harṣa) received taxes from the mountains and inaccessible land where lived the Tukhāras (=Turks in the N. W. of India).'

usurper started from 595 A.D., and as Amśuvarman was a vassal of the Tibetans, the era he uses is probably Tibetan in origin and possibly dates from the first king of Tibet, Lun-tsang so-lung-tsan. The fact that Amśuvarman celebrated his *Abhiṣeka* in the year 30 of the era seems to confirm the opinion that the era was a borrowed one.<sup>1</sup> Whatever might be the exact epoch of his era, there is no doubt that he was a successful king. The distribution of his inscriptions at Katmandu, Patan, Deo-Patan and Bagmati demonstrates that he exercised his sovereignty in the very centre of the valley of Nepal. The fact that his name is registered by the Chinese annals and is joined with the Tibetan legends shows that he produced a profound impression on his contemporaries. But after his death, which must have happened some time before the year 48 (643 A.D. ?), the date of his successor Jīṣṇugupta,<sup>2</sup> Nepal enters upon a period of confusion. There is unquestionable evidence that the ancient dynasty of the Licchavis was again restored to power. The Licchavi era and the names of Licchavi kings again appear on the charters of Jīṣṇugupta.<sup>3</sup> It seems likely that, taking advantage of the confusion that followed the death of Amśuvarman, this adventurer, who was probably sprung from an indigenous family, seized the royal power and raised a scion of the Licchavis as his nominal sovereign. From the fact that he mentions his great-grandfather Mānagupta without any honorific, and that the ending of his name is *Gupta*, which is absent in the names of the Licchavi princes, and occurs only in the legendary lists of Gopāla kings, Lévi concluded that Jīṣṇugupta was an Āhīra (Ābhīra=Gopāla=Goāl) of plebeian rank.<sup>4</sup> By the time his reign ended, the Licchavis, the

<sup>1</sup> *Note sur la chronologie du Népal*, in *JA*, 1894, II, pp. 55ff. *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 70-81, 82-90, Vol. II, pp. 144-55.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 171-72; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 155ff.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 171-74; *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 102-09.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, 156-59.

legitimate sovereigns of Nepal, had fully recovered their power. From the time of Narendradeva, who succeeded Jisnugupta sometime before the year 657 A. D., the date which marks, according to Lévi, the introduction of the cult of Matsyendra-nātha in Nepal, down to the time of Jayadeva *Paracakrakāma* whose Katmandu inscription is dated in 153 (=748 A.D. ?), the Valley appears to have remained under the control of the Licchavis.<sup>1</sup> Śivadeva, the father of Jayadeva, whose Lagantol inscription is dated in 119 (=714 A. D. ?), married Vatsadevi, the daughter of the Maukharī Bhogavarman and the granddaughter of the *Magadhādhipa*, Ādityasena. This last prince is certainly the later Gupta ruler of that name whose Shahpur image inscription is dated in the Harṣa year 66 (=672-73 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> I-tsing, who visited India during 673-85 A. D., mentions a pious foundation of this Gupta prince.<sup>3</sup> Jayadeva himself married Rājyamati, daughter of Harṣadeva, who is described as belonging to the *Bhagadatta-rāja-kula* and king of Gauda, Oḍra, Kalinga, Kośala and other lands. Kielhorn has identified this prince with Śrī-Harṣa (Harṣa) of a Tejpur epigraph in Assam.<sup>4</sup>

The period that followed the death of Jayadeva is extremely obscure in the history of Nepal. It has been shown by Sylvain Lévi that the Tibetans exercised hegemony over Nepal for about two centuries, from the beginning of the 7th century to practically the end of the 8th century. The dominions of K 'i-li-pa-pu (c. 650-79), the grandson of Srong-btsan-sgam-po, who died in c. 650 A. D., extended in the south to Central

<sup>1</sup> For their inscription see *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 174-83, *Le Nepal*, Vol. III, pp. 113-57; Bendall's *Journey*, p. 79, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II pp. 161-70

<sup>2</sup> *GI*, pp. 208-10, *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 178-83

<sup>3</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 167-68

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 179, verses 14-15, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 171; *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 384-85; *JASB*, 1940, Vol. IX, p. 767 ff. For the coins of the Licchavi Amśuvarman and Jisnugupta, see V. Smith, *CCIM*, 1906, pp. 281-83, and Plate XXVIII, *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 669-83 and plate I, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 112-118 and Plate XIII; *ZDMG*, 1892, Band XXXVI, pp. 651-52,

India (Po-lo-men). That the Tibetans held sovereignty in Nepal is proved by the Lagantol inscription of Śivadeva (119=714 A. D. ?), which refers to the obligation of furnishing 5 labourers for *Bhoṭṭa-viṣṭi*.<sup>1</sup> Another evidence of the Tibetan suzerainty seems to be supplied by the name of the Nepal king Aramudī who according to Kalhana opposed the Kashmirian king Jayāpīda in the second half of the 8th century A. D. Stein rejected the episode as mythical, but Lévi has shown that the name of the king is Tibetan.<sup>2</sup> In the years 816-38 the dominions of the Tibetan king Khri lde strong btsan, called also Ral-pa-éan, extended over a vast tract from Mongolia in the north to the Ganges, including Nepal in the south. But the anti-Buddhistic policy of Glang-Darma (Chinese Ta-mo), who succeeded Itai in 838, produced a formidable religious revolution and shattered the empire of the Tibetans.<sup>3</sup> Taking advantage of the civil war in Tibet, Nepal appears to have gained its freedom; and it is not unlikely that the Nepal era, which starts in 879 A. D., marks the date of its emancipation from the Tibetan yoke.<sup>4</sup> Cunningham in his *Book on Indian Eras*, mentions Rāghavadeva as the founder of this era. Curiously enough no Varṇsāvalī expressly says that this prince founded the Nepal era. Most of the Varṇsāvalīs ignore him altogether. Lévi has therefore objected to the acceptance of Cunningham's view. According to him 'the pale figure of Rāghavadeva does not harmonise with the idea of the founder of an era.' He has therefore suggested a rather

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol IX, pp. 174-76; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 171-77.

<sup>2</sup> *Rajatarāṅgī*, IV, 531-81; Trans. by Stein, Vol I, p 95; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p 176.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 177-79.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Parker points out from the T'ang Annals (618-907) that in 703 A. D. Nepal and India threw off Tibetan suzerainty and that "the then king of Tibet perished during his personal conduct of the punitive expedition that he had organised against them." But as Prof. Sylvain Lévi has shown, Nepal was subsequently reconquered by the Tibetans. See *Journal of Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, p 133. For a further account of the war in 703 A. D., see the *Missionary Journal, China*, 1904, and *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1910.

plausible theory to explain the institution of this new era. According to him, the superstitious dread of the Nepalese for the figure "8" was responsible for the foundation of it. The year in which "8" occurs according to him has ever been a year of misfortune for Nepal. It was in the year 888 (A. D. 1768) that the Gurkhas conquered Nepal. The fear of living for 100 years under the menace of a formidable misfortune had thus perhaps sufficed to cause a revolution in the calendar of the superstitious Nepalese. Referring to the Baijnath *prāśastis*,<sup>1</sup> which are dated in *Śaka* 7(26) and *Lokakāla* 80 (which starts from 3075 B. C., but in use allows the hundreds and thousands to be omitted), he says that the Nepalese applied the principle of the *Lokakāla* to the *Śaka* era. The Baijnath *prāśastis* show that both the eras were current in the heights of Kangra, Kashmir, and Nepal, and the originality of this new era lay simply in counting 1, 2, etc., in the place of (Śaka) 801, 802, etc.<sup>2</sup> But Bendall has shown that the name of Rāghavadeva is duly recorded in a new chronicle discovered by him. "Not only so, but the years of reign assigned to him and his immediate successors quite accord with the tradition of his having founded the era. Thus if we add together the duration of his reign and that of his five successors down to Lakṣmīkāmādeva we get about 135 years. This, again, added to 879-80 brings us to the second decade of the eleventh century, when we know from a colophon that Lakṣmīkāmā had commenced to rule at all events as joint sovereign, becoming sole king later on"<sup>3</sup> It is therefore perhaps not unreasonable to reject the theory of the French *savant* and to regard Rāghavadeva as the king whose reign ushered in a new era in Nepal.

For the next 200 years after the foundation of the era, however, we have no epigraphic records of the kings who ruled in

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 107 and 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 179-84.

<sup>3</sup> *CPMDN*, pp. 5-6.

the Valley.<sup>1</sup> But, fortunately for us, from the beginning of the 11th century almost a regular series of dates and names of Nepalese kings are found in the colophons of the numerous manuscripts preserved in Nepal and elsewhere. These colophons materially help us in checking the vagaries of the local chroniclers whose accounts also gradually assume a less legendary character as we advance beyond 1000 A.D. According to the 'newly discovered' *Vaṃśāvalī* of Bendall, Rāghavadeva ruled for 46 years and 6 months, and was followed in regular succession by Jayadeva, Vikramadeva, Narendradeva, Gunakāmadeva I, and Udayadeva. Their reign periods are given as 10 years, 8 years, 9 months, 1 year 6 months, 65 years 5 months, and 5 years 5 months respectively.<sup>2</sup> Amongst these successors of Rāghavadeva Gunakāmadeva I appears to have been a vigorous ruler. In Nepalese tradition he passes as the founder of the city of Katmandu. According to Prof Lévi, Kāntipura, the ancient name of the city, is related to the name Gunakāma, *kāma* and *kānti* belonging to the root *kam*, i. e., to love.<sup>3</sup> About this period the chronicles place the foundation of the cities of Patan and Sanku. The foundation of these cities appears to have marked an epoch in the economic transformation of Nepal. A critical study of the inscriptions of the period anterior to this shows that they refer only to *grāmas* and to a rural community which lived mainly by agriculture. Deva-Pattana, standing near the temple of Paśupati, was the only city in the Valley. The king lived near the temple, and the court and pilgrims assured to the *pattana* a sufficient number of customers for the merchandise of the small bazar. But gradually with regular intercourse with the Indian plains commerce

<sup>1</sup> The first inscription dated in the Nepal era appears to be the Lalita-pattana image inscription of Vāṇadeva dated in the year (208 = A.D. 1083). Bendall's *Journey*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>2</sup> CPMDN, table facing p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> The present name is said to have been derived from the big *Kāṣṭhamandapa*, which was built in Kāntipura by king Hariharasimha Malla in 715 (1595 A.D.); *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 249.

developed with a mutual exchange of goods. The formation of the Tibetan kingdom opened up a new direction. As Nepal guarded the important routes which led from the Indian plains to Tibet and China its people soon came into contact with a wider world and left the comparatively less un-remunerative fields for trade and commerce. Lévi has pointed out that at the time when the History of the T'ang (618-905 A.D.) was compiled, merchants were numerous and cultivators rare in Nepal. The growth of commerce and city life also synchronised with the development of manual arts and industries. Goldsmiths, metal founders, painters, illuminators, found a ready market for their handicrafts in the neighbouring countries.<sup>1</sup> Guṇakāmadeva is said to have instituted at Katmandu a *Yātrā* in honour of Lokeśvara Khasarpaṇa, probably in imitation of the *Yātrā* of Matsyendranātha at Patan.<sup>2</sup> He made large benefactions to the god Paśupati, and appears to have extended his power outside the Valley towards the east. In spite of his expenditure on pious donations and military enterprises, he is credited with having left the fabulous sum of 500 millions in charge of the Nāga Vāsuki in the pit of mount Indraśāla.<sup>3</sup> It is a pity that we have as yet no authentic dated records either literary or epigraphic for his long and interesting reign. The next king, Udayadeva, was succeeded by Nirbhayadeva, who appears to have ruled jointly at least for some time with Rudradeva, who is placed next in the *Varṇśāvalī*. This is proved by a palm-leaf MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in the Cambridge University Library which is dated *Samvat* 128 (A.D. 1008) under the *dvirājya* of Nirbhaya and Rudradeva. The term *dvirājya* should be taken in the sense of 'joint regency,' and it refers to a well-known practice in Hindu polity, where two princes either divide a kingdom into two halves, like Yajñasena and Mādhavasena in *Mālavikāgnimitram*, or otherwise hold joint authority without destroying the organic

<sup>1</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186; also Vol. I, p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol I, p. 186.



unity of the State.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Lévi seems to have gone to Buddhistic he assumes that this form of government must necessarily in which the dominance of a foreign power. Though this is so in this *Mālavikāgnimitram*, it is an accident and not a corollary of a *dvirāṇya* form of government. It is however not impossible that the Pālas, who dominated the lower Ganges valley, extended their hegemony over Nepal under Mahīpāla and Nayapāla.<sup>2</sup> This, in the opinion of Lévi, would offer an explanation, for the presence in Nepal of MSS copied under the Pāla kings, specially under the two abovementioned princes. But this contention of Lévi, though possible, is far from conclusive. As he has himself shown, Buddhism had, at this time and even earlier, united the Nepal valley and the dominions of the Pālas in a closer bond. The Pālas possessed Bodh-Gaya and Sarnath, two of the most sacred sites of Buddhism, while the *vihāra* of Vikramaśīlā was a great centre of knowledge and Buddhist piety. Under the circumstances, communication was frequent between the mountain-kingdom and the empire of the Pālas. Amongst the doctors at Vikramaśīlā in the 11th century Tāranātha mentions Vairocana Paṇḍita, Ratnakīrti and Kanakaśrī who all came from Nepal. Lévi refers to a notice of a Chinese mission, according to which 300 *Śramanas*, after visiting Magadha under the Pālas, returned by way of Nepal. The Tibetan mission sent to Vikramaśīlā in about 1040 A.D. to bring back Atiśa met a Nepalese prince on the Indian frontier who went to the same monastery. In the reign of Devapāla, the Indian *savant* Vajradeva is reported to have gone to Nepal. Vāgīśvara Kīrti, a contemporary of Atiśa, went to the same country in the 2nd half of his life, while under the immediate successors of Nayapāla, Pham-mithiñ with his brother Jñānavajra visited the valley to work for the salvation of its

<sup>1</sup> *GBMC*, pp. 1-4, MS. No. 866; *IA*, 1923, pp. 278-79; *Arthaśāstra*, Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 325; *Mālavikāgnimitram*, V, 13-14.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 188-90.

people. When Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār captured Bihar in about 1193 A.D. Buddhaśrī, the *Sthavira* of the Mahāsaṃghikas at Vikramaśīlā, and many other scholars sought shelter in the hills of Nepal, no doubt taking large numbers of MSS. with them. Under the circumstances it would be perhaps going too far to infer from the find of MSS. copied under the Pālas a hegemony of the latter over Nepal. MSS. may have passed from one country to the another in the ordinary course of communication between the two neighbouring kingdoms, united closely by so many bonds of culture, religion and commerce.<sup>1</sup>

The Varṃśāvalī of Bendall unfortunately does not assign any reign-period to either Nirbhaya or Bhoja. But in the colophon of another palm-leaf MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, noticed in Bendall's Catalogue,<sup>2</sup> 7 years later than the abovementioned record of the double reign of Nirbhaya and Rudradeva, probably the same Rudradeva appears as holding power conjointly with two other princes named Bhojadeva and Lakṣmikāmadeva. The MS. is dated in the year 135 (A D. 1015), and was copied in the Hlam-vihāra in the *Nepāla-manḍala*.<sup>3</sup> The reference to the three princes is to be found in the following verse :

*Rājñi śrī-Bhojadeve'py-amitagunagaṇāla(bhda)-śrī-Rudradeve  
Śrī-Lakṣmikāmadevair-arijaga(t)kuliśair-ardharājye' pabhukte.*

According to Bendall, the verse means that, while Bhojadeva apparently governed one half of the kingdom, the other two princes ruled simultaneously as co-regents of the

<sup>1</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 188-89, Tāranātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, von A Schiefner, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge, 1883, pp 151-52. MS. No. 1643.

<sup>3</sup> Notice the peculiar name of the *Vihāra*, which appears to be certainly non-Sanskritic. The MS. No. 843 was also copied in this monastery.

remaining half.<sup>1</sup> He finds a parallel in a non-Buddhistic MS. dated A.D. 1400, the metrical colophon of which describes 'a triple sovereignty' of Jyotir-malla and his elder and younger brothers.<sup>2</sup> But Lévi has, following the interpretation of the word *ālabdha* by Śrīdharasvāmin in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, offered another explanation of the verse. The word *ālabdha*, which characterises the connection of Bhojadeva with Rudradeva, indicates in his opinion that the former succeeded the latter 'not as a natural heir but in virtue of a meritorious choice'. The word *ardha-rājya* used in connection with Lakṣmīkāma, in his opinion, 'finds its exact parallel in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, where a prince is being installed in *addharajje*. The term, therefore, applies exactly to the two members of the *dvirājya* or *dvairājya*.'<sup>3</sup> Bhojadeva, who occupied the throne in about 1015 A.D., appears to have been a contemporary of the Paramāra ruler of Mālava of the same name (c. 1010-55 A.D.). An undated Cambridge MS. (Add. 2191) was copied when Bhoja was ruling alone. It is not unlikely that Bhoja had for some time at least ruled alone before he became associated with Lakṣmīkāma. The latter in his turn appears as sole king in a palm-leaf MS. of the *Saddharma-Pundarikā*, which is dated in the year 159 (= A.D. 1039).<sup>4</sup> From the similarity of names Lévi is disposed to agree with the tradition which mentions Lakṣmīkāma as a grandson of Guṇakāma. This prince is credited with the construction of the monastery known as Lakṣmī-varma-vihāra.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CBMC, pp. v-vl. Dr Barnett understands the verse thus: "When Bhoja was reigning, who succeeded.....Rudra, when half the kingdom had been enjoyed by ..Lakṣmīkāma."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. vi and ix.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 191-92; Foucher also holds the same opinion. See his *Etudes d'iconographie Buddhique*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> CBMC, p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 192.

The successor of Lakṣmīkāma is variously known in the different *Vaṁśāvalis* as Vijaya, Jaya, Jayadeva, and Jayakāmadeva. Excepting the chronicle consulted by Bendall, which gives him 31 years, all other *Vaṁśāvalis* assign to him a reign of 21 years. He is said to have restored the cult of the Nāga Vāsuki. But his reign appears to have been disturbed by the rising of the feudal nobles. Lévi has pointed out from the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra* that during this period they turned Nepal into a veritable *mātsyanyāya* by their turbulence and plundering expeditions. Atīśa, while traversing Nepal in about 1040 A.D. was received into the palace of a local *rājā* when he went to pay his respects to the *carya* of Svayambhū, and then journeying westwards towards Palpa met the sovereign king of Nepal Grags-pa-mtha-yas (Tibetan = Anantakīrti?).<sup>1</sup> When Jayakāmadeva died childless, the royal authority was reduced almost to a shadow, and perhaps did not extend beyond the city of Patan. He was next succeeded by Bhāskaradeva, who is regarded by all the chronicles, except that of Bendall, as the founder of a new dynasty, the Thākuris of Nayakot. It is probable that Bhāskaradeva belonged to one of the tribal groups who held feudal power in the valley and, taking advantage of the confusion, usurped the sovereign power. According to Kirkpatrick, Bhāskara was 'a refractory tributary of Patn' (Patan).<sup>2</sup> But it is to be noted that the chronicle of Bendall contains a rather obscure note as to his 'repairing his paternal crown.' If he belonged to a new dynasty, it seems likely that his father had already assumed an independent position. A MS. of the *Viṣṇudharma* written in Newari character and dated in his reign in *Samvat* 167 (= A.D. 1046) gives him the imperial titles

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 193-94; Bendall thought that the Tibetan name 'may be a form of Yaśodeva.' See fn. 3 on p. 6 of *CPMDN*. Dr. Barnett, however, suggests: "It is hardly possible to equate Grags-pa-mtha-yas with Yaśodeva. Grags=yaśas or kīrti and mtha-yas=ananta or amita or the like."

<sup>2</sup> *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 6; Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, London, 1811, p. 268; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, 193-94; *OBMC*, table on p. xii.

*Paramabhaddāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*.<sup>1</sup> This prince is said to have founded the *Hiranya-varṇa-mahā-vihāra* at Patan. According to the chronicle of Kirkpatrick the next ruler was Udayadeva ; but all other *Varṇasāvalis* place Baladeva or Balabantadeva, after Bhāskaradeva.<sup>2</sup> As Bhāskaradeva is said by some to have ruled only for 3 years (c. 167+3=170 N.E.=A.D. 1049), and as the first known date of Baladeva's successor is 185 N.E. (1064-65 A.D.), Baladeva being assigned a reign of 12 years (185-12=173 N.E.), there is no inherent impossibility in a short reign intervening (170-173 N.E.) between Bhāskaradeva and Baladeva.<sup>3</sup> A MS. of the *Niśvāsākhya mahā-tantra* found in Nepal Durbar Library is dated in 180 *Samvatsare* (A.D. 1059-60) in the reign of Baladeva.<sup>4</sup> The next king was Pradyumna-kāmadeva, sometimes known also as Padmadeva.<sup>5</sup> A MS. of the *Saddharma-Pundarīka*, Camb. Add. 1684, is dated in *Samvat* 185 (1064-65 A.D.) in this king's reign. Bendall refers to another MS., Camb. Add. 2197, dated in the year 186 (A.D. 1065-66), belonging to the reign of the same prince.<sup>6</sup> In the first of these MSS. P(r)adyumna-kāmadeva is given the sovereign title of *Paramabhaddāraka*.<sup>7</sup> He is assigned by different authorities a reign of 11 or 7 years.<sup>8</sup> The next ruler, Nāgārjunadeva, is said to have reigned for a short period of 2 or 3 years.<sup>9</sup> For the next ruler, Śaṅkaradeva, who is variously assigned a reign of 11, 15 or 17 years, we have three dated MSS. The dates are 189, 191 and 198 (A.D. 1068-69, 1070-71, and 1077) found on three MSS. of *Dharma-putrikā*, *Aṣṭasāhas-*

<sup>1</sup> *CPMDN*, Introduction, pp. 29-30

<sup>2</sup> Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, London, 1811, p. 263; *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 6; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 194. In *CBMC*, table on p. xii, published before 1905, Baladeva is wrongly called Bāladeva

<sup>3</sup> This is according to the chronicle of Bendall; others assign to Bhāskara 13 or 7 years. (See table on p. xii in *CBMC*.)

<sup>4</sup> *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *CBMC*, Introduction, p. vi; *Le Népal*, p. 194.

<sup>6</sup> *CBMC*, p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> *CBMC*, table on p. xii.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, *CPMDN*, Introduction, table on p. 22.

rikā, and Prajñākara's commentary, on *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, respectively.<sup>1</sup> Śaṅkara is credited with having established an annual Yātrā in honour of *Nava-sāgara Bhagavatī*.<sup>2</sup>

After this reign the Vamśavalīs indicate a change of dynasty. Vāmadeva, said to have been a collateral descendant of Amśuvarman and belonging to the Ṭhākuris of Patan, drove away the Ṭhākuris of Nayakot and captured the sovereign power. A MS. of *Seka-nirdeśa-pañjikā* in the Minaev-collection of St. Petersburg is dated in the year 200 (A.D. 1080-81) in the reign of Rājā Vāmadeva.<sup>3</sup> An inscription of 5 lines incised on the pedestal of a figure of the Sun-god (*divākara*), discovered by Bendall at Lalitapattana, which is dated in N.E. 203 (A.D. 1083) mentions one Śrī-Vāṇadeva, son of *bhūnātha* Śrī-Yaśodeva, who was identified by Bendall with this prince. Though the date and the similarity of the name would tend to favour such an identification, Lévi has rejected it. To him *bhūnātha* means no more than a prince, or even only a Kṣatriya, while the title *Śrī*, the 'most banal of all titles' clearly brands Vāṇadeva as only a local chief.<sup>4</sup> Vāmadeva is assigned a reign of 2 or 3 years only.<sup>5</sup> He was succeeded by Harṣadeva, who is given a reign of 14, 15 or 16 years. Bendall supplies three dates for this reign, *viz.*, 210 (A.D. 1090), 213 (A.D. 1093), and 219 (A.D. 1098). Two of these are found on MSS. copied during the king's reign. The last date is given by the Vamśavalī of Bendall in the following passage: *Rājā Śrī-Harṣadeva varṣa 14 ūnavimśati sambacchara satadvaya parivartamānam*. Commenting on this passage, Bendall says: "Interpreted in the light of the two other dates (given in the MSS.), this rather crudely expressed notice gives good sense if we take it

<sup>1</sup> CPMDN, p. 92; *ibid*, Introduction, table on p. 22; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS, 1891, p. 687.

<sup>4</sup> Bendall, *Journey*, pp. 80-81; *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 76; No. 559; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 196-97.

<sup>5</sup> CPMDN, Introduction, table on page 22; CBMG, table on p. xii.

to mean that Harṣa died in N. S. 219 current. Lévi agrees with this conclusion.<sup>1</sup>

Between this last known date of Harṣa and the first of his successor Śivadeva or Sadāśivadeva (219-239) there is an interval of 20 years.<sup>2</sup> The *Vaṁśāvalī* of Bendall describes Śivadeva as the son of Śaṅkaradeva (189-98 N.E.) and gives his date of birth as Āsādha 177 (A.D. 1056-57).<sup>3</sup> It thus appears that with this king the power of the old dynasty, the Thākuris of Nayakot, revived again. The disturbances that led to this restoration of the old dynasty appear to have originated in Tirhut, outside the hills of Nepal.

During the reign of the Cālukya emperor Someśvara I (A.D. 1040-69), his son Vikramāditya seems to have led successful expeditions into North-eastern India.<sup>4</sup> Accompanying his victorious arms a number of military adventurers came from the south, especially from Karṇāṭa and carved out small principalities. The Sena dynasty in Bengal appears to have been founded in this manner. Its founders claim to be the defenders of the *Karṇāṭa-kula-lakṣmī*, and declare themselves to be southerners.<sup>5</sup> It has been suggested that they were first established on the borders of Bengal by an invasion of the *Cālukya* emperor *Vikramāditya VI*.<sup>6</sup> Another of these adventurers from Karṇāṭa was probably one of the forefathers of Nānyadeva, whose name being apparently a transcription of the Canarese word *nanniya* (affectionate) reveals his southern origin. He established his authority in Tirhut, and from his capital at Simraon launched on a series of campaigns for the conquest of the neighbouring countries. It is not unlikely, as Lévi has suggested, that before

<sup>1</sup> *CPMDN*, Introduction, table on p. 22; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Bombay, 1875, III, 67-74.

<sup>5</sup> *BI*, Vol. I, p. 305, v. 4; *JASB*, Vol. V, 1909, p. 467 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 47; *PTOC*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 347; *JL*, Vol. XVI, 1927, p. 7.

But I think that these northern expeditions were undertaken as Bilhana clearly indicates in his father Someśvara's reign (c. 1040-69 A.D.).

he established his sovereign power, he served some local king as a candottieré, and then overthrew his master. But it is significant that from the time that followed the reign of Vikramāditya VI, Nepal suddenly enters into the composition of the *praśasti-kāras* of the kings of Deccan. Thus the Pattadakal stone inscriptions dated in 1162 A.D. enumerates Nepal amongst the vassals of the Cālukya emperor Someśvara III Bhūlokamalla, the son of Vikramāditya VI.<sup>1</sup> The Kalacuri Bijjala, who overthrew Tailapa III, the son of Someśvara III, is praised in an epigraph dated in c. 1200 A.D. for having destroyed the stability of *Nepāla*.<sup>2</sup> In another inscription of about the same time discovered at Managoli, the Yādava Jaitugi (c. 1191-1210 A.D.) claims to have defeated the leaders of the armies of *Nepāla*.<sup>3</sup> Under the circumstances it is not unlikely, as I have suggested, that the establishment of the forefathers of Nānyadeva in Tirhut, on the borders of Nepal may have been due to a successful raid of the great Cālukya prince to the foot-hills of the Himalayan range.

According to Nepalese tradition, Nānyadeva from his capital at Simraon<sup>4</sup> captured the whole of Nepal and after dethroning two local Nepalese princes, Jayadevamalla of Patan and Katmandu and Ānandamalla of Bhatgaon, established his court at the latter city. The chroniclers have clearly fallen into a blunder by introducing Malla kings into Nepal at this period.<sup>5</sup> It will be seen further on from the dates in the colophon of MSS. that Nānyadeva did not destroy the local princes in the Nepal valley, who continued to rule probably under the hegemony of the Karnātakas of Tirhut. Mr. M.

<sup>1</sup> *JBRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions at Ablur, *EI*, Vol. V, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 29. Note also the name of the Nepal prince Someśvara (c. 1184-86 A.D.) which is unique amongst the royal names of that country, and which curiously reminds us of the Cālukya emperor Someśvara III (c. 1125-30 A.D.) who claimed suzerainty over the Valley. See *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 209, 213-14.

<sup>4</sup> Simraon is the same as Simaramapura, mentioned in the introductory verses of the *Kṛtyaratnākara*.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 199 ff.



Chakravarti has pointed out that the date of Nānyadeva must be placed in about the middle of the 12th century A. D.<sup>1</sup> The successful career of Nānya appears to have ended in disaster, when he came into conflict with the Senas of Bengal. In the Deopara inscription, Vijayasena claims to have defeated and imprisoned Nānya, with several other princes.<sup>2</sup> The epigraphic and literary traditions of Nepal contain lists of the names of his successors. Thus the Katmandu inscription of Pratāpa (Malladeva) dated in (N.) *Samvat* 769 (A. D. 1649) gives the following list:<sup>3</sup>

Nānyadeva  
Gangadeva  
Nṛsimha.  
Rāmasimha  
Śaktisimha  
Bhūpālasimha  
Harisimha.<sup>4</sup>

There is a substantial agreement amongst all the other authorities about these names. Among the minor variations may be mentioned the omission of Śaktikumāra and the

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1915, pp. 408-09. This date of Nānyadeva is based on the synchronism of Malladeva, his son, and the Gāhadavāla king Jayacandra (Jayaccandra). In the *Yuddhacāra*, one of the tales of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* of Vidyāpati, Malladeva is said to have served Jayacandra (c. 1170-93 A. D.), king of Kānyakubja and Kāśī, and died at the age of 16. Prof. Kielhorn while editing the Deopara Inscription of the Sena king, Vijayasena, placed Nānyadeva in Śaka 1019 (A. D. 1097). The date is found on a MS noticed in the *Katalog der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1881, Vol. II, p. 8. See *EI*, Vol. I, p. 313, fn. 57. The discovery in 1923 of a stone inscription of Nānyadeva in Bihar is reported by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. See *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, by R. D. Banerji, 2nd Ed., Calcutta, p. 318, fn. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, p. 309, verses 20-21 and footnote of Kielhorn, No. 57, on p. 313. Kielhorn accepted 1097 A. D. as the date of Nānyadeva. According to some, the assumption of imperial titles by Śivadeva in 1120 A. D. shows that Nānyadeva was killed before that date. See *JASB*, 1921, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 187-89.

<sup>4</sup> In this inscription the name is given incorrectly as Harayutsimha (Harasimha), the correct form Harisimha is given in other inscriptions. See *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 184-87 and 189-91.

addition of Karmasimhadeva in the prologue of the drama *Mudita-Kuvalayāśva* and the addition of Harideva by the chronicles of Wright and Bhagwanlal. Attention may be drawn to the forms of names *Bhāvasimhadeva* and *Narasimhadeva* given in the drama, which appear to stand for Bhūpālasimha and Nṛsimha of the inscription.<sup>1</sup> There is however considerable variation in the order of succession and the years of reign assigned to these princes in the different authorities, though there is again a surprising agreement in the total number of years assigned by them to the princes who ruled before Harisimha. The total reign-period given is either 219 or 226 years, which, as we shall see later on, is nearly the exact period that intervened between Nānyadeva (c. 1097 A. D.) and Harisimhadeva (c. 1324 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> But all these successors of Nānyadeva who ruled before 1324 appear to us as mere names. Tradition has failed to record any notable achievements in their favour. It is however not improbable that from their capital at Simraon they may have claimed a sort of loose hegemony over the local princes of the Nepal valley.

I have already referred to the overthrow of the Thākuri of Patan, which was most probably caused by the invasion of Nānyadeva. It is not impossible that the Karnaṭa chief extended his power in the Valley by espousing the cause of Śivadeva, a successful pretender of the Nayakot branch of the Thākuri who were ousted by the Patan branch sometime before 1080-8 A. D. At any rate we find from the colophons of MSS. and some inscriptions an unbroken series of princes, from Śivadeva to about 1200 A. D. We have 3 dates for Śivadeva. An India Office MS. of *Sphoṭikāraidya*

<sup>1</sup> For a complete list from all the sources see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 220 Kirkpatrick's Bhadsing Deo and Kurmsing Deo and Sakrasing Deo of Hamilton probably stand for Bhūpālasimhadeva, Karmasimhadeva and Śaktisimhadeva of the other sources.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 220-21.

gives him the imperial titles *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, and contains the date 240 (A. D. 1120) in his reign. A Cambridge MS. noticed by Bendall supplies the date 243 (A. D. 1123) in his reign, while the *Vaṃśāvalī* of the same scholar tells us that he constructed a tank named *Mahendrasaras* or *Madanasaras*, after the name of the *Yuvarāja* Mahā-Indra-deva, in 239 (1118 A. D.). According to the modern chronicles, Śivadeva was a great warrior, who conquered the whole of Nepal and carried his arms to the four corners of the horizon. With the rich booty thus acquired he is said to have built a new roof to the temple of Paśupati. He is also credited with the foundation of Kīrtipura and the issuing of the *Sukī* coins, made of an alloy of copper and iron and marked with the image of a lion, which continued to be struck till the beginning of the 16th century. He is assigned a reign of 27 years and 5 months. Śivadeva was succeeded by Indradeva, probably his son and no doubt identical with the *Yuvarāja* Mahā-Indradeva. An India Office MS. on astrology (*Jātaka*, No. 2928) which was copied in 249 (1128-29 A. D.) in his reign, gives him the exalted title of *Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*. He is said to have reigned for 12 years. The next ruler appears to have been Mānadeva. A Cambridge MS. of *Astasahasrikā* gives the date 259 (A. D. 1139) in his reign.<sup>1</sup> The inscription of Varamtol (near Katmandu), dated in the same year, records the gift of a water-channel (*pannālī*) and a *drona* in the victorious reign of *Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Paramabhattāraka Śrī-Mānadeva*.<sup>2</sup> He is variously assigned a reign of 10 years or 4 years 7 months, and is said to have retired into the monastery of Cakra-vihāra, built by the ancient king Mānadeva, after abdicating in favour of his eldest son.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *OBMO*, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Bendall's *Journey*, pp. 10 and 81.

<sup>3</sup> This Mānadeva was the Sūryavaṃśī Licchavi king of that name; see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 98 and 206.

This son is probably to be identified with Narendradeva, who under the titles of *Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* appears as king in a MS. of the *Pañcarakṣā* dated in the year 261 (1141 A. D.)<sup>1</sup> of the same king, which thus appears to be anterior by five years to the last known date of Mānadeva. If the relationship between the two were that of a father and son, it is not impossible that, like the Kashmirian king Ananta, Mānadeva may have resumed the royal power for some time after his abdication.<sup>2</sup> According to the chroniclers, the next king, Ānandadeva, was a son of Sīhadeva. Wright's chronicle gives the name of Narendradeva as Narasimha and it is not impossible that Sīhadeva may be the same as Narasimha.<sup>3</sup> For Ānandadeva's reign Bendall has given us 6 dates from MSS. which range from 275 to 286 (A. D. 1154-5 to 1166).<sup>4</sup> Tradition assigns to this prince a reign of 20 years. He was succeeded by Rudradeva, to whom is assigned a reign of 8 years and 1 month. This prince is said to have passed his life in pious practices and philosophic studies after confiding the government to the care of his son. It is not surprising therefore that his reign has not left for us any dated literary or epigraphic evidence.<sup>5</sup> The next ruler appears to have been Amṛtadeva (or Mitradeva), who, according to the chronicle of Bendall, was another son of Sīhadeva (Narendrasimha = Narendradeva?). A MS. of the *Daśakarmapaddhati*, copied in his reign, bears the date 296 (A. D. 1176).<sup>6</sup> He is said to have reigned for 3 years 11 months. Next follows the reign of a king named Ratnadeva, who is not mentioned in any of the *Varṇśāvalis* of Nepal. Bendall recovered his name from the tracings of

<sup>1</sup> CPMDN, p. 62, *Vede-manmatha-bāṇa-nara-netre* .. . . . (i e., 254).

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarāṅginī*, VII, 230-44; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> CPMDN, Introduction, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 208.

<sup>6</sup> CPMDN, p. 65; *ibid*, Introduction, p. 23.

a MS. in the Katmandu library which bears the date 303 (A. D. 1183) in his reign.<sup>1</sup> Next follows the shadowy figure of Someśvaradeva, who is said to have been a son of Mahendra (Indradeva ?) Tradition assigns him a reign of 4 years 3 months, but it has not handed down to us any dated records of his time Lévi has already drawn attention to the abnormal character of the name of this prince, which is unique in Nepalese history, and appears in the Valley at a time when a prince of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇī bearing the same name was claiming suzerainty over the Valley.<sup>2</sup> After Someśvara follow the names of three princes named Gunakāmadeva (II), Lakṣmīkāmadeva (II), and Vijayakāmadeva, whose reigns have fortunately left for us some dated records. A MS of *Jayākhyasamhitā* (also called *Jñānalakṣmī*) preserved in the Durbar Library of Nepal is dated in 307 (1187 A. D.) in the reign of Gunakāma.<sup>3</sup> Bendall's chronicle assigns him a reign of only 3 months. His successor Lakṣmīkāma, who is entirely omitted in the traditional lists, is attested by a MS. of his reign dated in 313 (A. D. 1193).<sup>4</sup> The reign of the next ruler, Vijayakāma, to whom is assigned by the Vamśāvalis a reign of 17 years, is recorded by two MSS. dated in 316 (A. D. 1196) and 317 (A. D. 1197).<sup>5</sup>

After this ruler a new type of royal names appears in the list of Nepalese rulers. The prince who succeeded Vijayakāmadeva was not his son. He was named Arimalladeva, and was the son of Jayaśi(?) malladeva, a chief of unknown origin. Many of the chronicles call him simply Arideva, and explain the term *Malla* in the name of his son by referring to a story

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24. Possibly through a mistake Lévi gives the name as Rudradeva; see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> *JBRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> *CPMDN*, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, table on p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> *CPMDN*, p. 113; also *ibid.*, Introduction, table on p. 24.

that the latter was born when his father was amusing himself with wrestling. Though this word certainly has the meaning of an athlete or wrestler, Lévi, I think, was right in reading in the word an ethnic significance.<sup>1</sup> The word *Malla* as the name of a tribal group of North-eastern India is well known in Indian historical tradition. At the time of Buddha the Mallas formed a non-monarchical confederacy with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī (mod Basarh, Muzaffarpur District, Bihar). Kuśinagar and Pāvā, where the two greatest heretical teachers of Hinduism died, were situated in their territory. In the epic and Paurāṇic tradition the Mallas are always associated with Kosala, Videha (Tirhut), and Magadha. The *Manusamhitā* mentions the Mallas by the side of the Licchavis in its social organisation and it is not a little surprising to find their name again reappearing with their old confederates of Vaiśālī in the land of Nepal. It is not impossible that threatened by the growth of imperialism in North-eastern India and unwilling to be merged into the empires of the plains, they, like the Gurkhas of a later period, had retired to the safety of the northern hills and carved out independent principalities in the Himalayan range. While good fortune enabled the Licchavis to occupy the central and rich portion of the Valley, the Mallas appear to have settled further west beyond the Gandak.<sup>2</sup> There they became a thorn in the side of the Licchavis. This is evident from the Changu Narayan pillar inscription, which records an invasion of Minadeva (386 = A. D. 496 ?) beyond the Gaṇḍakī against the city of the Mallas (Malla-

<sup>1</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol II, pp 210ff. Lévi points out that the title *Malla* assumed by the Gālukyas of Bādāmi (c 550-753 A D) and Kalyāṇī (c. 973-1190 A. D) was first adopted by the Pallavas of Kāñḍī (c 375-803 A D), from which city came, according to Nepalese tradition, Dharmadatta, one of the first kings of the Valley, see *ibid*, pp. 213-14.

<sup>2</sup> The Malla settlements were probably situated in the western portion of the division of modern Nepal which is known as the *Sapt-Gaṇḍakī*; see *supra*, p. 185. One of the principalities of Nepal situated at the foot of Dhaulagiri still bears the name of Mallabhūmī (vulgar Malebhūm), the land of the Mallas; see *Le Népal* Vol. II, p. 210.

purī).<sup>1</sup> The struggles between the Mallas and the Licchavis appear to have continued unabated in the subsequent period. An evidence of this is probably to be found in the Dharampur inscription of the time of Śivadeva and Amsuvarman (520 = 630 A. D.?), which refers to the remission of a tax named *Mallakara*.<sup>2</sup> The Thankot inscription of the time of Mānadeva and Jisṇugupta (*Samvat* 500 . . ? = 610 + *x* ?) also refers to the collection of a tax of the same name in the Nepal valley.<sup>3</sup> It is not unlikely that *Mallakara* was a tax like the *Turuṣka-danda* in the inscriptions of the Gāhādavāla Govindacandra (c. 1104-54 A. D.)<sup>4</sup> It is possible that in the plains the latter tax was sometimes meant to be a poll-tax on the Muhammadans.<sup>5</sup> But the probability that it was also sometimes a tax for the cost of military defence against the depredations of the Turuṣkas or a tax for raising money to buy off the unwelcome visitors is not entirely eliminated. The latter policy was followed by the Sultāns of Delhi when the terrible Mughul hordes appeared on their frontier, and the British Government even to-day pays subsidies to many of the unruly frontier chiefs of N. Western India to keep them quiet. *Mallakara*, to my mind, was probably a tax of this nature, either to buy them off or to defray the cost of fighting the daring marauders from the western hills. It is not necessary however to agree with Lévi, that the Mallas had established in the 7th century some sort of suzerainty over the Bagmati valley.<sup>6</sup> But later on, in spite of the attempts of the more civilized people of the Valley to keep out these sturdy mountaineers, they appear to have gradually

<sup>1</sup> *JA*, 1907, Tome IX, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 102 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. II, p. 361 ff.; IV, pp. 11 ff., 98 ff., 104 ff., 107 ff., 114 ff., 116 ff.; V, pp. 115 ff.; VII pp. 98 ff.; VIII, pp. 153 ff.; IX, pp. 321 ff.; XI, pp. 20 ff., 155 ff., 156 ff., 158 ff.; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 20 ff.; *JASB*, Vol. LVI, Part I, pp. 106 ff., 113 ff., 118 ff.; XXVII, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 321.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 67-68.

succeeded in penetrating into *Nepāla*. Thus the Buddhist *Varṇśāvali* of Wright describes the foundation of Campāpurī, to the south of Patan, in N S. 111 (=A D 991) by two Malla princes. A MS. of the *Devī-māhātmya* is dated in the year 118 (A. D. 998), in the reign of a chief named Dharmamalla. The chronicle of Wright again refers to the conflict of Nānya-deva with the Mallas in Nepal. The Nighva pillar of Aśoka carries the trace of an inscription of one Śrī-Tapu Malla in *Samvat* 1234.<sup>1</sup> From these references it is probably permissible to guess that the Mallas first entered the Valley in considerable numbers by taking advantage of the confusion which prevailed in Nepal immediately before Rāghavadeva (c 879 A.D.). The invasion of Nānyadeva (c 1097 A.D.) and the disorders that inevitably follow a foreign invasion possibly allowed their chiefs to increase in power and prosperity till one of them Arimalladeva, seized the royal power in the Valley sometime before c 317 (A. D. 1197).

For Arimalladeva we have 3 dates (327-36 = A. D. 1201-16) from MSS. copied during his reign. A MS. of *Sattvabādhā-praśamana* in the Nepal Durbar Library is dated in 322 (A. D. 1201) in the *viṣayarājya* of Arimalladeva.<sup>2</sup> A palm-leaf MS. of the *Karmakrīyā-kāṇḍa* of Somaśambhu carries the date 326 (A. D. 1206), in the reign of Arimalladeva-*nrpa*.<sup>3</sup> A Cambridge MS. of the *Sādhana-Samuccaya* bears the date 336 (A. D. 1216) in the *viṣayarājya* of *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara Arimalladeva*.<sup>4</sup> In spite of these imperial titles, the instability of the Mallas' power in the Valley is shown by a unique MS. of the *Vidyāvalī* by Aghora in the British Museum which bears the date 342 (A. D. 1221) in the *Pravardhamāna viṣayarājya* of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara*

<sup>1</sup> *Le Nepal*, Vol. III, pp. 212-13; P. C. Mukherji, *A Report on the Antiquities in Terai, Nepal*, Calcutta, 1901, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *CPMDN*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>4</sup> *CBMC*, pp. 154-5. The number of the MS., Add. 1648 is wrongly given on the table on p. 24, Introduction of *CPMDN*, as Add. 1618.



Raṇasūra.<sup>1</sup> This prince is utterly unknown to the Nepal chronicles. It is likely that he was one of the local chiefs of the Valley who, as his high-sounding imperial titles show, for a time succeeded in seizing the sovereignty of *Nepāla*. But the Malla power appears to have been restored again before c. 344 (A. D. 1223) by Abhayamalla, for whose reign we have a MS. of the *Bhāratīya-nāṭyaśāstra* with this date. The dates found on MSS. copied during this reign range over a period of 30 years, from c. 344 to 373 (A. D. 1223-1252). A MS. of the *Devīmāhātmya* was copied in *Samvat* 358 (A. D. 1238) in the victorious reign of Abhayamalladeva.<sup>2</sup> A British Museum MS. of the *Astasāhasikā Prajñāpāramitā* bears the date 367 (A. D. 1246), in the *viṣayaṇīya* of Abhayamalladeva.<sup>3</sup> A MS. of the *Pañcarāksā* omitted in H. P. Sāstri's Catalogue but noticed by Bendall has the date 367 (A. D. 1247), in his reign, while a St Petersburg MS. bears the date 373 (A. D. 1252).<sup>4</sup> According to the chronicles, which assign him different reign-periods, 19 years, 42 years 6 months, or 48 years Abhayamalla's reign was marked by great calamities, a famine and frequent earthquakes.<sup>5</sup> According to some of these *Vamśavalis*, he had two sons, *viz.*, Jayadevamalla and Ānandamalla. The younger brother allowed the elder to rule at Katmandu and Patan, and migrating eastward, founded for himself Bhatgaon and seven other cities—Bancpur, Panavati, Nala, Dhaukhel, Khadpu, Chaukot, and Sanga, all situated to the east of Bhatgaon outside the Valley.<sup>6</sup> Two MSS. bearing the dates 375 (A. D. 1255) and 377 (A. D. 1257) in the reign of a prince named Jayadeva are noticed by Bendall in his 'historical

<sup>1</sup> CSMBM, pp. 212-14. See *infra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar* for the history of the Śūra princes. It is interesting to note that there was also a prince of the name Raṇasūra in Bengal who probably flourished in c. 1021-25 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> CPMDN, p. 69

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 24; CSMBM, 1902, pp. 226-27

<sup>4</sup> CPMDN, Introduction, p. 25

<sup>5</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 214.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315; Lévi corrects this name to Anantamalla.

introduction' to H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Durbar Library of Nepal.<sup>1</sup> This prince is probably to be identified with Jayadevamalla to whom the chronicles assign a short reign of 2 years 8 months. Next follows the reign of Jayabhīmadeva, who is allotted by Bendall's chronicle a reign of 13 years 3 months. The same scholar has noticed the date 380 (A. D. 1260) in his reign from the tracings of a Katmandu MS.<sup>2</sup> He was succeeded by Jayaśāha (Śīha ? = Śiṃha) malladeva, who was probably associated with his predecessor as *Yuvarāja*. To this prince, for whom we have no dated records, the local annals have assigned a short reign of 2 years 7 months. Then came Anantamalla, son of Rājadeva, for whose reign we have dated MSS. extending over a period of 28 years (399-427 = A. D. 1279-1307). A MS. of the *Mahālakṣmīvrata* in the Nepal Durbar Library is dated in *Samvat* 403 (A. D. 1279), in the victorious reign of *Rājādhirāja Anantamalladeva*.<sup>3</sup> Two MSS. of the *Ekādaśīvrata-māhātmya* were copied in the *Paśupati-sthāna* of the *Nepāla-deśa* in *Samvat* 400 (A. D. 1280) in the reign of Anantamalladeva.<sup>4</sup> A MS. of the *Lakṣmyavatāra-stotra* bears the date 403 (A. D. 1283) in the same reign. Another MS. of the Durbar Library, the *Anantavratavidhi*, is dated in 405 (A. D. 1285) of Anantamalla. A MS. of the *Sārāvalī* of Kalyānavarman, preserved in the British Museum is dated in *Samvat* 406 (A. D. 1286), in the victorious reign of *Rājā-Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* Anantamalladeva.<sup>5</sup> A MS. noticed by Kirkpatrick and the *Vamśāvalī* of Bendall supply two dates, 408 (N. S.) or (V.) S. 1344 (A. D. 1287) and 417 (1297 A.D.) respectively.<sup>6</sup> A MS. of the *Bodhisattvavadāna-kalpalatā* of Kṣemendra in the Cambridge Library bears the

<sup>1</sup> CPMDN, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 44; H. P. Śāstri's reading of Anandamalla is wrong; see *ibid*, Introduction, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> CSMBM, p. 182.

<sup>6</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, p. 264, CPMDN, Introduction, p. 26.

date 422 (A.D. 1302) while Bendall's *Vaṃśāvalī* supplies a further date 427 (A.D. 1318) in the same reign. The chronicles assign him a reign of 30 to 35 years. In the latter part of his reign Nepal appears to have been overwhelmed by a series of invasions by the fierce tribes of the western mountains, known as the Khasas and Magars. Under their leaders Jayatāri and Mukundasena they are reported to have carried fire and sword throughout the Valley, burning villages, massacring its inhabitants, and desecrating its temples. The invasions probably began about the year 408 (A.D. 1287), and appear to have continued beyond 411 (A.D. 1290). According to the chronicles a *mahāmārī* or pestilence at last drove away from the Valley these unwelcome emigrants.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that the region of Palpa, from which these invaders came, was also the stronghold of the Mallas and later on of the Gurkhas before they conquered the Bagmati valley. The period that followed the reign of Anantamalla was also full of troubles. But its outlines are extremely uncertain. From the *Vaṃśāvalī* of Bendall it appears that the next ruler was Jayānandadeva, for whose reign we have a MS. of the *Nāgānanda* dated in the year 438 (A.D. 1318).<sup>2</sup> He was succeeded by Jayarudramalla, who was the son of Jayatungamalla, and had as his co-regent (*samrāja*) one Jayārimalla.<sup>3</sup> According to the dates given in Bendall's Chronicle, Jayarudramalla was reigning in 440 (A.D. 1320), and died in 446 (A.D. 1326).<sup>4</sup> The invasion of the Khasas however had weakened Nepal so much that it was not long before it saw another invader, this time from the south.

I have already referred to the phantom successors of Nānyadeva (c. 1097 A.D.), who for about 200 years held Tirhut and claimed a nominal suzerainty over the valley of Nepal. The *Vaṃśāvalī*s

<sup>1</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 216 ff.

<sup>2</sup> CPMDN, p. 73. The titles of the king are ...*Śrī-Śrī-Rājādhirāja Paramadharmika-Paramabhaddāraka*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

by transferring their contemporary Malla kings of the Valley into the "indefinitely elastic past," treat these Karnātakas as the real rulers of Nepal. Thus Anantamalla for whom we have dates ranging from 1280 to 1307 A. D. is made a contemporary of Nānyadeva, while the latter himself is transferred to *Saka* 811 (c. A.D. 389). According to the chronicles of Wright and Bhagwanlal, Harideva was the last direct descendant of Nānyadeva to rule in Nepal.<sup>1</sup> But we have already seen that two sets of kings ruled continuously and separately in Nepal and Tirhut during this period. In the Katmandu inscription of Pratāpa (malladeva) the name of Harisimha comes last in the list of 6 successors of Nānyadeva.<sup>2</sup> The same inscription calls him *Karnāta-cūdāmanī*, "the crest-jewel of Karnāta." Candésvara, the author of *Kṛtya-ratnākara* and *Kṛtya-cintāmanī*, who was a minister of Harisimha, designates his master as *Karnāta-vamśodbhava* and *Karnātādhipa*.<sup>3</sup> Thus we can readily reject the assumption of the local Vamśāvalī, which try to connect him with the indigenous dynasties of the Nepal valley. The foundations for such statements of the local historians however may lie in the fact that Harisimha may have tried to pose as the legitimate heir of Nepalese sovereigns after his conquest of the Valley. In the beginning of his reign Harisimha appears to have ruled over Tirhut from his capital Simraon. Removed from the great highways of the Islamic armies, the Karnātakas of Tirhut long succeeded in maintaining their independence. But in the reign of Harisimha an unexpected move on the part Ghiyāth ud-Din Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A.D.) brought them into conflict with the Sultāns of Delhi. In 1324 Ghiyāth ud-Dīn undertook an expedition to Bengal. On his way back he passed through Tirhut.<sup>4</sup> Firishta supplies the following account of

<sup>1</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 211-20.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 184-87. See also *ibid*, 189-91, for the correct name

<sup>3</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 221-22. Candésvara regularly calls his master Harasimha ; for the other forms of his name see *supra*, p. 205 fn. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Through a mistake the *GHI*, Vol. III, on p. 669 gives 1324 A.D. as the date of Firūz Shāh's expedition to Bengal.

the incidents on his journey. "It is related that as the Sultan was passing near the hills of Tirhoot, the Raja appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hands. The troops on seeing this applied themselves to work with such spirit that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at a fort, surrounded by seven ditches full of water and a high wall. The king invested the place, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Raja and his family were taken, and great booty obtained, while the government of Tirhoot was left in the hands of Ahmud Khan, the son of Mullik Tubligha, after which the king returned towards Dehly."<sup>1</sup> That this 'Raja of Tirhoot' was Harisimha appears to be suggested by the traditional date N.S. 444 (A.D. 1324) of the latter's invasion of Nepal,<sup>2</sup> and the references in contemporary literature to his conflicts with the Musalmans. Thus in the *Dāna-ratnākara* of Candēśvara, he is described as having rescued the earth flooded by the *Mlecchas* while in the *Dhūrta-samāgama*, a two-act comedy played in Harisimha's court, he is said to have conquered the *Suratāna* (Sultān). His invasion of Nepal however was forced upon him. Unable to meet the Sultān's armies in the open field he appears to have fled towards the northern hills. When Simraon, which is probably the 'fort surrounded by seven ditches' fell, he entered Nepal with his followers.<sup>3</sup> I have already shown that the condition of Nepal at this period was such that it could

<sup>1</sup> *TF*, Trans by Briggs, Vol I, pp 406-07.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Nepal*, Vol II, p 220, the date is also given as Śaka 1245. This date is wrong by about a year: see *ibid*, pp 222-24. *JASB*, 1915, pp. 411-12; also footnotes 4 and 5 on p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> According to a Mithilā tradition, when Harisimha abandoned Tirhut and went into Nepal, the emperor of Delhi conferred the kingdom on the Brahman Kāmeśvara Thakkura, who became the founder of the Sugaunā dynasty of Mithilā. King Sivasimha of this line was the patron of the poet Vidyāpati. See Grierson in *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 182-86, and Vol XXVIII, pp. 57-58; also *JASB*, 1915, pp. 415 ff; *JBORS*, Vol. III, p. 517.

offer no effective resistance to Harisimha. The reigning king Jayarudramalla appears to have submitted to the invader, who established his headquarters at Bhatgaon, and gradually extended his power over the whole Valley. The Vamśavalis describe the successors of Harisimha as the legitimate sovereigns of Nepal. Under the designation of the Sūryavamśī dynasty of Bhatgaon some of them give us the following list of these princes :<sup>1</sup>

Harisimha	...	.	28 years.
Matisimha	...	...	15 ,,
Śaktisimhadeva	...	...	22, 27, or 33 years.
Śyāmasimhadeva	...	...	15 years.

The epigraphic tradition of Nepal of the 17th century, as well as the chronicles of Kirkpatrick and Bendall, however, completely ignore the existence of this line. The MSS. copied in Nepal during this period also engage in a conspiracy of silence regarding these princes. Thus it might seem that the Sūryavamśī dynasty of Bhatgaon was, like so many other things, a figment of the imagination of the chronicles of Wright and Bhagwanlal. But the mention by the latter of an embassy sent by Śyāmasimha, son of Śaktisimha, to the Chinese emperor has led Lévi to examine the Chinese records, with happy results. He thus summarises the results of his enquiry :<sup>2</sup>

The annals of the Ming refer to the renewal of relations between the Empire and the Himalayan kingdom in the 14th century. China took the first steps in opening diplomatic relations. The Emperor Hong-wu had sent in 1384 A.D. a Buddhist priest to Nepal to bring to the king a seal which conferred upon him official investiture. The king of Nepal in return despatched an ambassador who carried to the court 'small pagodas of gold, sacred Buddhist books, fine horses and the produce of his country.' The ambassador arrived in China in

<sup>1</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 228.

1387. The name of this king of Nepal was *Ma-ta-na-lo-mo*. In 1390 and 1399 two other embassies came from Nepal. The successor of Hong-wu, Yung-lo imitated the example of his predecessor in returning friendly greetings. As a result of this, another Nepal ambassador came in 1409 bringing tribute. In 1413 the Emperor sent a gift to the new king of Nepal, *Cha-ko-sin-ti*, who returned the compliment in 1414. The Emperor conferred upon this king the title "King of Nepal," and gave him a charter supporting that investiture, also a seal in gold and one in silver, in 1418. In 1427 the Emperor Hiuen-te tried to renew the relations, but without effect. No other ambassador came to the Imperial court.

Lévi has identified *Ma-ta-na-lo-mo* and *Cha-ko-sin-ti* with the princes mentioned as Matisimha and Śaktisimha. *Ma-ta-na* however corresponds more nearly to Madana, and the Professor offers the plausible suggestion that it was amended by the local annalists into *Mati* on account of its closeness to the next name Śakti. *Lo-mo*, according to this scholar is the Buddhist title *lama* (Tibetan *blama*), which the Ming emperors lavished widely for political reasons.<sup>1</sup> The other difficulty that arises in these identifications is chronological. According to the Chinese account, the first embassy of *Ma-ta-na-lo-mo* arrived in 1387 A.D. while that from *Cha-ko-sin-ti* came in 1414 A.D. According to the chronology of the Vamsāvalis the date of Matisimha falls in c. 1353-69, and that of Śaktisimha in 1368-90, 1368-95 or 1401 A.D. But in view of the artificial character of the chronology of the local annals, we think we are justified in overlooking this and accepting the identifications proposed.

Thus it is clear that between 1387 and 1418 the Chinese documents know and recognise as sovereigns of Nepal the descendants of Harisimha, who probably ruled from Bhatgaon. But the colophons of the dated MSS. of Nepal reveal the existence of other princes in the Valley. A MS. of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata-tippāna*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

preserved in the Durbar library of Nepal, gives us the date 474 (A.D. 1353-54) in the reign of *nrpati* Jayarājadeva in Nepal.<sup>1</sup> Another MS. preserved in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal bears the date 476 (A.D. 1355-56), while the *Vaṃśāvalī* of Bendall gives the date 467 (1347 A.D.) as the year of his accession to the throne.<sup>2</sup> According to the last source, this king was the son of Jayānandadeva, for whom we have already noticed the date 438 (A.D. 1318), and was succeeded by his son Jayārjunamalla. A MS. of the *Meghadūta* preserved in the Nepal Durbar library was copied in 484 (A.D. 1363) in the victorious reign of *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Śrī-Śrī-Jayārjuna-deva*.<sup>3</sup> Another MS. of the *Mudrārākṣasa* in the same collection bears the date 491 (1371 A.D.) in the *Vijayarājya* of *Parameśvara-Paramabhattachāraka-Paramadharmika-Śrī-Śrī-Jayārjuna*, while a 3rd MS. of the *Bhojadevasaṃgraha* is dated in 1297 *Saka* (A.D. 1376) in the reign of the same king.<sup>4</sup> Two other MSS. bearing the dates 493 (1372 A.D.) and 494 (1374 A.D.) in the reign of this prince are also noticed by Bendall in the Cambridge Library collection.<sup>5</sup> Thus from 1347 to 1376, and even beyond that, as we shall presently see, there appears a continuous series of kings who claim to rule in Nepal. In view of the fact that the Chinese chronicles neglect them altogether, we are disposed to accept the contention of Lévi that the princes mentioned in the colophons were subordinate to the line of Harisimha at Bhatgaon.<sup>6</sup> Though their imperial titles are rather inconsistent with so humble a position, yet it offers the only explanation of the silence of the Chinese annals regarding them. If this was so, then it is likely that while Harisimha and his descendants exercised effective control over the whole of the Nepal valley, they

<sup>1</sup> *CPMDN*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 88 and 121.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 27, *CBMC*, p. 176 Peterson, *Histopadesa*, 1887, p. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Bendall, Introduction in *CPMDN*, p. 14, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 280. For another suggestion see Landon, *Nepal*, Constable, 1928, p. 38.



left undisturbed the local rulers, who acknowledged their hegemony, in the possession of the other two capitals, *viz.*, Patan and Katmandu.

During the regime of the line of Harisīmha, Nepal was again invaded by the Khasās under Ādit (y) amalla in the winter of 448 (1328 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> According to the chronicle consulted by Bendall, the Malla prince Jayarudra (1320-26 A.D.) died at the time of this invasion. The period that followed is obscure; but it appears from the same chronicle that for a time his daughter Satī-Nāyakadevī held the crown. Then follows a chapter of civil war and court intrigue, till Jayarājadeva (1347-56 A.D.) ascended the throne. He was, as we have seen, succeeded by his son Jayārjunamalla (1363-76 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

During the period that immediately preceded Jayarājadeva the royal power was usurped for a short time by a Karṇāṭaka prince of Simraon, named Jagatsīmha who married Nāyakadevī and had a daughter by her named Rājalladevī.<sup>3</sup> In the Katmandu inscription dated in (N.)S. 533 (1412 A.D.) of *Mahārājā-dhirāja* Jayajyotirmalladeva, his descent is traced from Sthitīmalladeva, king of the *Nepāla-khaṇḍa* and belonging to the *Sūryavamśa*. This Sthitīmalla is described in the epigraph as '*Rājalladevyāḥ pati.*' Lévi has rightly suggested the identification of the Rājalladevī of Bendall's Chronicle with that of the epigraph. He has further identified Sthitīmalla with Jaya-Sthitīmalladeva who appears in an inscription and colophons of MSS. as king of Nepal from 1380 to 1394 A.D. His initial date, 1380, is so close to the last date of Jayārjunamalla

<sup>1</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 226, CPMDN, p. 10

<sup>2</sup> According to Bendall's Chronicle, between Jayarudra and Jayarāja, Nāyakadevī was married in succession to Haricandradeva, a scion of the royal family of Benares, who acted as prince-consort, his brother Gopāladeva, who seized the crown after poisoning his brother, and the Karṇāṭaka prince Jagatsīmha; see CPMDN, Introduction, pp. 10-11.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 231. This is found only in the Chronicle consulted by Bendall which appears to be more reliable than the rest; unfortunately this *Varṇāvalī* ends with the reign of Jayārjunamalla; see CPMDN, Introduction, pp. 10-11.

(1376 A.D.) so far discovered, that it is very likely that he was the immediate successor of the latter. If the identifications of Lévi are accepted, Jaya-Sthitimalla was the grandson-in-law of the Malla prince Jayarudra (1320-26 A.D.) through his daughter Nāyakadevī and son-in-law of Jagatsimha, a prince of the Karnāṭaka line of Harisimha. Thus in his person he combined the two royal families, which claimed sovereignty over the Nepal valley for about 300 years (c. 1097-1376 A.D.). This latter fact is supported by the combined testimony of all the Nepalese chronicles. But in their attempt to represent Jaya-Sthitimalla as the legitimate successor of the two lines they invent a fictitious genealogy for him. Thus in the Vamśāvalī of Wright and Bhagwanlal one Jaya-Bhadramalla is represented as his ancestor, who married the daughter of Śyāmasimha the last descendant of Harisimha in Nepal. As Śyāmasimha had no male issue, Jaya-Bhadramalla succeeded his father-in-law, and his son Nāgamalla thus combined in his person the two lines. According to this chronology Jaya-Sthitimalla is the sixth descendant of Jaya-Bhadramalla in the direct line, being the seventh king after Śyāmasimha.<sup>1</sup> But we have already shown from Chinese annals that the two immediate predecessors of Śyāmasimha ruled in Nepal from 1387-1418. Jaya-Sthitimalla thus appears almost a contemporary of these later Karnāṭaka princes, and they cannot be separated by such long periods as is suggested by the tradition of Nepal. It seems likely that Jaya-Sthitimalla captured the throne of the Mallas from Jayārjunamalla by a successful *coup* sometime after February, 1376, and then, as husband of Rājalladevī, claimed to be the legitimate representative of the Mallas and the Sūryavamśī Karnāṭakas.<sup>2</sup> His pretensions were the more readily accepted

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 414; Wright, *History of Nepal*, pp. 180-82. The genealogy given in the *Mudita-Kuvalayāśva* and the chronicle of Kirkpatrick is somewhat different; see *Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1881. Vol. II, No. 6, pp. 7 ff. *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 232-33, Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> On this point see *CPMDN*, Introduction, pp. 12-14.

as he appears to have wielded a powerful sword. His reign ends the long period of feudal anarchy and ushers in a new epoch of peace and good government in Nepal. His authority appears to have been established practically over the whole Valley and his descendants henceforth in regular succession ruled over the three capitals of Nepal.

The chronicles of Nepal assign to this prince a long reign of 43 years. Of this period, as I have already pointed out, dated documents cover only a space of 14 years (1380-94 A.D.). A MS. of the *Mānavanyāyasastra* in the Nepal Durbar library bears the date N. S. 500 (A.D. 1380) in the victorious reign of Jaya-Sthitimalladeva, when Jayatavarmana was holding the post of *amātya*.<sup>1</sup> Another MS. of the *Guhyasiddhisāstra* in the same collection was copied at Bhaktagrāma in (N.) *Samvat* 514 (A.D. 1394) in the same reign.<sup>2</sup> Bendall has mentioned 6 other dates for this king from the colophon MSS. which range between these two 'dates'.<sup>3</sup> The same scholar discovered a stone inscription of this king on a slab in the courtyard of the temple of Śiva Kumbheśvara in Lalitapattana near Katmandu. That 'lofty' temple (*prāsāda*), we are told, was built by one Jayabhīma in fulfilment of a promise made to the god during his wife's illness in N. S. 512, in the reign of *Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka - Śrī - Māneśvarīvaralabdha-prasāda Asura-Nārāyaṇetyādi-viudha-biruda-rājā-valīpūrva...Kṛyā-samālankṛta - Mahārājādhirāja - Śrī-Śrīmat-Jayasthiti-rāja-malladeva*.<sup>4</sup> It will be observed that Jaya-Sthiti's reign covered the period when the Chinese were maintaining diplomatic relations with the descendants of Harisinha. But Jayasthiti appears to have gradually established his authority over them. Already in 1394 his authority was recognised at Bhaktagrāma (mod. Bhatgaon). In addition to imperial titles, the inscription quoted above gives him

<sup>1</sup> *CPMDN*, p. 48. The name Jayatavarmana is probably a mistake for Jayantavarman.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 28; *CBMC*, table on p. viii, Appendix 1; *Journey* by Bendall, Appendix III, Table I.

<sup>4</sup> *Journey*, pp. 83-87; see also *ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

the *biruda Asura-Nārāyana*. In the prologue to the *Abhinava-Rāghavānanda* composed by his court poet Maṇika, he is given the variant title *Dautya-Nārāyaṇa*.<sup>1</sup> According to Nepal tradition the king was passionately devoted to Rāma, and is said to have caused a stone image of that god with his sons Lava and Kuśa to be made and placed on the bank of the Bagmati, opposite Ārya Tīrtha.<sup>2</sup> Another interesting fact revealed by the king's inscription, is his devotion to the cult of Māneśvarī, who remained after him the guardian of his line. The chronicles of Nepal tell us that Jaya-Sthiti re-established and re-organised the castes in his kingdom, and gave Nepal a system of weights and measures.<sup>3</sup> There is enough evidence in Nepalese tradition to show that this prince was a wise and vigorous ruler, under whose intelligent guidance prosperity and peace again revived in the Valley.

Jaya-Sthiti had three sons by his queen Rājalladevī, viz., Dharmamalla, Jyotirmalla, and Kīrtimalla. Two Cambridge MSS. dated in 519 (A. D. 1398) and 520 (A. D. 1400) show that these three princes held a joint regency in those years.<sup>4</sup> But between the death of their father and their joint rule there occurs the name of a prince Jayasīṃha-rāma in a MS. of the *Daśakarmapaddhatī*, with the date 516 (A. D. 1395-96) and the high-sounding titles *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka*.<sup>5</sup> Lévi has recognised in *rāma* the Chinese title *la-mo* (lama), which was conferred by the Emperor on *Ma-ta-na* king of Nepal.<sup>6</sup> The title *Siṃha* certainly recalls the Karnātaka kings of Nepal; and if we further agree with Lévi in regarding *Jaya* as equivalent to the honorific *Śrī* put before the Indian names,<sup>7</sup> it would appear that this prince was one of the descendants of

<sup>1</sup> CBMC, p. 160. MS No. Add. 1658, Lévi has pointed out that the popularity of these *Nārāyaṇa birudas* in the dynasties of Nepal and Tirhut during this period, see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 231-35; also Vol. I, p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 183; see also CPMDN, Introduction, pp. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 192-87; *Le Népal*, Vol. I, pp. 229, and 298 ff.; Vol. II, p. 284.

<sup>4</sup> CPMDN, Introduction, p. 28.

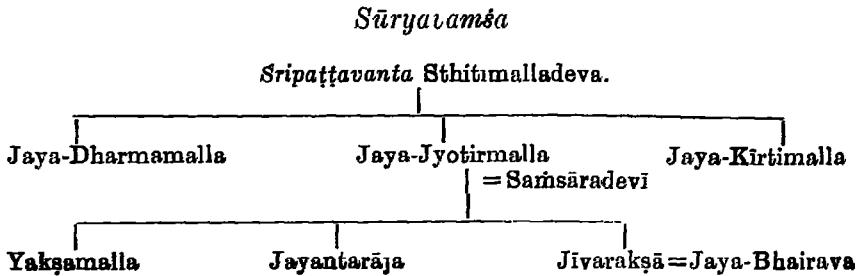
<sup>5</sup> CPMDN, p. 31. The date is wrongly given by the *paṇḍit* as 583; see Introduction, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 235.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

Harisimha who still retained some power in the Valley. It is likely that, taking advantage of the death of Jaya-Sthitimalla he had revived the power of his line; and this would explain the reception of embassies by *Cha-ko-sin-ti* in the period 1414-18 A. D.

As the three sons of Jayasthiti resided at Bhatgaon, it seems probable that they had not divided the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> But Dharmamalla appears alone in a Patan inscription dated in N. S. 523 (A. D. 1403), which, though dated in his *viṣṇavarāja*, designates him only as a *Yuvarāja*.<sup>2</sup> Eight years later Jyotirmalla appears alone as the author of a MS. of a work on astrology named *Siddhi-sāra* now preserved in the Cambridge Library, which is dated in 532 (A. D. 1411), and gives him the imperial titles of *Śrī-Rājādvi(jādhi?)rājā-Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka*.<sup>3</sup> A year later we find an official inscription of this king at the Paśupati temple at Katmandu.<sup>4</sup> It is incised on a slab of sandstone to the left of the western door inside the court, and records the dedication of a golden *kalasa* on the temple (*prāsāda*) of Paśupati-*bhaṭṭāraka* at Dedapaṭṭana-*mahāsthāna* by the *Sūrya-vamśaprabhava* .. *Raghuvamśāvataṃśa* .... *Māneśvarīvara-labdha-prasāda*... .. *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Śrīmat-Śrī-Śrī-Jaya-jyotimalladeva*. The inscription supplies the following genealogical information .



<sup>1</sup> *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 15; *CBMC*, p. ix, *Journey*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1903, p. 15, footnote 2. The name of the prince in the inscription is Jaya-Dharmamalla.

<sup>3</sup> *CBMC*, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 183-84.

This inscription not only revives the high-sounding titles of his father but claims that he laid low at his feet the crests of the diadems of all the neighbouring princes. The dates on the colophon of MSS. which were copied during his reign range from 522 to 547 (1411--1426-27 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> These dates make him a contemporary of Śaktisimhadeva, the descendant of Haisimha, who according to Chinese annals was ruling in Nepal in 1413-1418 A.D. But his inscription appears to show that after 1418 the descendants of Haisimha lost all power in the Nepal valley; and this is consistent with the fact that the Chinese in 1427 got no response from them when the emperor Huen-te tried to renew friendly relations. Thus it seems likely that the claims to imperial power made by Jyotirmalla had some basis in fact. Another interesting feature in this inscription is the epithet 'husband of Rājalladevī' applied to his father (Jaya)-Sthitīmalla, who is simply referred to without any titles as belonging to the *Sūryavamśa*. This probably suggests, as Bendall observed long ago, that "It was through his mother and not through his father that Jyotirmalla had any hereditary claim to the throne." Jyotirmalla was not only a patron of literature as is evidenced by the large number of MSS. of his reign, but was also an author himself. We have already drawn attention to the treatise known as *Siddhi-sāra*, a work on astrology which claims to be composed by this king.<sup>2</sup>

Jyotirmalla appears to have been succeeded by his eldest son, Yakṣamalla, soon after 1426-27 A.D., his last recorded date. This is proved by a MS. of the *Samhitāpāṭha* in the Nepal Durbar Library which is dated in Śaka 1350 (A.D. 1428-29), when *Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Śrī-Śrī-Jaya-J(Y)akṣamalladeva* was reigning at Bhaktagrama.<sup>3</sup> Already during the lifetime of his father he appeared in the latter's Katmandu inscription

<sup>1</sup> CPMDN, p. 36; *ibid*, Introduction, p. 28

<sup>2</sup> CBMC, p. 155, Add 1649, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> CPMDN, p. 23.

as governor of Bhaktāpurī.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the MS. already noted, Bendall has noticed six others dated from 549 to 594 (A D 1428 to 1474) in the reign of this king. His reign thus extended over a period of about half a century. He appears to have been the most powerful of the Malla rulers of Nepal. A MS. entitled *Narapatiyajayacaryā-tīkā*, which gives the name of the Malla prince Jagajjotirmalla as its author and is dated in *Śaka* 1536 gives a description of the victories of Yaksamalla. He is said to have advanced as far as Magadha, after conquering Mithilā, and set in order the whole of *Nepāla* after subjugating the mountain tribes (*pārvatān*). In the east his power is said to have reached the land of Vaṅga, in the south the Ganges (*Suranadī*), while in the west he conquered the *Gorakhā-pālas* (Gurkha chiefs).<sup>2</sup> According to the chronicle of Kirkpatrick he is said to have waged successful wars against the Tibetans in the north, from whom he took Shikarjong (or Digarchi), and subdued the rebellious nobles of Patan and Katmandu.<sup>3</sup>

Yakṣamalla probably died between 1474 and 1476 A.D.<sup>4</sup> But before his death he took a most unwise step which helped

<sup>1</sup> *Bhaktāpurī-nagara-vāsita-saukhyahārī*, 1A, Vol. IX, p. 183

<sup>2</sup> *CPMDN*, pp. 28, 86, 75, *ibid*, Introduction, p. 29, *CBMC*, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *CPMDN*, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, p. 266, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 298

<sup>5</sup> Prof. S. Lévi wrote in his *Le Népal* (Vol. II, p. 298) that Yakṣamalla's death took place towards 1480 A. D. But his death seems to have taken place before 1476 A. D. This is proved by a MS. of *Pancarākṣā* in private possession, shown to Dr. L. D. Barnett in the British Museum, London. It is dated in *Śvasti śrīmat-Paśupati-carana-hamala-dhūti-dhūserita siroruha - śrīman - Mānyesvarīṣṭa - devatā-śalaradhya*-[lege *labdha-vara*]-*prasāda-dedīpyamāna* .. *Mahārājādhirāja Rājārājendra sakara*-[lege : *sakala*] *rāja-cakrādhitāra śrī-śrī-Jaya-Nīpendra-malla parama-bhāttāraka devānām sadā samala*-[lege : *samara*]-*viyayinā* .. *viyayarājye* ... *Samvat 596 jyeṣṭha-māse śukla-pakṣe pūrnāmāsyām tithau anurādhā-nakṣatre siddhi-yoge* . . . In *Kāṣṭha-maṇḍapanagara*. It is possible that Jayanpendramalla (A.D. 1476) was a son of Yaksamalla who succeeded his father at Katmandu. If this is accepted then the *Pārnatīyā Vamśāvalī* consulted by Bhagawan Lal Indraji (1A, Vol. XIII, p. 415) which gives the name of Ratnamalla with the date N. S. 611 (A. D. 1491) as the immediate successor of Yaksamalla at 'Katmandu' must be wrong.

to dismember his kingdom and ultimately paved the way to its conquest, by the Gurkhas from the west. He divided his dominions between his three sons Rāyamalla, Ranamalla, Ratnamalla,<sup>1</sup> and a daughter. To the eldest, Rāyamalla, he assigned Bhatgaon with territory which extended on the west up to Bagmati, on the east to the city of Sanga, on the north to the town and pass of Kutī, and on the south to the forest of Medini Mall. The second son, Ranamalla, got the principality of Banepa, which was bounded on the north by Sangachok, to the west by Sanga, to the south by the forest of Medini Mall, and to the east by the river Dudhkosi. The third son, Ratnamalla, received Katmandu with territories bounded on the east by Bagmati, on the west by the Trisul-Ganga, on the north by the mountains of Nilkanth, and in the south by the dominions of Patan. According to tradition, the last-mentioned city was assigned to his daughter with territory which extended to the forest of Medini Mall in the south, to the mountains of Lamadanda in the west, to the Bagmati in the east, and to the boundaries of Katmandu in the north.<sup>2</sup> A MS. of the *Pāṇḍavavijaya* in the Durbar Library of Nepal has for its author king Jaya-Ranamalla. It mentions also his wife Nāthalladevī and his son *Kumāra Vijayamalla*.<sup>3</sup> It thus appears that the first king of Banepa was an historical person; but the principality did not last more than a century, and was annexed by the Bhatgaon branch of the family. The principality of Patan, if ever founded, was annexed by the Katmandu branch and remained under their chiefs till the beginning of the 17th century (c. 1631 A.D.), when it again became a separate principality.

Thus to all practical purposes the dominions of Yakṣamalla soon became divided into two main principalities, *viz.*, that

<sup>1</sup> This name is probably a mistake for Jayanṣendramalla, see *supra*, p. 227, fn. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *CPMDN*, pp. 107 ff., Wright, *History of Nepal*, pp. 189 ff.; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 236-39, 14, Vol. XIII, pp. 414 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *CPMDN*, p. 115. Another copy of the same work is noticed on p. 19.



of Katmandu and Bhatgaon. The principalities thus founded were often at variance with each other, and in the course of one of these struggles Raṇajitamalla, king of Bhatgaon (c. 1722-54 A.D.) applied for assistance to the Gurkha king Prthvi-Nārāyaṇa, who ruled a small principality in the west of the Nepal valley. The introduction of the Gurkhas led to the conquest of the Valley by these sturdy mountaineers in 1768 A.D. The record of this period of about three centuries (c. 1480-1768 A.D.) is comparatively modern history and thus lies beyond the scope of the present work.<sup>1</sup>

### GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(Periods assigned are only approximations)

I. <i>The Licchavis</i> (c. 350-c. 379 A.D.)	
II. <i>Period of Thākuri Amśuvarman and Ābhira (?) Jīṣṇugupta</i> (c. 625-645 A.D.).	
III. <i>Rāghavadeva and his successors</i> (c. 879-1046 A.D.):	
N. S.	A. D.
	Rāghavadeva ... c. 879
	Jayadeva
	Vikramadeva
	Narendradeva
	Guṇakāmadeva I
	Udayadeva
128	Nirbhaya } .. 1008
	{ Rudra }
135	{ Bhoja ... .. 1015
	{ Lakṣmikāmadeva

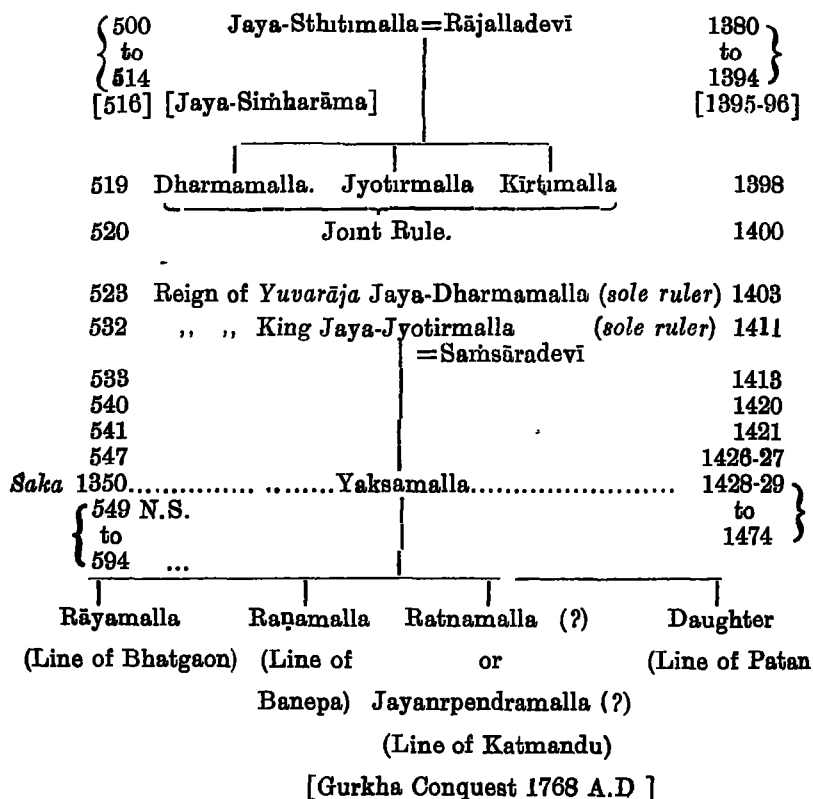
<sup>1</sup> For this period see Bendall's *Journey*, Appendix III, Table II, *CBMC*, Introduction, Appendix III; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 239-72; *CPMDN*, Table II, on p. 30 of the Historical Introduction. A new date, hitherto unnoticed by any scholar is supplied by a recently acquired British Museum MS. of *Pancarakhā* (Or. 11124) *Mahārājādhirāja-rāja-rājendra-sakala-rāja-cakrādhīśvara śrī-śrī-Jaya-Pārthivendra malla-parama-bhattāraka-devānām sanā (sādā?) samara vijayināṁ prabhu-thākurasya vijaya rājye.... Saṁvat 804 śrāvṇa-māsī śukla-pakṣa caturdaśyān tithau hasta-nakṣatra* Written in Katmandu Spelling corrected. My attention was drawn to it by Dr Barnett For inscriptions of this period see *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 184-93 For the coins of the Malla kings, the earliest specimens of which start from N S 751 (A D 1631), in the reign of Siddhinarasimha, see *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 683 ff; *CCIM*, pp. 284ff. An interesting point in the inscriptions of the successors of Yakṣamalla is their genealogy, which is traced from the Karpāṭaka Harisimha. See *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 187-89

N. S.				A. D.
159	Laksmikāmadeva ( <i>sole ruler</i> )	...	...	1039
	Jayakāmadeva (also known as Jaya, Vijaya and Jayadeva).			
IV. <i>The Thakuris of Nayahot</i>				
167	Bhāskaradeva	.	...	1046
	Udayadeva (?)			
180	Baladeva (also called Balavantadeva)	..	...	1059-60
185	Pradyumnakāmadeva (also known as Padmadeva)			1064-65
186		.	..	1065-66
	Nāgārjuna			
189	Śaṅkaradeva	..	..	1068-69
191		...	..	1070-71
198		...	...	1077
239	Śivadeva	...	..	1118
240		...	...	1120
243		...	..	1123
249	Indradeva	...	...	1128-29
259	Mānadeva	..	...	1138-39
254	Narendradeva.	...	...	1184
261		...	...	1141
267	Ānandadeva	...	...	1146-47
275		..	...	1154-55
278		...	...	1158
284		...	...	1163-64
285		...	...	1165
286		...	...	1166
	Rudradeva			
296	Amṛtadeva	...	..	1176
[303]	[Ratnadeva]	...	...	[1183]
	Someśvaradeva			
307	Gupakāmadeva II	...	..	1187
313	Lakṣmikāmadeva II	...	..	1193
316	Vijayakāmadeva	...	..	1196
317		...	..	1197
V. <i>The Thākuris of Patan :</i>				
200	Vāmadeva	...	...	1080-81
203 (?)		..	...	1083 (?)
210	Harsadeva	..	...	1090
213		...	..	1093
219		...	...	1098

N. S.				A. D.
	VI. <i>The Mallas</i> .			
322	Arimalladeva...	...	...	1201
326	...	...	...	1206
336	...	..	...	1216
342	[Ranaśūra]	.	...	1221
344	Abhayamalla	.	..	1223
358	...	...	.	1238
367	...	...	..	1246-47
373	...	...	..	1252
375	Jayadeva(malla)	...	..	1255
377	...	...	...	1257
380	Jaya-Bhimadeva	...	...	1260
	Jayaśāha? (sirha)malladeva			
399	Anantamalla	...	...	1279
400	...	...	...	1280
403	...	...	..	1283
405	...	...	.	1285
406	...	...	...	1286
408	...	...	..	1287
417	...	...	.	1297
422	..	...	...	1302
427	...	...	.	1307
436	Jay-Ānandadeva	...	..	1318
440	{ Jayarudramalla (son of Jayatūṅgamalla)	...	...	1320
446	{ Jayārimalla	...	...	1326
[448]	[Invasion of Khasa Adityamalla]	...	...	[1328]
	(Period of Confusion)			
	Nāyakadevī=Haricandra			
	(d. of Jayarudra)			
	=Gopāla			
	=Jagatsirha			
	Rājalladevī			
467	Accession of Jaya-Rājadeva ...	...	...	1347
	(son of Jay-Ānandadeva)			
474	...	...	...	1153-54
476	...	...	...	1355-56
484	Jay-Ārjunamalla	...	...	1363
491	...	...	...	1371
493	...	...	...	1372
494	...	...	...	1374
Saka 1297	...	...	...	1376

N.S.

A.D.

VII. *Dynasty of Jaya-Sthitimalla :*VIII. *Karṇāṭaka Dynasty :*

Nānyadeva (c. 1097-1150 A.D.)

Gaṅgadeva

Nṛsimha

Rāmasimha

Saktisimha

Bhupālasimha

Harisimha (c. 1314-25 A.D.)

Matīsimha (c. 1387 A.D.)

[Jaya-Simharāma] [c. 1395-96 A.D.]

Saktisimha (1413-1418 A.D.)

Syāmasimha

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## CHAPTER V

### DYNASTIC HISTORY OF ASSAM

Assam lies on the north-eastern border of Bengal, and is situated roughly between  $23^{\circ} 40'$  and  $28^{\circ} 16'$  N. and  $90^{\circ}$  and  $97^{\circ} 12'$  E. It is bounded on the north by the eastern section of the great Himalayan range; on the east by the Patkai Hills and by the Burmese frontier which marches with that of Manipur; on the south by the Chin Hills, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and the State of Hill Tippera; and on the west by the Bengal Districts of Tippera, Mymensingh, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and the State of Cooch Behar. The province falls into three natural divisions: the valley of the Surma, the valley of the Brahmaputra, and the intervening range of hills, which projecting at right angles from the Burmese systems, runs like a wedge from east to west. Assam, under the names Prāgyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa, is often mentioned in the Epic, Pauranic and Tantric tradition of India. The *Mahābhārata*, mentions *Kāmākhyā*, near Gauhati, and Bhagadatta, the powerful ruler of Prāgyōtiṣa. The latter is said to have led a mighty *Mleccha* army of Kīrātas and Cīnas in the field of Kurukṣetra. In the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, it is said that the temple of the goddess Kāmākhyā stands in the centre of Kāmarūpa. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the boundaries of Kāmarūpa extended around this temple for 100 *Yojans* or about 450 miles. Allowing for all exaggeration, Sir E. A. Gait has calculated that the area indicated by the *Purāṇa* must have embraced nearly the whole of the old province of Eastern Bengal, Assam and Bhutan.

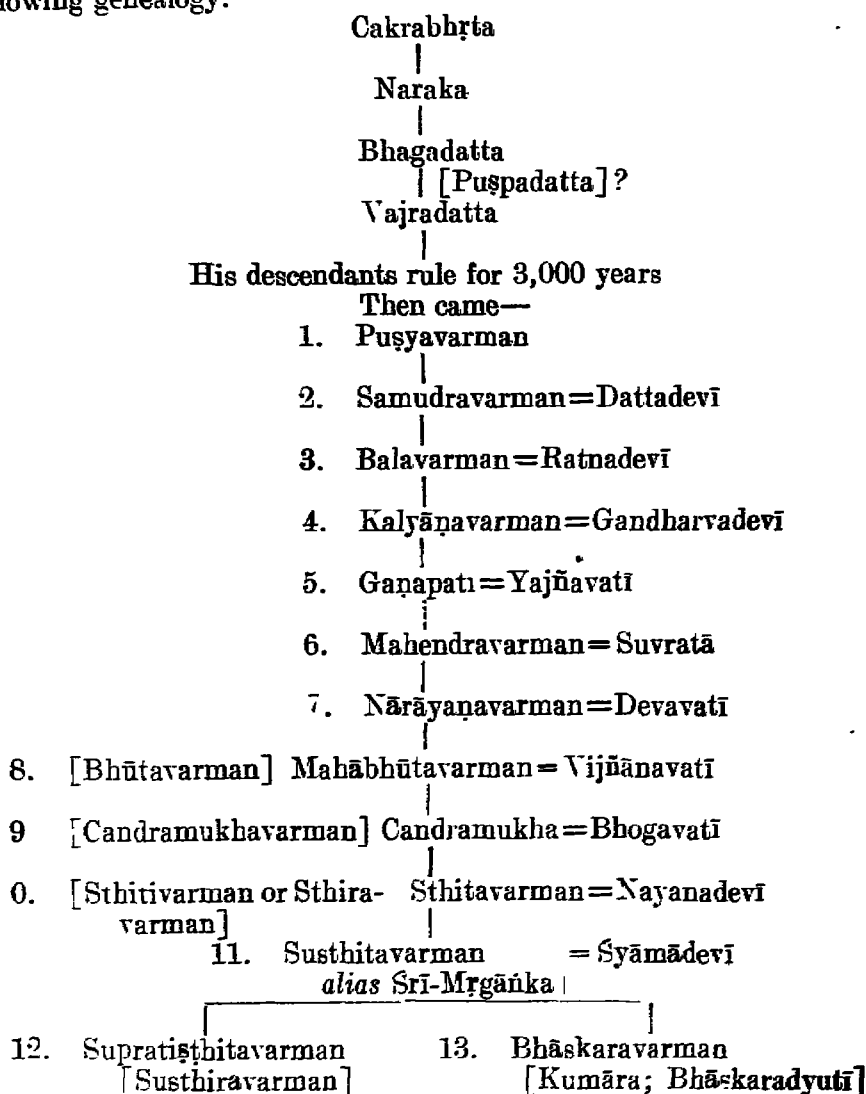
But more strictly speaking, *Kāmarūpa* and *Prāgyōtiṣa* included Assam proper, i.e., the Brahmaputra valley. According to the *Yoginī Tantra*, *Kāmarūpa* includes the country lying between the Karatoya and the Dikhu from west to east, with the mountains of Kanjagiri in the north and the junction of the Brahmaputra and Lākhyā rivers in the south; 'that is to say, it comprised roughly the Brahmaputra valley, Bhutan, Rangpur, Cooch Behar, the north-east of Mymensing and, possibly, the Garo Hills.' There is some agreement amongst scholars in identifying Ka-la-tu, the large river, which was crossed by Yuan Chwang when he travelled from the borders of Pun-na-fa-tan-na (Pundravardhana) to Kia-mo-leu-po (*Kāmarūpa*), with the river Karatoya. The Chinese pilgrim estimated Kia-mo-leu-po to be more than 10,000 *li* or about 1,667 miles in circuit. According to Cunningham this shows that at that time it must have comprised the whole valley of the Brahmaputra river, together with Kusa-vihāra and Bhutan. The ancient capital of the country, which was known as *Prāgyōtiṣapura*, probably the same town which was 30 *li* in circuit in the time of the Chinese traveller, is generally taken to have stood somewhere near the modern town of Gauhati.<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the legendary kings of *Kāmarūpa* mentioned by Paurāṇic tradition the most important are the demons Naraka and his son Bhagadatta. The former, we are told, was born of the earth by Viṣṇu in his Varāha incarnation. He ruled over the country from his capital *Prāgyōtiṣapur*. It is interesting to note that the first historical king of *Kāmarūpa* for whom we have any reliable documentary evidence traces his descent to these mythical heroes. This is king Bhāskaravarman, the contemporary of the Puṣyabhūti monarch Harṣa and identical with *Keu-mo-lo P'o-se-kie-lo-fa-ma* of Yuan Chwang. In the

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhārata*, II, Chapters 26, 27, 84 and 51; III, Chap. 82, V. 5047, V, Chapter 167, etc., *IGI*, Vol VI, 1909, pp. 14 ff., Vol XIV, pp. 230-32, *HA*, pp. 10 ff.; *BR*, Vol II, p. 195, *YC*, Vol. II, pp. 14-87; *AGI*, pp. 572-74 and 729; Dey, *GDI*, pp. 87 and 158, *JRAS*, 1900, p. 25, *IHQ*, December, 1927, pp. 843-44.



Nidhanpur (Sylhet) copper-plates of this king we find the following genealogy.<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> The seal of the inscription bears the figure of an elephant. *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 65-79; Vol. XIX, pp. 245-50; *JOBES*, Vol. V, pp. 302-04; Vol. VI, pp. 151-52; *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 115-25; *IA*, 1914, Vol. 43, pp. 93-96. The alternative forms of names are given from the *Harṣacarita* and Yuan Chwang. See Beal, *BR*, Vol. II, pp. 196 ff.; *Harṣacarita*, translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 27. In the Nowgong copper-plate of Balavarman Vajradatta is represented as *anuja* (younger brother) of Bhagadatta. See *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 118, 287 ff.

There is no conclusive proof that the Guptas conquered Kāmarūpa, but attention may be drawn to the similarity of the name of the second ruler to that of the great Samudra Gupta. Curiously enough the names of the queens of the two rulers were also the same.<sup>1</sup> The discovery of an inscription in Assam dated in the Gupta era and the fact that there appears to be no insuperable chronological difficulties in regarding Samudravarman and Samudra Gupta as contemporaries, seem to strengthen the suspicion that Gupta influence at least must have penetrated in the valley of the Brahmaputra.<sup>2</sup> In the Allahabad *prāsaśti* of Hariṣena the ruler of Kāmarūpa is included in the list of tributary *Pratyanta-nrpatas* of the great Gupta emperor.<sup>3</sup> The Damodarpur inscriptions refer to Gupta rule in Puṇḍravardhana, which as we have seen was only separated from Kāmarūpa by the river Karatoya. In the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena, the later Gupta king Mahāsenagupta claims to have defeated the illustrious Susthitavarman on the banks of the Laubitya (Brahmaputra). This prince has rightly been identified with the father of Bhāskaravarman.<sup>4</sup> The latter ruled at least up to 648 A. D., when he supported the Chinese invasion of Tirhut under Wang Huen-t'se.<sup>5</sup>

The history of Kāmarūpa after 648 A. D. is rather uncertain. We have no records, either literary or epigraphic, from the kings who immediately succeeded Bhāskaravarman. But fortunately for us there are references to these princes in the inscriptions of later kings of the Brahmaputra valley. Thus the Tezpur plates of *Māhārājādhirāja* Vanamāla, for whose father

<sup>1</sup> *GI*, pp 27, 43, 50 and 53

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, Vol III, pp. 508 ff., *NKGWG*, 1905, pp 465 ff, *IHQ*, December, 1927, pp 837-88. For Gupta inscriptions in North Bengal see *EI*, Vol XV, pp. 113-45.

<sup>3</sup> *GI*, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>5</sup> *JA*, 1900, Tome XV, pp 308 ff 'Le roi de l'Inde orientale Chū-kieou-mo (Śrī-Kumāra)'

Harjara we have the date G. E. 510 (A. D. 829), refers to a line of princes beginning with Śālastambha, and ending in Śrī-Hariṣa (*Śālastambha-pramukharh Śrī-Hariṣānta-mahīpālah.*.) who are placed between the descendants of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta and Prālabha, the grandfather of Vanamāla.<sup>1</sup> A stray plate of Harjara, recently discovered appears to mention three princes, viz., Kumāra, Vajradeva, and Harsavarman of the dynasty of Śālastambha.<sup>2</sup> In the Nowgong copper-plate grant of Balavarman Śālastambha and the princes Palaka and Vijaya belonging to his line are placed between the names of Vajradatta and Harjara.<sup>3</sup> In the Bargaon copper-plate grant of Ratnapāla we are told that after the descendants of Vajradatta had ruled over Prāgyotisa for some time there appeared a great *Mlecchā-dhinātha* in the person of Śālastambha. In succession to him there were chiefs 'altogether twice ten in number,' who were well known as Vighrastambha and the rest. As the last of them, Tyāgasimha went to heaven without leaving any heir, his subjects chose Brahmapāla, the father of Ratnapāla.<sup>4</sup> Now on palaeographic grounds the late Dr. Hoernle referred the inscription to c. 1010-1050 A. D. As this inscription was dated in the 26th year of Ratnapāla, it would be probably reasonable to refer Brahmapāla to about 1000 A. D. Now Śālastambha was the 21st ruler, counting upwards from Brahmapāla (1000 A. D.). Calculating back from his date and assigning a minimum of 16 years for each king, we can reasonably assign Śālastambha to the middle of the 7th century A. D. In that case it would appear that Śālastambha probably overthrew the line of Pusyavarman soon after the reign of Bhāskaravarman, who, as we have seen, ruled at least up to 648 A. D. The question whether Śālastambha established a separate line or whether he belonged to a

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1840, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 765 ff.; *NKGWG*, 1905, pp. 465 ff.; *JBORS*, Vol. III, pp. 508 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *IHQ*, December 1927, pp. 838, 841 and 844.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 285 ff.

*JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 106 ff.

collateral branch of Puṣyavarman's family cannot be easily decided. The fact that Śālastambha is called a *Mlecchādhinātha* while Bhāskaravarman is referred to by Yuan Chwang as belonging to the Brahman caste, is not conclusive.<sup>1</sup> For, as we have seen, the latter in his Nidhanpur inscription traces his descent to Bhagadatta, who is described in the *Mahābhārata* as '*Prāgjyotisādhīpah śūro mlecchānām adhipo balī*'. If there is any historical fact in the description of the Great Epic, then it is reasonable to regard Bhagadatta as a prince of the non-Aryan Tibeto-Chinese races referred to as Cīnas and Kīrātas in ancient Indian Literature. As early as the time of the battle scenes of the Great Epic the leaders of these tribes had come into contact with Aryan culture. By the middle of the 7th century the process of Aryanisation of the land beyond Karatoya had advanced to such an extent as to delude a foreigner into the belief that its rulers were themselves Brahmans. From the fact that the Chinese pilgrim says that a thousand generations elapsed between Bhāskaravarman and the founder of his dynasty, it would appear that there was a general belief that the dynasty was reigning in Kāmarupa in unbroken succession from the time of Bhagadatta. But as we have seen, the officer in charge of the royal grant discovered at Nidhanpur could not trace the descent of his master beyond Puṣyavarman, leaving a gap of 3,000 years between him and Vajradatta. It appears that the lines of Puṣyavarman and that of Śālastambha were closely related, inasmuch as both were of Mongolian origin. Though there is sufficient looseness in the expressions of the Tejpur plates of Vanamāla and the Nowgong plates of Balavarman to suggest the descent of Śālastambha from Bhagadatta,<sup>2</sup> yet it would probably be safer to regard the two dynasties as separate Mongoloid groups who each accepted Aryan culture and sought to establish their blue blood by claiming descent from that great

BR, Vol. II, p. 196. See also *supra*, pp 5-6, fn 5.  
JASB, 1897, Vol. LXVI, p. 119.

Epic hero. Very few historical facts are known of the reign of these princes. From the fact that in the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla Vighraṣṭambha is mentioned as the next ruler after Śālastambha, Hoernle supposed that *Stambha* was the distinguishing name of this line of rulers. But it should be observed that *Stambha* is not a portion of the names of the other successors of Śālastambha mentioned above. Of these successors, *Śrī-Harīṣa*, the last prince in the line, according to the Tejpur plate of Vanamāla, is probably the same as Harṣavarman of the stray plate of Harjara.<sup>1</sup> *Śrī-Harīṣa* has been identified by Kielhorn with the *Gauḍ- Oḍṛāli-Kalinga-Kosalapati-Śrī-Harṣadeva* of the Paśupati inscription (153+595=748 A. D. ?) of the Nepal Licchavi king Jayadeva Paracakrakāma.<sup>2</sup> This Harṣadeva's daughter Rājyamati, who was married to the Nepal king, is referred to in the same inscription as *Bhagadatta-rājakulaṇḍā*.

The line of Śālastambha appears to have been followed in Kāmarūpa by the dynasty of Prālambha. The Tejpur inscription of Vanamāla mentions Prālambha of the line of Bhagadatta, after the group of kings 'which began with Śālastambha and ended with Śrī-Harīṣa.' In the Nowgong plates of Balavarman, though Prālambha is omitted, the latter's son Harjara occupies the same position, *i.e.*, he is mentioned after the descendants of Śālastambha. In the Bargaon Grant of Ratnapāla, however, as I have elsewhere pointed out, the whole group of successors of Śālastambha up to Tyāgasimha is jointly mentioned as numbering 20. Hoernle had already demonstrated that it was not possible to identify Śrī-Harīṣa with Tyāgasimha, and that they must be accepted as the last kings of two distinct groups of princes.<sup>3</sup> But the relationship between these two groups, *viz.*, Śālastambha—*Śrī-Harīṣa* (Harṣa ?) and

<sup>1</sup> *IQ*, December, 1927, p. 841, fn. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, 1880, Vol. IX, p. 179, line 15; *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 384-85. See also *Dynastic History of Nepal*, *supra*, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 108 ff.

Prālambha—Tyāgasimha is again uncertain. Gait in his *History of Assam* follows Hoernle in treating the line of Prālambha as distinct from that of Śālastambha.<sup>1</sup> But recently an Indian scholar has tried to show that they belonged to the same family. His arguments are as follows: <sup>2</sup> (1) Nowhere do the copper-plates distinctly say that Prālambha belongs to a new line. (2) The grants of Ratnapāla, evidently show that all the 21 kings, starting from Śālastambha, belong to his line. (Hoernle's translation of vs. 9-10.) (3) In Balavarman's Nowgong grant verses 9-10 clearly show that Harjara (Prālambha's son) belonged to the *vamśa* of Śālastambha; (4) In Vanamāla's grant Prālambha's list of predecessors starts with Śālastambha and ends with Śrī-Hariṣa, who was probably his brother, as can be inferred from verse 9. In the present state of our knowledge of some of the inscriptions, which this scholar himself admits are 'full of mistakes,' it would be perhaps wise to defer our judgment on the point till they are re-edited by some competent scholar; but I should point out that a claim to Bhagadatta lineage should no more be treated as a serious evidence of kinship in Assam than a claim to lunar or solar origin in other parts of India.

For Prālambha, the first king of this group, we have no records. But in the Tejpur plates of his grandson Vanamāla he is called *Prāgyotiṣeśa*, and the name of his queen (*rājñī*) is given as Jivadā.<sup>3</sup> If Major Jenkins' version of the inscription can be relied upon, then it also refers to his hostility to the Śālastambha—Hariṣa group of princes. From the fact, however, that the Nowgong grant of Balavarman omits him from the dynastic table it would seem that he was not a prince, who enjoyed any great degree of power. As his son's inscription is dated in 829 A.D., he can reasonably be referred to the beginning

<sup>1</sup> Second Ed., 1926, pp. 80-81.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Padmanath Bhattacharyya in *IHQ*, December, 1927, pp. 844-45.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1840, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 768 ff.

of the 9th century. The same inscription of Vanamāla mentions *nṛpenda Śrī-Harjara* and his *Agramahiṣī Mahādevī Tārā*. Harjara was the son and successor of Prālabha, and was probably the first ruler of this group to wield any considerable degree of power. This is confirmed by the fact that in the Nowgong copper-plate Balavarman omits Prālabha and traces his descent from Harjara. Of the reign of this prince we have the following inscriptions.—

(1) *Tezpur Rock Inscription*.—A short inscription of 9 lines in ungrammatical Sanskrit incised on a big boulder of granite, lying on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, about one mile below Tezpur (Dairang district). The rock, which from a distance resembles the head of an elephant, is locally known as Dhenkanal. Above the first line, near the middle, there is the figure of a *Trisūla* or trident. Immediately below the 9th line is given the date G.E. 510, corresponding roughly to A.D. 829. The characters agree with the date and belong to the northern class of alphabets of about the 9th century A.D. The inscription refers itself to the *Vardhamāna vijayarājya* of *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramamāheśvara Śrī-Harjjara-varmmadeva* living in *Harūppeśvara-pura*. The inscription records the settlement of a dispute between the local *Kaivartanau-k(u)kṣi-sva-bhaḥṣa-sādhanī*,<sup>1</sup> the *naurajaka*<sup>2</sup> and the *Nākkajosi*<sup>3</sup> for tolls. The settlement was made with the arbitration of the local military commanders and *pañcakula* Brahmins. It was decided that the vessels, which henceforth failed to steer by the mid-stream were to pay a fine of five *butṭihas*.<sup>4</sup> The dispute

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'eater of property in the interior of boats,' i.e., 'collector of taxes on merchandise carried on the keel of boats' belonging to the Kaivarta caste.

<sup>2</sup> Towers; *naurajaka* taken in the sense of towing rope; here probably means a class of officers who were in charge of piloting the laden boats by means of rope attachments, etc., to the local harbour.

<sup>3</sup> Local Zamindars (?).

<sup>4</sup> 100 cowries, Bengali 5 burhis = 100 cowries.

occurred in the administration (*adhikāradine*) of *Mahāsāmanta Senādhyakṣa* Sucitta.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *A stray plate*.—Probably the middle one; very much obliterated. It contains the names of Kumāra, Vajradeva and Harṣavarman, belonging to the Śālastambha group of princes, and refers to an order by *Yuvarāja* Vanamāla, the son of Harjara.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear from these inscriptions that king Harjara was a worshipper of Śiva. After the shadowy figure of his father, his imperial titles come as a confirmation of our suggestion that he was the first sovereign ruler of this group. Hārūppeśvara-pura, the place of residence of Harjara, was probably also his capital.<sup>3</sup> The reference to the order of *Yuvarāja* Vanamāla in his father's inscription may indicate that during the latter part of Harjara's reign his son was associated in the government of the kingdom. This finds a parallel in the history of the Gāhadavālas,<sup>4</sup> where king Vijayacandra (c. 1155-70 A. D.) was associated with his son the *Yuvarāja* Jayaccandra (c. 1170-93 A. D.) Harjara was succeeded by his son Vanamāla. In his inscription he claims to belong to the line (*anvaya*) of the lords of Prāgjyotiṣa. He is further described as a moon in the sky of *Kṣīti-tanaya-nṛpati-vamśa*, and is said to have made gifts of gold, elephants, horses, lands, wives (brides?), silver, and jewels. The river *Lauhitya-Sindhu*, which was as a friend to him, continually washed the sides of Mt. *Kāmakūṭa*, the tops of which were inhabited by *Kāmeśvara* (Śiva) and *Mahāgaūrī*, and which apparently lay within his dominions.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first brought to public notice by Gait in the 8th paragraph of his *Report on the Progress of Historical Progress in Assam*, 1897. It was then mentioned by Sir J. Marshall in *ASI*, 1902-03, p. 229. Kielhorn read the first 3 lines in *NKGWG*, 1905, pp. 465-71; fully edited by H. P. Sāstrī in *JBORS*, Vol. III, pp. 508-14. Dr. Barnett suggests: *Sādhanī*=controller? *Rajjaka* in meaning of clerks or the like (*cf. rajjaka*)?

<sup>2</sup> Noticed by Prof. Padmanath Bhattacharyya in the *IHQ*, December, 1927, pp. 838, 841 and 844. Not yet edited.

<sup>3</sup> Kielhorn read the name of the city as *H(a)ppeśvara-pura*, and suggested as a possible reading *Hullappeśvara*.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 118; *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 7, etc.



Of Vanamāla's reign we have only one inscription, the *Tezpur plates*, which were dug up near the station of that town in the Darrang district. It consists of three plates which are connected by a large copper ring. The seal contains within a raised rim a figure of Gaṇeśa. Below this figure runs the legend: *Svasti Śrīmān Prāgjyōtiṣādhipānvayō Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Vanamālavarma-deva*. The inscription opens with an invocation to *Lauhitya-Sindhu* (Brahmaputra) and *Pinākāpāni* (Śiva). Then begins the genealogy of the donor. From Ādivarāha and the Earth was born Naraka. The latter has two sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. The former got the lordship of Prāgjyotiṣa after the death of his father at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, and his posterity has ruled there ever since. In his line was born *Kṣitipāla-mauli-māṇikyā ksata-vairi-vīra* Prālambha, the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa. He was hostile to the princes *Sālastambha-pramukhaiḥ Śrī-Hariṣāntair mahīpālaiḥ*, who preceded him and were enemies of his ancestors. Prālambha's son through the queen Jivadā was Śrī-Harjara. The latter begot king Vanamāla by his *Agramahiṣī Mahādevī Tārā*. This king granted to Indoka, a Yajurvedī Brahman, the village Abhiśūravāṭaka, with its eight boundaries, situated on the west of Trisrotā (Tistā) in *Samvat* 19 (*Regnal*).<sup>1</sup>

From his seal and invocation to Śiva it appears that like his father he was also a worshipper of Śiva; but it is curious that he had dropped his father's title of *Paramamāheśvara*.<sup>2</sup> He reigned at least for 19 years, and if his *praśastikāra* is to be trusted, was master of the territories 'as far as the *Vanamālā* of the sea shore' and 'his footstool was borne by crowns of numer-

<sup>1</sup> The inscription with a translation by Paṇḍit Saradaprasad Chakravarti was communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published in its *Journal* in 1840, Vol. IX, pp. 766 ff. The inscription requires re-edition. The translator takes *Trisrotā* to mean 'the Gaṅgā river' evidently a mistake, *ibid.*, p. 775. See *JASB*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> In the Nowgong grant of Balavarman, Vanamāla is referred to as devoted to the faith of Bhava (Śiva), *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 287 ff.; but he is also called *Vanamāla*, an epithet of Viṣṇu, indicating devotion to that god.

ous *rājās*.' It is not known how long he ruled; but a verse in the Nowgong inscription of Balavarman refers to him as one 'who for a long time was king in the land.'<sup>1</sup> Hoernle referred his Tezpur grant on palaeographic grounds to about 925 A.D.<sup>2</sup> According to the Nowgong copper-plate grant of Balavarman, Vanamāla was succeeded by Jayamāla. According to Hoernle's reading, Jayamāla again was succeeded by his son Vīrabāhu, who married Ambā; but Kielhorn has rejected this reading. He takes Vīrabāhu to be another name of Jayamāla, both referring to the same person.<sup>3</sup> Jayamāla-Vīrabāhu is said to have contracted a disease while distinguishing himself in war, and after abdicating in favour of his son and having bravely endured the rite of religious suicide through starvation 'became absorbed in the light of the divine being.' This son, named Balavarman, was born to him, by his queen Ambā.

The *Nowgong grant* is the only known inscription of the reign of Balavarman. It consists of three copper-plates, and is said to have been found by a cultivator of Sūtargāo, a village in Mauza Khātoālgao, on the right bank of the Kalang, opposite Puranigudam, in the Nowgong district in Assam. The ring, seal, and the general appearance of the inscriptions are very similar to those of Gauhati plates of Indrapālavarman. The heart-shaped seal contains in relief the figure of an elephant. Below this runs the legend: *Svasti Śrī-Śrī-Prāgyjyotiṣādhipānṇvayō Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Balavarmadevah*. After invocation of Rudra and Lauhitya, the inscription as usual refers to the birth of Naraka from Upendra and Vasumatī. Naraka conquered Kāmarūpa and founded the city of Prāgyjyotiṣa. 'He had two sons, viz., Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. After the reign of their descendants there ruled Śālastambha and his descendants,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120. But Kielhorn referred the 5 kings from Prāśambha to Balavarman to the period 800-925 A.D.; see *NEG WG*, 1905, p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 470, *JBORS*, Vol. III, p. 509; *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, p. 287 ff. In *HA*, no reference is made to Kielhorn's reading. The author repeats Hoernle's version.

Pālaka, Vijaya, (?), and others. Then arose the great king Harjara, his son Vanamāla, his son Jayamāla-Vīrabāhu, who had through his queen Ambā, the *Paramēśvara-Paramabhattachāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī*-Balavarmadeva. The donee was the Yajurvedī Brahman Devadhara. The gift consisted of a piece of land known as Hōmsivā in the Dījinnā-*Viśaya* in the *Dakṣinakula* (of the Brahmaputra ?), producing 4,000 (measures) of rice (*dhānya-catussahasrōtpattimatī*). There appears to have been a date at the end of the inscription, but it is illegible. An interesting feature of the plate appears to be the numerous plagiarised passages from Kālidāsa's well known *Raghuvamśa*. The grant was given from the 'ancestral camp' of Hāruppeśvara. Palaeographically the inscription has been referred to by Hoernle to a period not later than 975 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Kielhorn however placed Balavarman in about the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. It is difficult to say how long this dynasty lasted, or whether there were any more princes after Balavarman and before Tyāgasimha who, according to the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla, immediately preceded Brahmapāla.<sup>2</sup> We have already seen that, according to Hoernle's calculations, based on the palaeographic evidence of the grants of Ratnapāla, Brahmapāla is to be placed in the neighbourhood of 1000 A.D.<sup>3</sup> If Tyāgasimha, as seems not improbable, belonged to the line of Prālambha, then this dynasty appears to have reigned in Kāmarūpa from c. 800 to 1000 A.D. During this period Kāmarūpa sovereigns seem to have come into contact with the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. In the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyanapāla we are told that Jayapāla, at the command of his cousin, king Devapāla,

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first read and discussed in a local vernacular weekly named *Āsām* by Paṇḍit Dhīreśvara Kaviratna of Kāmarūpa. Gait sent the plates to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Hoernle edited them in its *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, 1897, pp. 121, 285-97; see also Vol. LXVII, 1898, pp. 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For a different view of the dates of the Pāla grants of Assam, see *HI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

undertook various expeditions 'for the conquest of the quarters.' The king of Prāgjyotiṣa 'enjoyed peace at last surrounded by friends, only when he bore on his exalted head the command (of Jayapāla) that set at rest all talk of warfare.'<sup>1</sup> As Devapāla is usually referred to the period c. 815-54, it was probably Harjara or his son Vanamāla<sup>2</sup> who was the contemporary of Jayapāla. The Pālas appear to have grown very powerful under Dharmapāla and Devapāla. It is therefore not at all unlikely that Pāla arms really crossed the Karatoya and forced the princes of the Brahmaputra valley to acknowledge their hegemony.

As the names of the next group of princes who ruled in the Assam valley uniformly end in *pāla*, it is convenient to designate them as the Pālas of Kāmarūpa. The transition of the royal power from Prālabha's successors to this new group is mentioned in the Bargaon grant of Raṭnapāla. We are told that when Tyāgasīmha the twenty-first sovereign of Kāmarūpa, counting from Śālastambha, departed from this world without leaving any of his race to succeed him, 'his subjects thinking it well that a *Bhauma* (*i.e.* one of Naraka's race) should be appointed as their lord, chose Brahmapāla, a kinsman of the deceased ruler, on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country.' Thus, if the *praśastikāra* is to be believed, the new king was elected by his subjects, an incident which finds a parallel in the history of the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar.<sup>3</sup> Brahmapāla, the founder of this new group of princes, apparently belonged to a collateral line of the same family as that of his predecessor,

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, p. 305, verse 6; also *ibid.*, p. 308; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 66, footnote. For a different interpretation of the verse see, Hultzsch in *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, p. 308, footnote 24.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N. 18.), pp. 1-6. See also *infra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar*.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, p. 106 ff.; verse 10. See also Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla; *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 248.

both tracing their descent from Narak's line (*anvaya*). Both the dynasties certainly belonged to non-Aryan stock, as the sound of the name Harjara is distinctly non-Hindu.<sup>1</sup> But the names of his immediate successor and those of the Pālas show that they were speedily assimilated into the Hindu fold. They were right, however, in tracing their descent from Bhagadatta, the lord of the *Mleccha* Cīnas and Kirātas, inasmuch as they appear to have belonged to that great hive of Mongolian peoples which lies in the north, and east, of the Indian sub-continent. Both peaceful penetration and armed invasions by this stock, though never seriously affecting the general currents of Indian life, were nevertheless regular features in the history of this frontier. The invasion of the Ahoms, an offshoot of the Shan race in the 13th century, and of the Burmese in the 19th century, are only later episodes in this development. The Mongoloid physiognomy of the peoples of Assam and some of the districts of Northern and Eastern Bengal clearly shows the substantial accuracy of this conclusion.<sup>2</sup>

Of Brahmapāla's reign no records survive. He was succeeded by his son Ratnapāla who was begotten by his queen Kuladevī. In the inscriptions of his son, Brahmapāla is only called *Mahārājādhirāja*, while Ratnapāla has the full imperial titles : *Parameśvara Paramabhattachāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*.<sup>3</sup> It is likely that Ratnapāla was the first vigorous ruler of his line who had imperial pretensions. This is confirmed by the fact that in his Bargaon grant Ratnapāla claims to have come into hostile contact with the *Gurjarādhīpa*, the *Gauḍendra*, the *Keralēśa*, the *Bāhikas*, the *Tākas*, and the *Dākṣiṇātya-ksōnipati*. The *prasastikāra* thus refers to these incidents in his description of the king's capital :—

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. Risley, *Peoples of India*, pp. 9-10, 40-43, etc. Consult also *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by the same author.

<sup>3</sup> In this connection note that Indrapāla in his Gauhati grant calls his grandfather Ratnapāla, his predecessor, *P. Pb. M.*, see *JASB*, 1897, p. 126.



as *Keraleśa* and *Dākṣiṇātya-kṣōṇipati*. It is interesting to note that the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* actually refers to an invasion of Kāmarūpa by Vikramāditya during the reign of his father Someśvara I (c. 1040-1069).<sup>1</sup> By *Bāhikas* and *Tāikas* (Tājikas?) the author probably meant the Turkish invaders who under their leaders Mahmūd of Ghazni and his son Mas'ūd harried a considerable portion of Northern India during the period 1000 to 1037 A. D., and are reported to have come as far east as Benares. The *Gurjarādhipa* referred to here may have been Rājyapāla (c. 1018-19), or even Trilocanapāla (c. 1019-27), the contemporaries of Sultān Maḥmūd. The presence of the Gurjaras in Magadha and North Bengal probably made them familiar to the Kāmarūpa poets. As to the *Gaudendra*, he certainly belonged to the dynasty of the Pālas, who, as we have seen, were the neighbours of the princes of the Brahmaputra valley from the 9th century A. D. onwards.<sup>2</sup>

This capital of the king, which baffled and struck terror into so many princes, was called *Śrī-Durjayā*. It would perhaps be wrong to accept this name as an *alias* for Prāgyjyotiṣapura, as Hoernle has done from the fact, that the Pālas refer to themselves in their inscriptions as 'lords of Prāgyjyotiṣa.'<sup>3</sup> For the line of Prālabha, who ruled from Hārūppeśvara, also described themselves as *Prāgyjyotiṣādhipas*. It therefore appears that the epithet had by this time become a conventional title of all rulers of the Brahmaputra valley as *Trikalingādhipati* became during this period amongst the rulers of Orissa and the Central Provinces. This does not of course preclude the possibility of the identity of all the three cities; but at present there are no facts to warrant this conclusion. It is not unlikely however that these capitals may have been situated in the neighbourhood of the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by Bühler, Bombay, 1876, III, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Hoernle suggested that the rulers intended were perhaps: the Western Cālukya Jayasimha III or Someśvara I, the Coja Rājārāja, and the Pāla king Mahipāla or Nayapāla. *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 103.

modern town of Gauhati, not far from which stands the sacred temple of Kāmākhya, undoubtedly an ancient site.

For the reign of Ratnapāla the following two inscriptions have so far been found ;—

(1) *Bargaon Grant*.—The findspot of the inscription is unknown, but it was found in the possession of a cultivator of the Mauza Bargāon, in the Tejpur subdivision of Darrang district. It is written on three plates in Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse. The composition is very laboured and the mechanical execution very slovenly and inaccurate. A curiosity of the inscription is the existence of plagiarisms, or at least imitations from Bāna's *Harṣacarita*. The seal is exactly like that of the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla and bears the legend. *Prāgjyotiṣādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Ratnapāla-varma-devaḥ*. On palaeographic grounds Hoernle placed it in the earlier half of the 11th century A. D. The inscription opens with two verses in praise of Śiva's *Tāṇḍava* dance, Śaṅkarī, and Lauhitya-Sindhū. Then is given the usual genealogy from Naraka, born to Hari, in the form of a boar, and Dharā. His two sons were Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. After their descendants had ruled for a long time there appeared the *Mlecchādhinātha* Śālastambha. Twenty chiefs, Vīgrahastambha, and the rest, succeeded him. When the last amongst them, Tyāgasīmha, died without issue, the subjects elected his relative Brahmapāla of Bhauma's race. His queen was Kuladevī. Their son Ratnapāla ascended the throne of the *Narakānvayas*. The object of the grant is to record that *P.Pb.M.-Śrī-Ratnapāla-varma-deva* gave the village (*pāṭaka*) of Vāmadeva, situated in the Trayodaśa-grāma-*Viṣaya* in the Uttarakula (of the Brahmaputra ?), producing 2,000 (measures of) rice, to the Vājasaneyaka Brahman Vīradatta on the Viṣṇupadī Saṁkrānti in the 25th year of his reign.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Sualkuci Grant*.—Found in the village of Sualkuci in the Gauhati subdivision of Kamrup district. It originally consisted

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Hoernle in *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 99 ff.



of 3 plates, but the first is missing. The contents of the inscriptions, which is in a very bad state of preservation, appear to be almost identical with the Bargaon grant, the only difference being in the statements referring to the land and the donee. The workmanship is still more slovenly and inaccurate than in the other grant. Palaeographically they are exactly similar. The object of the grant is to record the gift of some land to the Vājasaneyaka Brāhmana Kāmadeva by the king in the 26th year of his reign.<sup>1</sup>

From the invocation of his inscriptions it appears that Ratnapāla was a worshipper of Śiva. The description of his capital, that in it 'eating of flesh is only found in wild beasts'<sup>2</sup> affords an interesting insight into the form of Śaivism professed by him. Another interesting fact about his faith is the title 'illustrious *Varāha*' applied to him in the Gauhati plates of Indrapāla.<sup>3</sup> This seems to indicate that he equally divided his devotion to the two gods. It is not known how far his reign extended beyond the 26th year recorded in his Sualkuci inscription, but scholars are generally agreed that he had a long reign. It appears from the Gauhati plates that Ratnapāla had a son named Purandarapāla, who married Durlabhā and had a son named Indrapāla, through her. Purandarapāla is described as a good poet, a great huntsman, and a successful warrior. It appears however that he did not rule, and perhaps died before his father. Though the mutilation of verse 16 of the inscription makes the point a little doubtful, the fact that Indrapāla omits his father's name and describes himself as 'meditating on the feet' of Ratnapāla, his grandfather in that portion of the inscription which usually contains the donor's father's name, should be taken as conclusive.

So far the following two inscriptions have been found for the reign of Indrapāla :

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 120-25.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> *Śrī-Varāha, ibid*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, p. 118.

(1) *Gauhati Plates*.—Discovered in a field in course of cultivation in the village of Bar Panara, Mauza Pati, Darrang district. The grant consists of three plates, held together by a massive pear-shaped seal, bearing on it the figure of an elephant. Below this figure is the legend : *Svasti Prāgyyotiṣādhīpati Mahārājādhipā-āja-Śrī-Indrapāla-varma devaḥ*. The execution is very slovenly, and inaccurate. According to Hoernle, palaeographically, it has close similarity to the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla.<sup>1</sup> Though it is not dated, the same scholar refers it 'with some probability' to the middle of the 11th century A.D. It begins with an invocation to Śambhu and the Lauhitya, then repeats the usual genealogy from Naraka, born of Mahāvarāha and Dharanī, to Vajradatta. Then after an undefined interval flourished Brahmapāla in the latter's family. His son was Ratnapāla ; his son Purandarapāla married Durlabhā ; his son was *P.-Pb.-M.-Śrīmad-Indrapāla-varma-deva*. The inscription records a grant by the king of some land bearing 4,000 (measures of) rice to the Yajurvedī Brahman Devapāla, and refers to his capital, full of elephants, horses, and jewels, and impregnable to the attacks of any royal dynasty, named *Śrī-Durjaya-nagarī*. Dated in the 8th year of his reign.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *A Second Copper-plate Grant*.—Reported to be in fair condition, except the portion dealing with the boundary of the land granted. It does not supply any important historical fact in addition to what we know from (1).<sup>3</sup>

That the dynasty of the Pālas did not end with Indrapāla, appears to be probable from the copper-plate grant of Dharmapāla.<sup>4</sup> This king refers in his inscription to his father Harṣamāla

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. II, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Hoernle, *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 113-32.

<sup>3</sup> To my knowledge, not yet edited. Referred to in *IHQ*, December 1927, p. 839.

<sup>4</sup> An article on this inscription was published in *Rangpur-Sāhitya-Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1312 B S., No 9. Also referred to in *Prācīna-Kāmarūpa-Rājāvalī*, in *Baṅgīya-Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, 1320 B S., No 3, p. 189. *IHQ*, 1927, December, pp. 839 and 842.

(pāla?) and grandfather Gopāla. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to decide whether Gopāla, if he really belonged to the line of Brahmapāla, was an immediate successor of Indrapāla. Another prince apparently of this family was the *Kāmarūpa-nṛpati* Jayapāladeva, referred to by the recently discovered Salimpur stone inscription of the Brahman Prahāsa. This inscription is incised on a slab of blackstone and was found in the Mauza Salimpur, Police Station Kethal, of the Bogra District in Bengal. The object is to record the erection of a temple wherein the above-mentioned Brahman set up an image of Amara-nātha. As in the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva,<sup>1</sup> we have here a record not of kings and ministers but the history of a Brahman family rendered illustrious by the birth of great scholars. Prahāsa traces his descent to a family which originally lived in Tarkārī within Śrāvastī and then in Bālagrāma in Vaiendrī. From Prahāsa upwards to Paśupati the *praśasti* mentions seven generations. In verse 22 of this inscription we are told that Prahāsa, 'though excessively solicited, did not by any means accept 900 gold coins (*hemnām Satāni nava nīrbharam* ..) and a grant of land (*Sāsana*) yielding an income of a thousand (measures of rice) from Jayapāladeva, king of Kāmarūpa, when the latter was making a *Tulāpuruṣa* gift.<sup>2</sup> As the characters of the inscription are a variety of Northern alphabet which was used especially in Bengal and Magadha in the 11th century, and show close resemblance to the letters of the inscription of the Pāla king Nayapāla (c. 1040-55 A.D.), it is impossible to identify him with Jayapāla, the cousin of Devapāla (c. 815-50 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> In view of the proximity of the findspot of this inscription to the frontier of Kāmarūpa and the similarity of its characters to

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-07.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 288-95.

<sup>3</sup> See Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, pp. 304-10 *Gauḍalekha* m 17 pp. 55-69. On the relationship of Devapāla and Jayapāla, see *infra*, *Dynastic History*

those used in the inscriptions of the Pālas of Kāmarūpa it will perhaps be reasonable to accept this prince as belonging to that line. But his position in the order of kings is less certain. Mr. Basak, the editor of the inscription, has proposed to place him somewhere after Indrapāla ; but it is not certain whether he should come after or before the Gopāla-Dharmapāla group. It was probably during the reign of these later Pāla rulers that the Varmans of Eastern Bengal invaded the Brahmaputra valley. The Belava grant of Bhojavarman informs us that his grandfather Jātavarman invaded Kāmarūpa. If the identification of Virasrī, the queen of this ruler, with a daughter of the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa (c. 1041-70 A.D.) be accepted, Jātavarman was a contemporary of Vigrahapāla III of Bengal (c. 1055-81 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

For the period that follows, the records of Kāmarūpa supply us with no connected account. But the possibility that a line of kings still ruled in the Valley is revealed by the *Kamauli grant* of Vaidyadeva.<sup>2</sup> This inscription, written on three copper-plates, is supposed to have been dug out in the course of cultivation, in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barna and the Ganges at Benares. The seal contains the figure of Gaṇeśa, and is formed like a spoon. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijaya-sena (c. 1097-1159 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> It was issued by *Paramamāheśvaraḥ Paramavaiṣṇavo Mahārājādhirājah Parameśvaraḥ Paramabhattachāraka-Śrīmān* Vaidyadeva in year 4 (of his reign) from the *Haṁsakoṇci-Samavāsita-Śrīmaṇa-jaya-Skandhāvāra*. It records the grant of two villages named *Sāntipāṭaka* and *Mandarā* with a revenue of 400 (*catuḥśatikam*) and situated in the *Viśaya* of *Bādā*, in the *Maṇḍala* of Kāmarūpa and the *Bhukti* of *Prāgjyotiṣa*. The donee is the Brahman Śrīdhara, son of

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff. For details see *infra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar*.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 347-58; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 127-46.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 305-15; *JASB*, 1921, p. 16.

Yudhiṣṭhira and Pālī his wife, and grandson of Bharata; he was born in the *gotra* of Viśvāmitra, in the village of Bhāva in Varendrī. Incidentally the inscription refers to the ancestors of the donor, who served as ministers of the Pāla kings of Bengal. He himself was the favourite minister of king Kumārapāla. The following chart illustrates the relationship<sup>1</sup> :—

Vigrahapāla (c. 1055-81 A.D.)	... ..Yogadeva.
Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126 A.D.)	Bodhadeva
	= Pratāpadevi.
Kumārapāla (c. 1126-30 A.D.) .. .	Vaidyadeva

We are further told that the *Gaudeśvara* Kumārapāla, having heard of the disaffection (*vikṛīṇ*) of Tīngyadeva, who had been formerly treated with high honour, appointed Vaidyadeva, as a ruler (*naṛeśvaratve*) in his place. The latter thereupon marched with his younger brother Budhadeva against that ruler (*Avanipati*), and after defeating and killing him occupied his throne. Now who was this Tīngyadeva<sup>2</sup>? In the inscription itself he is described as a prince who ruled in the east (*Harī-harid-bhūvi*) of the Pāla dominions. As the land granted was situated in Kāmarūpa-Mandala and Prāggyotiṣa-Bhukti, and as the family of the donee belonged to Varendrī, i.e., North Bengal, which bordered on Kāmarūpa, it is likely that he was a ruler of at least a portion of the Brahmaputra valley, which adjoined the kingdom of the Pālas on the west. It is also probable that he acknowledged the hegemony of his Western neighbours. Sir E. Gait has suggested that Vaidyadeva conquered Kāmarūpa and nominally remained a feudatory of the Pālas.<sup>3</sup> It has recently been suggested that the Pālas conquered only a portion of the great

<sup>1</sup> For the dates, which are not given in the inscription, see *infra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar.*, pp. 281-82.

<sup>2</sup> Through a mistake the name is given as Tishyadeva, in *HA*, p. 35. The regnal year of Vaidyadeva is also wrongly given as '9th year.' Verse 16 makes it clear that Tīngya was killed, see *EI*, Vol. II, p. 356.

*HA*, p. 35.

kingdom of Kāmarūpa bordering on Gauda, wherein Tiṅgya was placed as a vassal ; on his rebellion, Vaidyadeva defeated him, and was appointed a feudatory ruler in his place.<sup>1</sup> If this suggestion is accepted, it is likely that Tiṅgyadeva was placed in Kāmarūpa by Rāmapāla, who is credited with its conquest in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī.<sup>2</sup> In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to decide what was the exact position of Tiṅgyadeva in relation to the two dynasties of the Pālas ruling in Bengal and Assam or what were the boundaries of his dominions. He certainly appears to have been a ruler of at least a portion of the Brahmaputra valley, in which he was supplanted by Vaidyadeva in the first half of the 12th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> It is not impossible that Vaidyadeva was succeeded in his dominions by his brother Budhadeva, who so ably assisted him in gaining his throne; but of this we have no evidence.

Another inscription of this period which refers to a king of Kāmarūpa is the Deopara stone inscription of Vijayasena.<sup>4</sup> Umāpatīdhara, the composer of this *praśasti*, tells us that Vijayasena in the course of his victorious career 'defeated Nānya and Vīra, impetuously assailed the lord of Gauda, and put down the prince of Kāmarūpa.' Who was this 'prince of Kāmarūpa'? It has been shown elsewhere that Vijayasena was a contemporary of Madanapāla (c. 1130-50 A.D.), who is probably to be identified with the defeated Gauda monarch. (It is also very likely that Vijayasena (c. 1097-1159 A.D.) established his dominions in North Bengal) after overthrowing this Pāla king, about 1130 A.D.<sup>5</sup> This victory may have led Vijayasena into conflict with Vaidyadeva or one of his descendants. Vaidyadeva certainly

<sup>1</sup> *IHQ*, December, 1927, p. 842.

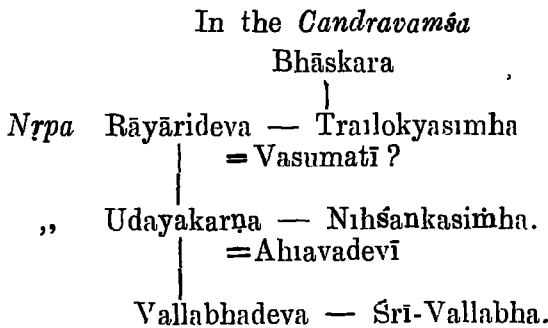
<sup>2</sup> *MASB*, Vol. III, No 1, p. 50 ; III, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Haṁsākoṭī, the place from which Vaidyadeva issued his Kamauḥi Inscription, has not yet been identified.

✓ <sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 305-15.

✓ <sup>5</sup> *JL*, 1927, pp. 9-12 ; *JASB*, 1921, pp. 1-15.

appears as a friend, if not a vassal, of Kumārapāla in his Kamauli grant. There is no inherent impossibility in the friendship between the two families continuing till the reign of Madanapāla. But of this there is no actual proof. A more likely suggestion is that this 'prince of Kāmarūpa' is one of the rulers mentioned in the *Assam Plates of Vallabhadeva*.<sup>1</sup> The latter inscription consists of five plates of copper, and was presented to the Bengal Asiatic Society by Mr. W. Winkler, Assistant Executive Engineer of Tezpur. "The characters of the inscriptions belong to a variety of the Northern alphabet which was used in the 12th century A.D.....in most eastern parts of Northern India," closely resembling those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena. It belongs to a prince named Vallabhadeva, for whom the following genealogy is given :—



The last prince in the *Saka* year 1107 (1184 or 1185 A.D. as the year is taken as current or expired), at the command of his father and for the spiritual welfare of his mother, founded an almshouse (*bhaktasālā*, *anna-sattra*) near a temple of the god Mahādeva to the east of Kīrtipur in the Hāpyachā-*Māṇḍala*, and endowed it with the revenues of certain villages and hamlets. The localities mentioned have not yet been identified. The lack of any imperial titles suggests that these princes were not very important. But the close similarity of the script of this

<sup>1</sup> First edited by Hultzsch in *ZDMG*, 1886, Band XL, pp. 42-47; then by Kielhorn in *EI*, 1898-99, Vol V, pp 181-88.

inscription and that of the Deopara inscription, as also its date points to the contemporaneity of Vijayasena and these rulers; and it is therefore not impossible that either Udayakarna or his father Rāyārideva may have been 'the prince of Kāmarūpa' who according to Umāpatidhara was defeated by his patron. It was again probably one of these princes, possibly Vallabha-deva, who was defeated by Vijayasena's grandson Lakṣmanasena.<sup>1</sup> A remark has recently been made, that, though discovered at Tezpur, 'this grant and the donor seem to have belonged to Eastern Bengal very close to Kāmarūpa.'<sup>2</sup> But this assertion is, to my knowledge, not yet supported by any proof, and so the exact area over which this line ruled must remain for the present uncertain.

If the identification proposed above be accepted, Vallabha-deva was probably contemporary with Muḥammad ibn Bakht-yār, when the latter after his conquest of Lakṣanavatī undertook his disastrous expedition to 'Tibbat' through Kāmṛud (Kāmarūpa). The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, the almost contemporary history of the period, supplies the following interesting account of this expedition. After his conquest of North Bengal (c. 1198 A.D.), about the middle of the year 1205 A.D., Muhammad formed the ambition of seizing the country of Turkistān and Tibet, the mountain tracts which lay to the east of Lakṣanavatī. In those days three races of people, viz., the Kūnch (or Kūch), the Mej (or Mech), and the Tihāiū (mod Tharu), lived in the different mountain parts that separated Tibet from Lakṣanavatī. All of them had 'Turkish countenances,' and 'a different idiom too between the language of Hind and Turk (or "Tibbat").' (One of the chiefs of these tribes, who had fallen into the hands of Muhammad, and was known as 'Alī the Mej' after his adoption of the Muḥammadan faith, agreed to conduct Muhammad

<sup>1</sup> See the Madhainagar grant of Lakṣmanasena, *JASB*, 1909, Vol. V (N.S.), pp 467 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *IHQ*, December, 1927, p. 848



ibn Bakht-yar into those hills and act as guide. Under his guidance Muhammad and a body of about 10,000 horse were conducted either from Lakhanavatī or from Diw-koṭ (Dandamah, near Gangaiampur, south of Dinajpur), the northern Musalman military outpost in these days, to Burdhan-koṭ (Vardhanakūṭī, north of Bogia, close to Govindganj in Long. 89°28', Lat. 25°8' 25" on the Karatoya). 'A river of vast magnitude,' which our author calls Begmatī (*i.e.*, Vegamatī, which Blochmann identified with the Karatoya) lay in front of this place. For 10 days the Muslim army marched along the right bank of the river towards the mountains. Blochmann has pointed out that before 1784 the Karatoya was connected by branches with the Tistā (Tisistā), which flowed west of the Karatoya and, joining the Atai, fell into the main branch of the Ganges. Thus, it is likely that the ten days' march extended along the Karatoya and the Tistā, which latter of all the rivers of Bengal extends furthest into Tibet. There is little doubt that the Musalmans marched along the frontier of the territory of the Rājā of Kāmarūpa. Before the tenth day was over the Musalman army reached mountainous country and a bridge of hewn stone, consisting of upwards of twenty arches. It is difficult to say where this bridge was situated; but Blochmann has suggested that it was probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling. Anyhow it would appear from the subsequent account that it was not far from, if not actually within, the territories of the "Rāe of Kāmṛūd". The Muslim army passed over the bridge, and Muhammad installed at the head of the bridge two of his own Amīs, one a Turk slave, and the other a Khalj with troops, in order to guard it until his return. When the 'Rāe of Kāmṛūd' became aware of the passage of the Muslim troops, he is said to have despatched trustworthy persons, saying: "It is not proper, at this time to march into the country of Tibet, and it is necessary to return and to make ample preparations, when in the coming year I, who am the Rāe of Kāmṛūd agree that I will embody my own forces, and

will precede the Muhammadan troops, and will cause that territory to be acquired." But Muhammad did not accept this salutary advice and turned his face towards the mountains of Tibet. The troops made their way, unmolested apparently, through defiles and passes and lofty mountains, till on the 16th day they reached the open country of Tibet. The whole of that tract was under cultivation, with tribes of people and populous villages. When they reached a place where there was a fort and began plundering the country around, the people of the fort and the town engaged the invaders in a fierce contest which raged from 'daybreak to the evening prayer,' and killed and wounded a great number of the Musalman troops. At night Muhammad heard of the approach of an army of about 50,000 'valiant Turk horsemen, archers.' After a consultation with the Amīrs, he ordered the fatigued and worn out troops to retreat. But when they retreated, 'throughout the whole route, not a blade of grass, nor a stick of firewood remained, as they (the inhabitants) had set fire to the whole of it, and burnt it, and all the inhabitants of those defiles and passes, had moved off from the line of route. During those fifteen days, not a pound of food nor a blade of grass did the cattle and horses obtain, and all the men were killing their horses and eating them, until they issued from the mountains into the country of Kāmṛūd, and reached the head of that bridge. The distress of the army was changed into bewilderment and desperation when they found, that, taking advantage of the discord and consequent neglect of duty of the two Amīrs left to guard the bridge, 'the Hindus of the Kāmṛūd country' had come and destroyed it. As boats were not procurable, there was no way of crossing the river. Thinking it necessary to halt in some place, in order to build 'boats and floats,' Muhammad ordered the army to occupy a neighbouring temple, which is described as 'of exceeding height, strength and sublimity,' and 'very handsome.' When sheltered in this temple "the Rāe of Kāmṛūd became aware of the reverses and helplessness of the Musalman army. He issued commands to

the whole of the Hindus of the country, so that they came pouring in crowds, and round about the idol-temple were planting spiked bāmbūs, in the ground, and were weaving them together, so that it was appearing like unto walls.' When Muhammad realised his danger, he ordered the army to make a sortie and break through the palisade. This, the troops succeeded in doing, not without considerable difficulty, and they reached the open plain, closely pursued by the Hindus. The Musalmans were driven into the river, where they all perished with the exception of Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār and 'a few horse-men, a hundred more or less....The rest were drowned.' With the assistance of the relatives of 'Alī the Mej, Muḥammad reached Dīw-kot; but such was the extent of the disaster, that he could not even ride his horse in the open for 'all the people, from the housetops and the streets (consisting) of women and children, would wail and utter imprecations against him and revile him.' Commenting on this expedition, Blochmann has said. "It is difficult to say what motives Muḥammad Bakht-yār had to invade Tibbat. It was perhaps, as Minhāj says, ambition, but if we consider how small a part of Bengal was really in his power, his expedition to Tibbat borders on foolhardiness." But an explanation is probably to be found in the fact that in those days commercial traffic between Bengal and Tibet was very extensive. Minhāj speaks of no less than thirty-five roads into Tibet between the bend of the Brahmaputra and Tirhut. 'The traffic consisted chiefly in gold, copper, lead, musk, yak tails, honey, borax, falcons and hill ponies.' The motive behind the expedition was probably to plunder and if possible control the rich commercial marts of Tibet.<sup>1</sup>

The Musalman invasion of the Brahmaputra valley was repeated on several occasions in the period of about 450 years

<sup>1</sup> For the account of the expedition see *TN, Trans.* by Raverty, Vol. I, pp 560-72, *Riyaz us-Salāṭīn*, Trans by Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 66-68, *JASB*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, pp. 282-85.

which extended from A.D. 1205 to 1662. But most of these met with disasters, and Islam never succeeded in making any headway in the Valley. In about 1226-27 Sultān Ghīyāth ud-Dīn of Bengal appears to have led an expedition into 'Kāmrūd and Bang' but on the approach of an army under Maḥmūd son of Iltutmish he had to retreat hastily to save his territory.<sup>1</sup> In about A.D. 1258 Malik Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn Yūzbak-i-Tughril Khān, marching from Lakhanavatī, crossed the river Begmatī (Karatoya) and invaded the territories of the 'Rāe of Kāmrūd.' At first the Hindu prince was defeated and his capital was occupied by the Musalmans, but when the Khān rejected the request of the 'Rāe' to be allowed to continue as a feudatory of Lakhanavatī, the 'Rāe' attacked and destroyed him and his army.<sup>2</sup> There were other expeditions. But the last of them was led by Mīr Jumla, the famous general of Aurangzīb, whose triumphant march to Ghargaon on the Brahmaputra ended in disastrous retreat and death from the effects of the hardships of the campaign (1663 A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

But though we have these accounts of the conflicts of the princes of the Brahmaputra valley with the Musalmans, we have very few or no records to work out a connected account of the history of Assam from the 11th and 12th centuries onwards. Some light on this period of Assam is however thrown by the *Buranjs* of the Ahoms, a section of the great Shan tribe, who crossed the Patkai hills and settled in and about the Lakhimpur district of Assam in the 13th century. From these it appears that there existed a kingdom of the Hinduised Chutias, a tribe of mixed Bodo-Shan stock, in Sadiya (or Vīdarbha). There were frequent wars between them and the Ahoms till they were completely conquered by the latter in the 16th century. The western part of the Brahmaputra valley, the area formerly known as

TN, Raverty's Trans., Vol I, pp 594-95.

Ibid, Vol II, pp 761-69.

Sukar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol III, p. 205; *JBORS.*, Vol. I, pp. 179-95.

Kāmarūpa, was known as Kāmata, and the only dynasty of which we have any connected account is that of the Khyan or Khen kings. The few representatives of this tribe now claim to be Kāyasthas, and their first king, Niladhvaja, is said to have overthrown the last degenerate Pāla king of Assam. The last of the Khens, Nīlāmbar, was overthrown by Husain Shāh in A.D. 1498. Their territory sometimes extended from the Karatoya to the Barnadi. After his fall there was a period of confusion, which ended when the Koch ruler Bīśva Sīmha established a kingdom with Koch-Bihār (mod. Cooch-Bihar) as his capital in about 1515 A.D. King Naranārāyana of this tribe, which is certainly Mongoloid in origin, was a powerful prince, ruling practically over the whole of Assam. During his reign Kālāpāhār, the general of Sulaymān Karnānī, appears to have invaded Kāmarūpa, and advanced as far as Tezpur (c. 1568 A.D.). Naranārāyana, according to the local Vamśāvalīs, is said to have assisted Akbar in destroying the 'Pādshāh of Gaur' (Sultān Dā'ūd) about 1576 A.D. There is no reference to this incident in the Musalman accounts. According to the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, on the other hand, Naranārāyana 'renewed in 1578 A.D. his demonstrations of obedience to the Imperial Throne.' In about 1581 A.D. the Koch king was compelled to create a principality for his nephew Raghudev by ceding to the latter the region east of the river Sankosh (mod. Gadadhar river?). This led to the foundation of two rival Koch kingdoms, which the Muslims call Koch Bihār and Koch Hājo. The capital of the principality founded by Raghu was probably situated near the modern town of Hājo, a few miles north of Gauhati. The hostilities of these two kingdoms led to the interference of the Musalmans and the Ahoms. In 1638 A.D. the western and the eastern states became vassals of the Musalmans and the Ahoms respectively.<sup>1</sup>

I have already referred to the migration of the Ahoms into Assam in the 13th century. It appears from their *Buranjis*

<sup>1</sup> For recently discovered silver coin of Naranārāyana (Saka 1477=1555 A.D.), see *IHQ*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 614 ff.

that a section of the great Shan tribe left Maulung in the upper Irrawaddy valley about 1215 A.D. under the leadership of Sukāphā and established a small principality near the Dikho valley. Their power steadily increased, and by the year A.D. 1638, as we have seen, extended practically over the whole Brahmaputra valley up to Dhubri. From this time onwards they stood face to face with the Mughul emperors of Delhi but the latter never succeeded in conquering them. Even the brilliant campaign of Mīr Jumla was in the end but only a Pyrrhic victory. The Ahoms remained unconquered till the Burmese invasion in the 19th century.<sup>1</sup>

I have not said anything so far about the Surma valley because, strictly speaking, it should not be included in Assam proper. It was only administrative necessity that led the British Government to include it within the jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner of Assam in 1874. Though it is possible that the Surma valley may have been conquered occasionally by some powerful rulers of Kāmarūpa, yet for all practical purposes it appears to have remained outside the general currents of the history of Assam proper. Attempts have recently been made to show that even the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman, though discovered in Sylhet, record a grant of land near Karnasuvarṇa, and that it was subsequently carried to its place of discovery by some descendant of the donee who migrated from his original home.<sup>2</sup> For the history of the Surma valley of this period we have very few authentic documents. Two copper-plate grants of a line of kings were dug up from a brick mound in Bhāterā in Sylhet, and were first edited in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1880.<sup>3</sup> From

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the 13th century onwards, see *IIA*, Chapters IV to IX, *CHI*, Vol. III, Chapters XI and XXI. Consult also *History of the Shans*, by Ney Elias. For coins, *CCIM*, pp. 294 ff., and plate XXIX.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XIX, July 1927, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *PASB*, 1880, pp. 144-53. The first plate opens with 'om namaḥ Śivāya' and the second 'om nīnī Vīriyāzī'. One of these plates has been re-edited under the name 'The Bhāterā Copper-plate of Govinda-Keśavadeva' by K. M. Gupta in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 277-86.

these we get the following statement of the genealogy of Keśava-deva and Īśānadeva, the donors of these grants :

## In the Lunar family

Kharavāṇa (*alias* Navagīrvāṇa ?)  
 | (Founder of the kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa.)  
 Gokuladeva (Golhaṇa ?)  
 |  
 Nārāyaṇa  
 |  
 Keśavadeva *alias* Ripurāja-Gōpī-Gōvinda.  
 |  
 Īśānadeva.

According to Dr. R. L. Mitra, the editor of the inscriptions, the grant of Keśavadeva is dated in *Pāṇḍavakulādīpālābda* Samv. 4328 (*Kali Yuga* = A.D. 1245). The reading and interpretation of this date are not free from doubt, but it agrees with the date 703 A.H. (A.D. 1303) which is given as the date of the conquest of Srihat (Sylhet) by Sikandar<sup>\*</sup> Khān Ghāzī in the reign of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, in a stone inscription, discovered in Sylhet and now lying in the Dacca Museum.<sup>1</sup> If the date for Keśavadeva is correct, it would appear that the Musalmans conquered Sylhet after, or in the reign of, his successor **Īsānadeva.**<sup>2</sup>

I would conclude by referring to the Kachāris, who established a powerful kingdom in the 13th century. It extended 'along the south bank of the Brahmaputra from the Dikhu to the Kallang or beyond and included also the valley of the Dhansiri and the tract which now forms North Cachar sub-division.' Their struggles with the Ahoms led to the

<sup>1</sup> JASB, 1922, Vol. XVIII (N. S.), p. 413. First noticed in the *Dacca Review*, August 1913.

<sup>2</sup> But recently the reading of the date has been questioned. It has been suggested that the date on the grant is 4151 and not 4323. This would give 1049 A.D. [4151—3102 (B.C., the beginning of the Kali era)] as the date of Keśava and about 975 A.D. as that of Kharavīṇa, the founder of the line in Srihatta. The identification of some of the place-names in the grant seem to show that Keśavadeva's rule extended over a considerable portion of Sylhet and probably also some portions of Hill Tippera and Cachar. See *HI*, Vol. XIX, p. 278.

decline of their power, but the Kāchāri princes known as 'Kings of Hiḍamba' continued to rule till the 19th century, when their principality was annexed by the British.<sup>1</sup>

### GENEALOGICAL TABLES.<sup>2</sup>

(Dates approximate.)

- I. *Dynasty of Puṣyavarman (c. 350-650 A.D.)*
- II. *Sālastambha and his Successors (c. 650-800 A.D.)*
- III. *Prālambha and his Successors (c. 800-1000 A.D.).*

Prālambha (c. 800)  
 | =Jivadā.  
 Harjara (829 A.D.)  
 | =Tārā.  
 Vanamāla (c. 875 A.D.)  
 |  
 Jayamāla—Virabāhu (c. 900 A.D.)  
 | =Ambā  
 Balavarman (c. 925 A.D.)  
 ⋮  
 Tyāgasimha (c. 1000 A.D.)

- IV. *The Pālas (c. 1000 A.D.—1100 A.D.):*

Tyāgasimha (died childless) ?  
 ⋮  
 Brahmapāla  
 | =Kuladevi  
 Ratnapāla  
 |  
 Purandarapāla  
 | =Durlabhā  
 Indrapāla  
 ⋮  
 Jayapāla  
 ⋮  
 Gopāla  
 |  
 Harsamāla (pāla ?)  
 |  
 Dharmapāla.

<sup>1</sup> For details see *HA*, Chapters X and XIII. A new silver coin of the Cachar king Yaśonārāyaṇa (*Śaka* 1507=1585 A.D.) has been noticed in *IHQ*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 615 ff. See also *Heḍamba Rājyer Daṇḍavidhi*, Ed. by MM. Padmanāth Vidyāvinod. For the Rajas of Jaintia who probably established their kingdom in c. 1500 A.D. see *ibid*, Chapter XIII; see also *IHQ*, December 1927, pp. 847-49, and *JASB*, Vol. XXV (N.S.), pp. 165-69. (The Satak Copper-plate grant of king Rāma Simha II, *Śaka* 1731)

<sup>2</sup> Princes whose names are in italics did not reign. Uncertain relationship is shown by vertical dots.



V. *Tiṅgyadeva* (c. 1100 A.D.).

VI. *Line of Bodhadeva* :

*Bodhadeva* [Minister of Rāmapāla<sup>1</sup> (c. 1084-1126 A.D.)]  
| = Prātāpadevi

┌───────────┐  
| Vaidyadeva      Budhadeva ?  
| (c. 1125 A.D.)

VII. *Dynasty of Bhāskara* (c. 1150-1206 A.D.).

Bhāskara.  
|  
Rāyārīdeva—Trailokyasiṃha  
| = Vasumatī ?  
Udayakarna—Niḥśankasiṃha,  
| = Ahīavadevi  
Vallabhadeva—Śrī-Vallabha (c. 1184-85)

VIII. *Dynasty of Kharavāṇa* :

Kharavāṇa (alias Navagīrvāṇa ?) "  
|  
Gokuladeva (Golhaṇa ?)  
|  
Nārāyana.  
|  
Keśavadeva alias Ripurāja Gōpī Gōvinda (A.D. 1245 ?)  
|  
Iśānadeva.

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<sup>1</sup> Belonging to the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar.

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## CHAPTER VI

### DYNASTIC HISTORY OF BENGAL AND BIHAR

The connection of the peoples of the alluvial plains of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, with those living lower down in the deltaic regions, which form the greater part of modern Bengal and Bihar, has always been of a more or less intimate character. As early as the later Vedic literature we find the *Prācyas*, 'the dwellers in the east' differentiated from the westerners, who lived in the upper valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. It is not known exactly which tribes were included in this term. It is likely that the Kāśis, Kosalas, Viḍhas, Magadhas and other eastern tribes known at that time to the Aryans are meant. But the fact that the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to their mode of making tombs and disapproves of that custom makes it possible that there were cultural, if not also ethnic, differences between the peoples of the upper and lower Ganges valley. The epic story which makes Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalīṅga, Pundra, and Sumha the *ksetraja* sons of the *asura* Bali by his wife Sudeśṇā through the agency of the Brahman sage Dīrghatamas, seems to indicate at least the popular belief that these peoples formed a compact ethnic group. The physical measurements of the peoples of a large portion of Bengal and Bihar convinced Risley that they were mainly Dravido-Mongolian, with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood, which is more prominent in the west and in the higher groups. In the western half of Bihar the Aryo-Dravidian features predominated, while in the east of Bengal the Mongolian type was more common. This theory has been criticised. But the opponents admit that 'the people of the lower Ganges valley belong to a different Aryan stock from those who composed the Vedic hymns.' Whatever may be the ethnic and cultural

affinity of the peoples of Bengal and Bihar, it is certain that the political relationship between them was sufficiently intimate. Thus when we enquire into the history of the different political and geographical divisions of this region, such as Magadha, Videha, Anga, Vaṅga, Samatāṭa, Puṇḍra, Gauda, Rādha Sumha, etc., we find that from the beginning of imperialism in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., excepting periods of political disintegration, they have been generally under the administration of one government. The absorption of Aṅga by Magadha in the reign of Bimbisāra was the first important step in the development which culminated in the establishment of the Nandas as rulers of the Prasi and the Gangaridae. Perhaps earlier still is the epic tradition of the unification of these tracts under Jarāsandha of Magadha and Karna of Aṅga. The Mauryas certainly ruled over these regions; and the recent discovery of the Damodarpur plates makes it clear that the Guptas did the same up to the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Again the Pālas of our period, though known to their contemporaries as kings of Vanga (*Vangapati*), issued most of their earlier inscriptions from Bihar. It will thus be not improper to group together in one chapter the accounts of the dynasties that ruled over the lower valleys of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra.<sup>1</sup>

It is now generally agreed that the Gupta empire survived the shock of the Hūṇa invasions and continued up to the beginning of the 6th century A.D. There is evidence to show that at least in the east its disintegration began soon after that time. Thus the absence of the word Gupta, in *Mahārāja-Rājaputra-Deva Bhāṭṭāraka*, the name of the governor in the fifth Damodarpur plate may indicate that he was the son of a local *rājā* of Northern Bengal who in 543 A.D. perhaps acknowledged only a

<sup>1</sup> See *Vedic Index*, Vol II, p 46, *Mahābhārata*, I, 104; Risley, *Peoples of India*; *Census Report for 1901* by the same, *IGI*, 1907, pp. 292 ff., Chanda, *Indo-Aryans*, *CHI*, Vol I, pp 40 ff., *Carmichael Lectures*, Calcutta University, 1918, pp. 42 ff.; *JASB*, 1923, pp 366 ff.; *EI*, Vol. XV, pp 113 ff.

nominal suzerainty of the Gupta sovereigns.<sup>1</sup> The discovery of the Faridpur plates, which are referred to the 6th century A.D., reveals the presence of a line of independent rulers in Southern Bengal,<sup>2</sup> while the Vappaghoṣavāṭa inscription of Jayanāga<sup>3</sup> seems to indicate the presence of another line of independent rulers in Kāṇṇasuvārnaka in the latter half of the 6th century A.D. Whether they had any connection with the Gupta governors of Northern Bengal referred to above is a question that cannot be answered in the present state of our knowledge. But that there grew up an independent power in Bengal side by side with the decadent Gupta power in Magadha is shown by the references to the clash of the Maukharis and the 'Gaudas living on the seashore' in the Harāhā inscription of Īśānavarman (554 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> It remained for Śaśānka to extend the power of the Gaudas from Kanauj in the west to Gaṇjam in the south.<sup>5</sup> But his empire was short-lived. Attacked on both flanks by Harṣa and Bhāskara-varman, he appears to have retreated into the hill-tracts of Orissa. The former annexed Magadha, while the latter to judge from the position of his victorious camp at Kāṇṇasuvārna, overran North and West Bengal.<sup>6</sup> During the reign of Harṣa, the rest of Bengal and Bihar appears to have been divided into a number of independent and semi-independent states. These were (1) *I-lan-na-po-fa-to* (Hiranyaparvata?, country round the hill of Monghyr), (2) *Chan-p'o* (Campā, Bhagalpur District), (3) *Ka-chu-wēn* (?) *k'i-lo* (Kajangala, area round Rajmahal), (4) *Pun-na-fa-tan-na* (Pundra-vardhana, North Bengal to the west of

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 142, *The Early History of Bengal* by Prof. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca University, 1924, pp. 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, 1910, Vol. 39, pp. 193-216; *JASB*, August 1910, pp. 429-36, 1911, pp. 289, 308 and 475-502. I think Pargiter has successfully proved that these grants are genuine.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60-64.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 117, *verse 13*.

<sup>5</sup> *GI*, pp. 283-84; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46; *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 173 ff.; *BR*, Vol. I, pp. 210 ff.; *YC*, Vol. I, pp. 343 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 65 ff.; Vol. XIX, pp. 115 ff.; *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 216 ff.

the Karatoya), (5) *San-mo-ta-t'a* (Samataṭa, Bengal delta between the Hugli and Hill Tippera), (6) *Tan-mo-lih-ti* (Tāmralipta, portions of Midnapore and the 24-Parganas) and (7) *Kie (ka)-lo-na-su-fa-la-na* (Karnasuvarna, probably portions of Nadia, Burdwan, Birbhum and Murshidabad districts).<sup>1</sup> A critical study of Yuan Chwang's account seems to indicate that though Harṣa sometimes passed through these tracts in the course of his invasions, they did not form a part of his empire.<sup>2</sup> After the death of Harṣa, the troubled state of the Ganges valley appears to have helped the extension of Tibetan power in the south. The Chinese and Tibetan documents however never tell us whether Tibet actually held Bengal and Bihar; and it seems likely that whatever influence Tibet had over these tracts, came to an end about the year 703 A.D., when, according to the T'ang annals, Nepal and India threw off the suzerainty of Tibet.<sup>3</sup> During the second half of the 7th century, we have the records of two important lines of princes ruling in Bengal and Bihar. These were the Guptas of Magadha<sup>4</sup> and the Khadgas of Samataṭa.<sup>5</sup> As the Shahpur image-inscription of Ādityasena gives for him the date A.D. 672-73, and as a Deoghar epigraph preserves the memory of his performing '*Aśvamedha* and other great sacrifices' and of having ruled 'the whole earth up to the oceans,' it is not unlikely that it was this Gupta sovereign who was instrumental in throwing off the yoke of Tibet in 703 A.D. The extent of the rule of these later Guptas is not exactly known. All their inscriptions have been so far discovered in the districts of Gaya, Patna, Bhagalpur and Shahabad of Bihar. But their conflict with the Maukharis

<sup>1</sup> BR, Vol II, pp 186-204, YC, Vol II, pp 173-93 Watters restores *I-lan-na*, the first part of the name in no. (1), as *Iraṇa* 'which denotes a piece of wild or barren land.'

<sup>2</sup> JBORS, September-December 1923, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society, 1911, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> GI, pp. 200-18

<sup>5</sup> MASB, Vol. I, No. 6; EI, Vol. XVII, pp. 357-39; JASB, 1923, Vol. XIX (N.S.), pp 375-79, 1914, Vol X (N. S.), pp 85-91, YC, Vol II, p 188; Chavannes, *Les Religieux Éminents*, Paris, 1894, p. 128.

of the U. P., their wars on the banks of the Lauhitya, and the possible identification of Mādhavagupta of the Aphsad stone inscription with the Malwa prince Mādhavagupta of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, would indicate a wider extent of power than the distribution of their inscriptions suggests.<sup>1</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Kumārāmātya* Lokanātha of the recently discovered Tippera grant dated in year 44 (Harṣa era? = A.D. 650) has been referred to by some scholars as a feudatory of this Gupta prince Ādityasena.<sup>2</sup> But he was more probably a vassal of the Khadgas. The inscriptions of the Khadgas have been so far found in the Dacca and Comilla districts in Bengal. The possible identification of Rājabhāṭa,<sup>3</sup> king of Samatata at the time of Seng-Chi's visit to India (c. 650—700 A.D.) with Rājarāja of the Ashrafpur plate (B) and the suggested reading of the date in the same plate as 73 or 79 (= 679 or 685 A.D.), which has now been found to be not inconsistent with the palaeographic data of the records, would tend to place these rulers in the periods c. 650-700 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Karmanta, the place of residence of these princes has been identified with modern Kamta near Comilla.

Neither of these dynasties however appears to have succeeded in establishing a united and strong government in Bengal and Bihar. The result was that these rich tracts remained for about

<sup>1</sup> *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 119-21; *GI*, p. 203; *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 100 ff.; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd Ed., 1927, pp. 371 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 304

<sup>3</sup> *Life*, pp. xxx-xxxI, but Chavannes seems to give the name as *Ho-louo-che-po-tch'a* (Harṣabhāṭa), see his *Religieux Éminents*, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> The editor of the Ashrafpur plates placed them "in the 8th or 9th centuries A.D." This view is still held by some scholars, see *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, by R. D. Banerji, 2nd Ed., pp. 164 ff., 233 ff. But see *JASB*, 1923, pp. 376 ff. The date proposed above is also supported by the suggested identification of "roi de l'Inde Orientale qui s'appelle T'i-p'ouo-po-mo (Devavarman)," the contemporary of king Ādityasena (*se-Kium* = l'armée du soleil) mentioned by Hsuei-luen (c. 650-700 A.D.) with Devakhadga of the Ashrafpur plates and Ādityasena of the Shahpur image inscription; See Chavannes, *Les Religieux Éminents*, pp. 81 and 83; *Life*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

50 years (c. 700—750 A.D.) a constant prey to foreign invaders. The first invasion so far recorded appears to have been that of the princes of the Śaīla family. The Rāgholī (Balāghat district, C.P.) plates of Jayavardhana II inform us that his grandfather took Kāśī after killing its 'self-conceited and cruel king,' while the elder brother of this grandfather took the whole country of Puṇḍra after destroying its ruler. As the script of the inscription 'very much resembles those of the Paithan plates of Govinda III, dated in the year 794 A.D.,' it is probably not unreasonable to refer the events recorded above to c. 725 A.D.<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that the prince referred to as a Paundra king in this inscription was Jīvitagupta or one of the successors of Ādityasena. The invasion of the Śaīlas was followed by that of Yaśovarman, who is described in the *Rājataranginī* of Kalhana, as lord of "the land of Kanyakubja from the bank of the Yamunā to the Kālikā."<sup>2</sup> Stein has identified this prince with 'the king of Central India, *I-cha-fon-mo*, who in A.D. 731 sent an embassy to the Chinese Court'<sup>3</sup> It appears from the Chinese annals that he was on his throne at least between 731 and 736 A.D., and it was probably during these years that he undertook a triumphal procession of *digvijaya* for the conquest of the countries all round his dominions, which is recorded in the *Gaudavaho* of Vākpatirāja.<sup>4</sup> In the course of his eastern expedition he seems to have met the king of Gauda, who is also called *Magadhādhipa*, not far from the 'Vindhya region,' and defeated him in a fierce battle, in which the vassals and nobles of the eastern king appeared "like sparks of light issuing from a shooting-star." After the battle the *Magadhādhipa* was pursued and slain by

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 41-47. I have accepted a comparatively earlier date for the events, as the conquests apparently took place during the reign of the great-grandfather of the donor. The conquerors having died during the life-time of their father, the next king mentioned in the inscription is the father of the donor.

<sup>2</sup> IV, 132-46.

<sup>3</sup> Stein's Eng. Trans., *Rājataranginī*, Vol. I, pp. 88-89.

<sup>4</sup> *Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series*, No. XXXIV, Re-edited by N. B. Utgikar Poona, 1927, verses 192-688.



Yaśovarman, who then proceeded eastwards and compelled the Vaṅga king though 'powerful in the possession of a large number of warlike elephants' to acknowledge him as his suzerain.<sup>1</sup> It is not certain who this ruler of Magadha-Gauda was; but that he was a powerful sovereign is clear from the fact that his dominions extended from the borders of Vaṅga (Eastern Bengal) to the Vindhya. Possibly he was one of the Śaṭa rulers referred to above who conquered Kāśī and Puṇḍra in about the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. It is significant that the Śaṭa prince Śrīvardhana, who is probably not far removed from the 2nd quarter of the 8th century, is called 'the lord of the Vindhya' (*Vindhyeśvara*), the very mountain not far from which the two armies met for the first time. It is not improbable that the Vaṅga (*Samatāṭa*) king defeated by Yaśovarman was one of the Khadga rulers referred to above. The success of Yaśovarman was however short-lived, and not long after 736 A.D., he fell a victim to the ambition of the Kārkota king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, probably known to the Chinese as *Mu-to-pi*.<sup>2</sup> We are told by Kalhaṇa that after annexing the dominions of the Kanauj king, Lalitāditya 'proceeded with ease to the eastern ocean' and reached the "Gauda land."<sup>3</sup> Another invasion of Bengal-Bihar was probably undertaken by the Kāmarūpa king Śrī-Harṣa (*Harīṣa*?), who is referred to in the Paśupati inscription of his son-in-law Jayadeva of Nepal ( $153 = 153 + 595 = 748$  A.D?) as the ruler of *Gauda*, *Oḍra*, *Kalinga*, *Kosala* and other lands.<sup>4</sup> This appears to have been followed by the invasion of the Kashmirian king Jayāpīḍa, who is reported by Kalhaṇa to have visited the lands east of Prayāga in the course of his adventures in the early part of his reign (c. 762-63 A.D.). We are told that Jayāpīḍa

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, verses 354, 414-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājatarangīnī*, Stein's Trans., Vol. I, pp 88-89.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, IV, 145-49. Specially note the verses 323-30 which describe the treacherous murder of the Gauda king by Lalitāditya and the bravery of the 'dark-coloured' servants of the Gauda prince, which when contrasted with the conventional details of the *digvijaya*, have an historical appearance.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 179, line 15. See also *supra*, pp. 192 and 241.

reached 'the city of Pauṇḍravardhana, subject to the king of Gauḷa and at that time protected by a prince called Jayanta.' The Kashmirian monarch married Kalyānadevi, the daughter of Jayanta, and after conquering 'the chiefs of the five Gaudas' (*Pañca-Gauḷ-ādhīpān*), made his father-in-law their sovereign. Though it is not impossible that there may be some grain of historical fact in the stories of the adventures of Jayāpīḍa, all attempts to identify Jayanta must remain problematical.<sup>1</sup> As a result of all these invasions the lower Ganges valley must have been reduced to a chaotic condition. The Lama Tāranātha, referring to the condition of this region just before the election of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, says: "There was no longer any member of it (the royal family of the Candras) a king; in Oḍiśa, in Bengal and the other five provinces to the east, each Kṣatriya, Brāhman, and merchant (Vaiśya?) constituted himself king of his surroundings, but there was no king ruling the country."<sup>2</sup> The anarchic condition is more vividly expressed by the expression *Mātsyanyāya* which is applied by the Khālpur inscription of Dharmapāla to describe the condition of North-eastern India before the election of Gopāla.<sup>3</sup>

In the last paragraph I have indirectly placed Gopāla in the beginning of the second half of the 8th century. There has been recently much discussion on the chronology of the Pālas. We do not propose here to enter into a detailed examination of this question. It will be sufficient if we remember the foundation stones on which all schemes of Pāla chronology must inevitably rest. In the case of the nine kings from Gopāla to Mahīpāla,

<sup>1</sup> *Rājataranginī*, IV, 421-63; Kalhaṇa places the reign of Jayāpīḍa in 751-782 A. D. As the adventures in *Gauḍa-Puṇḍra* are placed by Kalhaṇa in the beginning of his reign, and as Stein has shown that we must correct these dates of the local historian by adding a period of about 12 years, I have placed Jayāpīḍa's possible visit to the lower Ganges valley in c. 762-63 A. D. As to the identification of Jayanta, I would point out that in my chronology he is placed sufficiently near Gopāla to raise the suspicion of their identity.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. IV, 1875, pp. 365-366.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, verse 4.

these are : (1) The date Śaka 705 expired (783-84 A.D.) supplied by the *Jaina Harivamśa* for Indrāyudha, who must be identified with the Mahodaya ruler Indrarāja of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, who was dethroned by Dharmapāla (2) The synchronism of Dharmapāla with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (793-814 A.D.) established by the identification of Dharma and Cakrāyudha, mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amogha-varṣa as surrendering themselves to Govinda III, with the Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. (3) The *Vikrama* year 1083 (A.D. 1026) given in the Sarnath inscription for Mahīpāla (I). (4) The synchronism of Rājendra Cola and Mahīpāla established by the former's Tirumalai inscription, which records an attack made by the Cola king upon the lower Ganges valley in about 1021-25 A.D. (5) And the synchronism of Nāgabhaṭa (c. 807-33 A.D.) and Cakrāyudha established by the Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription of Bhoja (v. 9). The year 1026 A.D. for Mahīpāla is usually taken by scholars to mark the end of his reign. Accepting that hypothesis for the time being, and counting backwards from that date, we arrive at the date 769 [A.D., for Dharmapāla (1026—257 = 769 A.D.). In this calculation we have two uncertain factors, viz., the year 1026 A.D. may not have been the last year of Mahīpāla, and the period of 257 years which is the total of the reign-period so far known of the rulers from Dharmapāla to Mahīpāla does not take into account the unknown reign-period of Vighrahapāla (II). Again it is not certain that the reign-periods so far known were the last years of the reign of the respective sovereigns. Within these limitations, the dates of the rulers from Gopāla to Mahīpāla may be shown as follows :

1. Gopāla	...	c. 765	A.D. (reign-period not known).
2. Dharmapāla	...	c. 769-801	„ (reign-period so far known 32 years).
3. Devapāla	...	c. 801-840	„ ( „ „ 39 „ ).
4. Vighrahapāla (I) or Sūrapāla	...	c. 840-843	„ ( „ „ 3 „ ).

5. Nārāyaṇapāla	...	c. 843-897 A.D.	( reign-period so far known	..	54 years).
6. Rājyapāla	.	c. 897-921	..	( .. ..	24 .. ).
7. Gopāla (II)	.	c. 921-978	..	( .. ..	57 .. ).
8. Vīrabhapāla (II)	.	c. 978- ?	..	( .. ..	not known).
9. Mahīpāla (I)	..	c. 978-1026	..	( .. ..	48 years).

The chronology proposed above is open to the obvious criticism which I have already pointed out. But the fact that any considerable increase in the reign-periods would push Dharmapāla into the period 700-50 A.D., seems to indicate that the possible total excess of reign-periods cannot be large. A little elasticity in the chronological scheme may however be introduced if we place the date 1026 A.D. in the middle of Mahīpāla's reign. The arguments so far advanced to prove that Mahīpāla was dead before 1026 A.D. do not appear to me to be at all conclusive. Even assuming that Mahīpāla died before 1026 A.D., his reign can only be moved back from that date by a few years, for any big gap would place Dharmapāla in the period 750-60 A.D. The division of Gauda into five divisions in c. 762-63 at the time of Jayāpīḍa, is not consistent with what we know of Dharmapāla's reign. But in view of the synchronism of Dharmapāla with Govinda III (c. 794-814 A.D.) and Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815-33 A.D.) it would, I think, be safer if we push forward the period of Dharmapāla's reign\* by another 14 years and place the last date of Mahīpāla in c. 1040 A.D. This would give Dharmapāla a reign of 46 years (769-815 A.D.), which is not at all impossible in view of the fact that Tāranātha assigns him a period of 64 years. The reign-periods assigned by this historian sometimes, as in the case of Mahīpāla (I) and Rāmapāla, have been found to be approximately in agreement with the known dates of those princes. Thus unless there is some mistake in the ascription of the dates found on inscriptions or colophons of MSS. the above table *with this correction* should serve as the nearest approximations of the reign-periods of the first nine Pālas. As to

the eight later Pālas who followed Mahīpāla I, we have to take into consideration the known reign-periods of these princes, which is 106 years. This however does not include the unknown reign-periods of three princes, and includes 4 years for Kumārapāla, which, as we shall see is an uncertain quantity. In this connection we must bear in mind the synchronisms between Nayapāla and Vīgrahapāla (III) and the Tripurī Kalacuri Laksmī-Karnadeva (c. 1041-70 A.D.) and that between Rāmapāla, and Nānyadeva (c. 1097-1150 A.D.). The argument that since in a MS. dated in 1120 A.D. the Nepal king Sadāśivadeva is styled *Rājādhuājā-Parameśvara*, the supremacy of Nānyadeva over the Bagmati valley must have been over by that date, cannot be accepted as conclusive, for we have already shown elsewhere that Nepal rulers appear to have continued to assume imperial titles in spite of their subservient position.<sup>1</sup> Thus the theory based on this supposition that Vijayasena must have conquered North-Bengal and Tirhut in about 1120 A.D. from Madanapāla and Nānyadeva loses its force. I have elsewhere shown reason to suppose that Nānya's reign may have continued even up to about the middle of the 12th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Again, in view of the fact that the Pālas appear to have lingered on in Magadha till the middle of the 12th century there is nothing impossible in supposing that Madanapāla may have continued to rule for some time in Bihar even after he lost North-Bengal. Within the limitations which we have already pointed out, we can then propose the following table for the last eight Pāla kings

- |     |                    |              |         |  |
|-----|--------------------|--------------|---------|--|
| 10  | Nayapāla,          | c. 1040-1055 | A.D.    | (reign-period so far known, 15 years). |
| 11. | Vīgrahapāla (III), | c. 1055-1081 | A.D.    | (reign-period 26 years).               |
| 12. | Mahīpāla (II),     | c. 1082-?    | „ ( „ „ | not known).                            |
| 13. | Sūrapāla (II),     | c. 1083-?    | „ ( „ „ | not known).                            |

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, *Dynastic History of Nepal*, pp. 206-209 and 220-21.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, pp. 204-205 and fn. 1 on p. 205.

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|-------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 14. Rāmapāla,     | c. 1084-1126 | A.D. (reign-period 42 years). |
| 15. Kumārapāla,   | c. 1126-1180 | „ ( „ „ 4 years ?)            |
| 16. Gopāla (III), | c. 1180-?    | „ ( „ „ not known).           |
| 17. Madanapāla,   | c. 1180-1150 | „ ( „ „ 19 years).            |
| ? Govindapāla,    | c. 1150-1162 | „                             |
| ? Palapāla,       | c. 1162- ?   | „                             |

We can introduce a little more elasticity in the chronological frame by placing Madanapāla a few years later, for we do not know how long Govindapāla ruled. A Gayā inscription gives the date V. E. 1232 as the 14th year, counting from the end of his reign. (*Śrī Govindapāladeva-gata-rājye-caturdaśa-samvatsare.*) His reign thus ended in c. 1162 A.D. But he may have ascended the throne of Magadha a few years after 1150 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Palapāla of the Jaynagar image inscription may have reigned for a few years after Govindapāla.

Turning now to the details of Pāla history, we are first confronted with the question of their origin. In their inscriptions the Pālas never claim any descent from any mythical or epic hero, which is such a common feature in the genealogical tables of many other dynasties of India. In the earliest grant of the dynasty, the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, we are simply told that the family sprang from Dayitavīṣṇu, who is called *Sarva-vidyāvadāta* (sanctified by all sorts of knowledge). His son Vapyata (Bappata ?) is described as *Khanditārāti*; and the latter's son Gopāla was forced to accept the hands of the Goddess of Fortune in order to put an end to the condition of anarchy (*mātsyanyāya*) then prevailing in North-eastern India. In the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* the Pālas are said to have sprung from the sea, while in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva they are said to have been born in the family of the sun

<sup>1</sup> For Pāla chronology, see *IA*, 1909, Vol. 38, pp. 283-248; *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 4 ff.; *JBORS*, December, 1928, pp. 489-533, September-December, 1929, pp. 642-50; *Bāṅgālā Itihāsa*, by R. D. Banerji, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 179 ff., *IA*, 1920, Vol. 49, pp. 189-93; *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N S), pp. 1-6; *IHQ*, September, 1927, pp. 571-91. Excepting his name there is at present nothing to show that Palapāla belonged to the Pāla dynasty

(*vaṁśe Mihirasya*). In the commentary of a Nepal MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Praññāpāramitā* written by Haribhadra in the reign of Dharmapāla the latter is described as *Rājabhāṭādi-vaṁśa-patita*. In the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* the Pālas are described as a 'Kāyeth family.'<sup>1</sup> These are the facts on which must depend any discussion on the origin of the Pālas. Of these we may reject the testimony of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* as very late. The statements of the *Rāmacarita* and the Kamauh grant are also separated from Gopāla by more than three hundred years. From the Khalimpur grant it appears that Dayitaviṣṇu belonged to an educated plebeian family, which was probably neither Brahman nor Kṣatriya. In the troublesome days that then prevailed in North-eastern India during the first half of the 8th century, the family must have soon found the sword to be more profitable than the pen. This transformation may have led to the foundation of the fortunes of the family. Vapyāta and then Gopāla appear to have met with considerable success in their new profession, to be deemed able to save the country from the grip of anarchy. Attempts have been made to show that the statement of Haribhadra means that Dharmapāla was a descendant of Rājabhāṭa, the son of Devakhaḍga of the Ashrafpur plates.<sup>2</sup> Though the fact that the Pālas and the Khaḍgas were both Bauddha families, may be considered favourable to such an identification, and there is no inherent difficulty about the chronological position of the two families, yet I think it is better not to push this theory too far. For it is doubtful whether *Rājabhāṭādi-vaṁśa-patita* can really mean scion of Rājabhāṭa. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī took it to mean 'the

<sup>1</sup> See *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff., verses 1-4, *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 20-21; *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 347 ff.; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 145; *JASB*, 1923, Vol. XIX (N.S.), p. 379 and fn. 2. The verse in Haribhadra's commentary is as follows:

"*Rājye Rājabhāṭādi-vaṁśa-patita-śrī-Dharmapālasya va-  
Tatvāloka-vidhāyini viracitā Sat-pañjik=eyam mayā.*"

See also Bangad grant of Mahipāla, V 2, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff. and p. 329 fn. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1923, p. 379, *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 164 ff.

descendant of a military officer of some king.' Then it is curious that if the two predecessors of Gopāla were really sprung from a royal dynasty they should be referred to as plebeians in the Khalimpur grant. It would require very strong proofs to show that a reigning family which could trace its descent to kings of the past would have remained silent about that connection in their genealogical tables. It is so unusual in India.

Tāranāth informs us that Gopāla first began to reign in Bengal and then brought Magadha under his power. Though mixed up with stories, the account of the Tibetan historian about the election of Gopāla is in agreement with the Khalimpur grant. The statement that Gopāla was first raised to the throne of Bengal appears to be also supported by the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* which refers to Varendrī as the *janakabhū* of Rāmapāla. The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva also refers to the recovery of the *janakabhū* by Rāmapāla, which is taken by some scholars to mean Varendrī.<sup>1</sup> The Monghyr grant of Devapāla informs us that Gopāla conquered the world up to the sea (*viṣitya yenā jaladhe lasundharām*).<sup>2</sup> From the fact that his son was able to undertake extensive military campaigns it is not improbable that Gopāla fully consolidated his position before he died. The Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla compares him with *Lokanātha Daśabala* (Buddha), both being said to have overcome the *Kāmakāris*.<sup>3</sup> In the Khalimpur record of his son he is given the epithet *parama-Saugata*. According to Tāranāth 'he built the Nalandara temple not far from Otantapura and reigned for 45 years.'<sup>4</sup> We have no dated colophons of MSS. or inscriptions of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. IV, 1875, p. 386; *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243-54, verse 4; *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 31, l. 38; *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 347-58; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, p. 304.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 386.



Gopāla was succeeded by Dharmapāla, his son by Dadda-devī.<sup>1</sup> The Khalimpur grant of this king refers to his extensive conquest in Northern India. We are told that "with a sign of his gracefully moved eyebrows he installed the illustrious king of Kānyakubja, who readily was accepted by the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra kings, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling, and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted by the delighted elders of Pañcāla." (V. 12.) In connection with this statement, there is in the preceding verse (V. 11), a veiled reference to Mahendra being terrified at the movements of his armies. The political events hinted at in these two verses are partly indicated by verse 3 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyanapāla, which runs as follows: "This mighty one (i.e. Dharmapāla) again gave the sovereignty which he had acquired by defeating Indrarāja and other enemies, to the begging Cakrāyudha, who resembled a dwarf in bowing; just as formerly Balī had given the sovereignty (of the three worlds) which he had acquired by defeating Indra and his other enemies (the gods) to the begging Cakrāyudha (Viṣṇu), who had descended to the earth as a dwarf."<sup>2</sup> The three verses when read together seem to imply that Dharmapāla, after having extended his power over a large portion of Northern India, dethroned one Indrarāja of Kanauj and installed in his place a feudatory of his named Cakrāyudha. If this Indrarāja is identified with the Indrāyudha of the Jaina *Harivamśa*, the ruler of the north (calculated from Vordhamāna-Wadhwan in Kathiawar), who was ruling contemporaneously with Vatsarāja of Avanti, the ruler of the east, evidently the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of that name then, it would appear that Dharmapāla achieved considerable military and diplomatic success in Northern India sometime after 783-84 A.D. To Kielhorn, when editing the Khalimpur grant in 1896-97, the

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff.; Kielhorn suggested that Daddadevī was 'the daughter of the Bhadra King'; but his interpretation has been opposed in *Gauḍālekhamāla*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 307.

name of Cakrāyudha, king of Kanauj was a mystery. But since then the discovery of other inscriptions of contemporary reigning families of India has solved the difficulty. These are in brief as follows: verse 80 of the Radhanpur grant of the Rāstrakūṭa Govinda III (*Śaka* 730=808 A.D.) tells us that Dhora (Dhruva) drove into the trackless forest Vatsarāja 'who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of Gauda,' and 'took away from him, not merely the two Gauda umbrellas of state but also his fame.'<sup>1</sup> As the Wani grant of the same king (*Śaka* 730=807 A.D.), which contains the same verses as the Radhanpur grant, does not contain verse 15 of the latter, which refers to defeat of the 'Gurjara' by Govinda,—a victory so decisive that the Gurjara king's whereabouts were not known to any—it is possible that the final defeat of the Gurjara may have occurred between the two dates of the grants (807-808 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> The identity of this Gurjara king is probably revealed by the Sanjan grant of Amoghavarṣa (*Śaka* 793=871 A.D.), which, besides referring to the victory of (Dhruva) Dhārāvārṣa over the Gauda king, tells us that Govinda III defeated in battle Nāgabhaṭa, and as the former advanced to the springs of the Himalayas "those (kings) Dharma and Cakrāyudha surrendered of themselves"<sup>3</sup> Line 12 of the Baroda grant of Karka II (*Śaka* 734=812-13 A.D.) seems to refer to a conflict of Dhruva and the Gauda king between the Ganges and the Jumna.<sup>4</sup> Verse 9 of the Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription of Bhoja tells us that his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa (c. 815-33 A.D.)<sup>5</sup> defeated 'Cakrāyudha whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others,'<sup>6</sup> while the next verse of the same inscription refers to the defeat of the lord of Vaṅga (*Vaṅgapati*) at

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 239 ff

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 235 ff., verses 14, 22-23.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff., lines 22-23; on p. 168. Fleet's translation referred the conflict to Govinda III; but see *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, p. 35 and fn 2; also *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 239, fn. 4

<sup>5</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 199-200; *ibid*, Vol. XIV, pp. 179, fn. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 99 ff.

the hands of the Gurjara king. Without going into details we may say that the statements of the Pāla records are substantially borne out by the Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions. It seems likely that after the fall of Yaśovarman (c. 731-36 A.D.) there was no effective government in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Kanauj prince Indrāyudha (c. 783-84 A.D.), Dharmapāla invaded Northern India and placed his own nominee on the throne of Kanauj. But he had soon to meet other rivals in the persons of the Gurjara Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas Dhruva and Govinda III. The struggle for the possession of the rich lands of the upper Ganges was thus trilateral and may be represented by the following table :—

Dharmapāla	Vatsarāja (c. 783-84 A D )	Dhruva (779-94 A D )
(c 769-815 A D )	Nāgabhaṭa (c 815-33 A D )	Govinda III (c. 794-814 A D.)

The success of the Pālas appears to have been of short duration. At any rate if the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records are to be believed, both Cakrāyudha and Dharmapāla were in distress evidently due to the attack of Nāgabhaṭa sometime before 814 A.D. Thus Dharmapāla's imperial position in Northern India had vanished, and if the Sanjan plates mean anything, he tried to form an alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III for checking Nāgabhaṭa II. As verse 22 of the same inscription shows, the alliance probably resulted in the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa about 807-08 A.D.;<sup>1</sup> but the advance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army up to the Vindhya was probably not favourable to the re-establishment of Pāla hegemony in Northern India.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *JL*, Vol. X, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> The Monghyr grant of Devapāla tells us that Dharmapāla in the course of his campaigns advanced up to *Kedāra-tīrthā*, *Gaṅgāsāgara* and *Goharna* while according to the *Badal prasasti* of Gurava Miśra, Garga is said to have made Dharma the sovereign of the East. See *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 304; Vol. II, pp. 160 ff. The places mentioned by the Monghyr grant may have marked the extreme limits of Pāla hegemony.

According to the Bhagalpur inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla and the Badal *prāśasti* of Gurava Miśra, Dharmapāla was assisted in his military campaigns by his younger brother Vākṣpāla and his Brahman minister Garga.

Dharmapāla married Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala, who has been identified with a prince of the same name whose Pathari (Long 78°15', and Lat. 23°56', Bhopal Agency, C.P.) pillar inscription is dated in V.E. 917 (c. 861 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> If this Parabala was really the father-in-law of Dharmapāla, his inscription must have been incised very late in the life of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief. From his seal as well as his title *Parama-sauggata*, it is clear that Dharmapāla was a Buddhist. But it is a curious commentary on his Buddhism that the Monghyr grant of his son should give him the credit for making the castes (*varṇāṇ*) conform to their proper rules (*svadharme*). According to Tibetan tradition it was Dharmapāla who built the celebrated Buddhist monastery of Vikramaśīlā on a hill situated on the bank of the Ganges.<sup>2</sup> We have the following records of the reign of Dharmapāla :

(1) *Bodhgaya stone inscription*.—Discovered by Cunningham in the south of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya. It is a short inscription of 9 lines incised on a stone bearing the figure of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, and Śrī (Bhairava ?). It records the installation at Mahābodhi of a four-faced (image) of Mahādeva (*Mahādevaścaturmukhaḥ*) and the construction of a *puṣkarinī* at a cost of 3,000 *ḍaṃmas* by Keśava, the son of the sculptor (*śilābhū*) Ujjvala in the 26th year of king Dharmapāla.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Khalimpur grant* —Purchased from a cultivator of the village of Khalimpur, near Gaur in the Malda district. Single

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, pp 248 ff., in this connection see *JASB*, 1921, p. 5, *Gauḍarājamālā*, by Canda, p. 25, *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol I, pp 195-96

<sup>2</sup> *JBTS*, Calcutta, 1893, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 11 and 17.

<sup>3</sup> Dr R. L. Mitra first tried to give the reading of the inscription in the *PASB*, 1880, p. 80, first properly edited by Prof N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, Vol IV (NS), pp 101 ff., then by A. K. Mitra in *Gauḍarājamālā*, pp. 29 ff., under the name *Kesava-prāśasti*. Preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

plate (written on both sides, 33+29 lines) surmounted by a highly wrought ornament soldered on the top of it. The main part of the ornament is a seal formed by five concentric rings. On the upper part of the seal is a *wheel* on a pedestal with a deer facing on either side. Immediately below we have the legend *Śrīmān-Dharmapāladevaḥ*. Then comes the genealogy of the donor. The inscription was issued from *Pāṭali-putra-samāvāsita-Śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvāra* by *Paramasaugato-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmad-Dharmapāladevaḥ*. The grant which is dated in his 32nd year, records the gift of the three villages of Krauñcaśvabhra, Mādhāsālmālī and Pālitaka in the *Viṣaya* of Mahantāprakāśa, attached to the *Mandala* of Vyāghrataṭī in the Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* and the village of Gopippalī in the Āmraṣaṇḍikā-*Mandala* attached to the *Viṣaya* of Sthālīkkaṭa to the temple of Nanna-Nārāyana-bhaṭṭāraka, established by *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇavarman. The grant was made at the request of this officer, and the *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Yuvarāja* Tribhuvanapāla. The description of the camp at Pātaliputra, beginning with *Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha pravartamāna* and ending with *pādāta-bhara-namad-avaneḥ* first occurring in this inscription after verse 13, became the stereotyped description of the *Jaya-skandhāvāras* of the Pālas in all subsequent grants.<sup>1</sup>

(3) A MS. of the *Haricarita-kāvya* by Caturbhuja, containing the statement that one of his ancestors, Svarnarekha, got the village of Karañja in Varendrī as a *Sāsana* from *Nṛpa* Dharmapāla. Svarnarekha is described in the passage as *Śruti-smṛti-purāṇa-pada-pravīṇaḥ*, and was apparently a Brahman (*vipra*).<sup>2</sup>

(4) *Clay Seals*.—Recently in a mound at Paharpur, District

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first discovered and published with a translation and a small but clear photo-etching in *JASB*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, pp. 89 ff. Then edited by Kielhorn in *BI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff.; re-edited in *Gauḍalekhamālā* by A. K. Maitra, pp. 9 ff. The inscription is reported to be in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

<sup>2</sup> *CPMDN*, p. 134.

Rajshahi, North Bengal, clay seals have been discovered bearing the name *Śrī-Dharmapāla-deva*.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence of these records shows that Dharmapāla ruled at least for 32 years, and held sway over territory extending from Pāṭaliputra to Rajshahi. I have already discussed the reasons for thinking that he reigned for a longer period which according to my calculation is 46 years (769-815 A.D.), and it is likely that he ruled directly over a more extensive area than the evidence of the inscriptions at present indicates. In his Khalsampur plate the *Yuvarāja* Tribhubanapāla is mentioned as the *Dūtaka* of the grant. Though not explicitly mentioned as such, he is usually taken by scholars to have been the eldest son and heir of Dharmapāla. As in the subsequent inscriptions Devapāla is mentioned as son and successor of Dharmapāla, it is supposed that he must have died during his father's lifetime. This is a possible explanation, though the likelihood of an Aśoka or Aurangzīb ousting their elder brothers who were de-facto *Yuvarājas* is not entirely eliminated. It should also be noticed that in Indian history a *Yuvarāja*, unless it is established on other evidence, should not necessarily be taken as the eldest son. In the case of Devapāla however the suggestion of any violence at the time of his accession appears to be contradicted by verse 12 of his Monghyr grant, which tells us that he succeeded to his father's dominions without any trouble (*nirupaplavam*), even as the Bodhisattva got *Saugatam padam*.

In the Pāla records Devapāla appears as a mighty conqueror. We are told in his Monghyr grant that during his victorious expeditions his war-elephants reached the Vindhya, while his cavalry roamed about in the Kāmboja country (V. 13). In another verse of the same inscription, the *prasastikāra* tells us that

<sup>1</sup> *Calcutta Review*, May, 1928, p. 240. Also 'A Brief Account of Excavations at Paharpur by N. K. Dikshit,' Sir John Marshall in *Illustrated London News* of 29th January 1927. Also *ASI*, 1922-23, pp. 115 ff., 2 Plates, Nos. XV and XVI.

this king enjoyed the whole region bounded on the north by the Himalayas, in the south by Rāma's bridge (*ā-setoḥ prathita-dāsya-ketu-kīrteḥ*), and by the abodes of Varuna and Lakṣmī (i.e., the oceans), on the east and the west (V. 15). In the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla Jayapāla, a son of Vākṣpāla and grandson of Gopāla, claims to have undertaken successful expeditions at the direction of Devapāla. We are told that at his approach the lord of Utkala took fright and fled from his capital, while the king of Prāgyōtiṣa only continued to rule in his kingdom in safety when he agreed to hold the commands of Jayapāla on his proud head (V. 6). The Badal pillar inscription of the time of Guravamīśra also supplies interesting information on the victories of Devapāla. From this inscription we find the names of three ministers of Devapāla :

Devapāla	...	Darbhapāni = Sarkarā-devī
		Someśvara = Rallā-devī.
(Gauḍeśvara)	, , ?	Kedāra Miśra = Vavvā.

We are told by the composer of this *praśasti* that, aided by the diplomacy (*nīti-kauśala*) of his minister Darbhapāni, Devapāla made tributary the whole region from Revā's father (Vinḍhyas) to the father of Gaurī (Himalayas) and from the eastern to the western ocean whose waters are red with the rays of the rising and setting sun' (V. 5). Thanks again to the wise counsel of the third minister Kedāra Miśra, 'the *Gauḍeśvara* long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Dravida and Gurjara.'<sup>1</sup> Following Kielhorn, scholars usually identify this king of Gauda with Devapāla. No doubt many of these claims are much too extravagant to be taken seriously ; but apart from these statements, there appears to be

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that Tāranātha also represents Devapāla as having greatly increased the power of the Pālas. He is said to have 'brought into submission the kingdom of Varendra in the east and afterwards the province of Oḍiṣā.' See *IA*, 1875, Vol. IV, p. 366.

sufficient evidence to show that Devapāla really had some military success. The chief rivals of the Pālas at this period were the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The contemporary princes may be arranged in the following tabular form :

Devapāla (c. 815-854 A.D.)	Nāgabhaṭa (c. 815-833 A.D.) Rāmabhadra Bhoja (c. 836-90 A.D.)	Amoghavarṣa (814-77 A.D.)
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In describing the career of Dharmapāla we have already noticed how his preliminary success appears to have been ended by the vigorous attack of Nāgabhaṭa II, who may have even captured Kanauj by ousting Cakrāyudha. But the success of the Gurjara combined the other claimants for Kanauj against him. If we are to believe the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, the Gurjaras were defeated and the triumphant Deccanī army advanced up to the Himalayas. What happened after this is not clear. Whether Nāgabhaṭa still held Kanauj, or whether Cakrāyudha was restored to his throne, is uncertain. But it is likely that the alliance between Govinda and Dharmapāla which is hinted at in the Sanjan plates did not last long; for the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa tells us that Govinda III fettered the Gaudas.<sup>1</sup> But the death of Govinda III in c. 814 A.D. and the internal dissensions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas which followed must have come as a welcome relief to the Pālas.<sup>2</sup> The death of Nāgabhaṭa II in about 933 A.D. and the accession of the weak Rāmabhadra further helped Devapāla to realize his ambition.<sup>3</sup> He may have again recovered the same position in Northern India which was enjoyed by his father Dharmapāla for some time. But as the Barah grant of Bhoja, dated in 836 A.D., tells us that it was issued from Mahodaya, it must be assumed that either Devapāla lost ground during the latter part of his reign or that Kanauj remained under the Gurjaras since the time of Nāgabhaṭa II and could not be recovered

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 103, line 8.

<sup>2</sup> *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 402 and 409.

<sup>3</sup> *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 45 ff.



by the Pālas.<sup>1</sup> Indeed verse 18 of the Gwalior inscription which refers to Bhoja's victory over Dharmapāla's son appears to indicate a Gurjara success over Devapāla.<sup>2</sup>

The recent discovery of the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla has thrown an interesting sidelight on the history of Bengal and Bihar of this period. The plate records the grant of five villages in the *Viṣayas* of Rājagṛha and Gayā by the Pāla king at the request of *Suvarṇadīpādhipati Mahārāja Bālaputradeva*, grandson of a Śailendra king of *Yava-bhūmi*. The land was intended for the upkeep of a Buddhist monastery built by the Śailendra king at Nālandā.<sup>3</sup> As Yava-bhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa have been identified with the islands of Java and Sumatra this record is an evidence of intercourse between the lower Ganges valley and the islands of the East Indian Archipelago in the middle of the 9th century. There may have been a regular pilgrim-traffic, possibly by sea, between these islands and the mouths of the Ganges.

The following records of Devapāla's reign have so far been discovered :

(1) *Monghyr grant*.—Discovered in Monghyr in 1780. Single plate of thick copper written on both sides (28+29 lines). On the top of it is soldered a seal; in the central panel of this is the well-known Sarnath device, the *dharma-cakra*, with two antelopes at the sides. Underneath is the royal name *Śri-Devapāladevasya*. The inscription opens with a verse in praise of Buddha, and then gives the genealogy of the donor from Gopāla. It was issued from *Śrī-Mudgagiri-samāvāsita-Śrīmaṇ-jayaskandhāvāra* by *Ps.-P.-Pb.-M.-Śrī-Dharmapāladeva-pādānudhyāta Ps.-P.-Pb.-M.*<sup>4</sup> *Śrīmad-Devapāla*, and records

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. V, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the Śailendras see *JBRAS*, 1887-89, XVII, Part II, pp. 1-10; *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 316 ff. See also in this connection *The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman from Koster* (East Borneo), edited by Dr. Vogel, pp. 202 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Henceforth these titles will be represented in abbreviation as follows: *Paramasaugata*=*Ps.*, *Paramaśvara*=*P.*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*=*Pb*, *Mahārājādhirāja*=*M.*

the gift of Meṣikā-grāma, in Krimilā-Viṣaya and Śrī-Nagara (mod. Patna district)-*Bhukti*, to the Bhatta-pravara Vihekarāta Miśra in the year 33 of the king's reign. The *Dūtaka* of the inscription was the son of the donor, *Yuvarāja Rājyapāla*.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Nālandā grant*.—Unearthed at Nālandā in 1921. Single plate : 42 lines (obverse), and 24 lines (reverse). The seal is the same as in the Monghyr grant. The introductory portion (first 25 lines) is identical with the same portion of the Monghyr plate. This record was also issued from Mudgagiri, but is posterior to the other record by six years, being dated in year 39. Genealogy same as in the Monghyr grant. It records that Devapāladeva, at the request of *Suvarṇadvīpādhipati Mahārāja-Śrī-V(B)ālaputradeva*, granted five villages, four of which lay in Rājagrha-Viṣaya of Śrīnagara-*Bhukti* while the other lay in Gayā-Viṣaya. The grant was made for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nālandā by the said king of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra ?). The endowment is entirely Buddhist. The 2nd side of the plate introduces the *Dūtaka* of the grant, who is referred to as *Dharmādhikāre'smin*.<sup>2</sup> Śrī-V(B)alavarmā-Vyāghrataṭi-*Mandalādhipati*.<sup>3</sup> Then follows an account of Bālaputradeva. We are told that there was a king of Yava-bhūmi who was a *Sailendra-vamśatilaka*. He had a son. As Paulomī was to Indra, so was Tārā the *agramahiṣī* to this son. Tārā was the daughter of the great ruler Dharmasetu (Varmasetu ?) of the lunar race (*Rājñak Soma-kulānvayasya*

<sup>1</sup> The plate was first published in 1788 in Vol I, pp 123 ff of the *Asiatic Researches*. The inscription then mysteriously disappeared. In 1892 Kielhorn published a text and translation of the record from its lithographic representation in the *Asiatic Researches* See *IA*, Vol XXI, pp. 254 ff. This text was published with notes in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 33 ff. It was one of the romances of Indian history when the grant was discovered a few years back in Kenwood House in England in the course of some repairs. It has been now edited by Dr. Barnett with an excellent photographic facsimile from the original plate in *BI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304 ff ; the grant now belongs to Kenwood Estate.

<sup>2</sup> In this religious function according to the editor ; but could it mean in this Department of Law ?

<sup>3</sup> Vyāghrataṭi is in the Khalimpur grant included in the *Bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana.

*mahataḥ Dharmasetoḥ*). As the son of Śuddhodana was born of Māyā, so was born of her the illustrious Bālaputra. Having realised the transitoriness of wealth and attracted by the excellences of Nālandā he built a *vihāra* in that place. Though the inscription is Buddhist, it is significant that in the last verse a hope is expressed for the continuance of the grant in the following words: "as long as the Ganges has her limbs agitated by the extensive plaited hair of Hara,"—etc.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Ghosrawa stone inscription*—The stone was discovered 7 miles south of the town of Bihar in the village of Ghosrawa in 1848. It has 19 lines of Sanskrit verse, and records the establishment of a *Vajrāsana* by a Buddhist monk, Vīradeva. The inscription opens with verses in praise of *Vajrāsana* (Buddha), and then gives an account of Vīradeva. In Nagara-hāra (near mod Jalalabad), the ornament of the countries of *Uttarāpatha*, there was born *Rājasakha-dviḥavara* Indragupta, who married Rajjekā. Their son Vīradeva after reading the Vedas and having finished other studies (*Śāstras*) went to *Kaṇiṣka-mahā-vihāra* (near modern Peshawar), and became a disciple of *ācārya* Sarvaññaśānti. After some time Vīradeva came to Mahābodhi in order to worship *Vajrāsana*. From that place he went to Yaśovarmapura<sup>2</sup> to see *sahadeśi-bhikṣus*. There he remained for a long time and received worship from the *bhuvanādhipa*-Devapāla, and later on was appointed as the director of the Nālandā (modern Baragaon) monastery. He there built a *bhavana* as high as Kailāsa peak for *Vajrāsana*.<sup>3</sup>

(4) *Nālandā image-inscription*.—The inscription is incised on a metallic image of Saṃkarṣaṇa excavated at Nālandā.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was discovered by Hīrānand Śāstri at Nālandā in 1921; mentioned in the *ASI*, Central Circle, 1920-21, pp. 37 ff. It was edited by N. G. Majumdar from the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, in April 1926 and in *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310 ff. by H. Śāstri.

<sup>2</sup> Bihar according to Cunningham; according to Hultzsch Ghosrawa.

<sup>3</sup> First published in *JASB*, 1848, Vol. XVII, Part I, pp. 492 ff.; edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 307 ff. The same text has been published with notes in *Gauḍalekha-mālā* with a plate, pp. 45 ff. It is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

<sup>4</sup> *ASI*, 1920-21, p. 85.

The evidence of these records show that like his father Devapāla at least retained his hold on Bihar and North Bengal. As we have already suggested, there is evidence that he wielded greater power than the distribution of his inscriptions would suggest.<sup>1</sup> We have again no means of knowing his exact reign-period. Tāranātha assigns him 48 years, while his inscriptions so far discovered give us his 39th year. Though it is not unlikely that he may have reigned for some time after this, the years c. 815-54 A D. assigned to him in our chronology may be taken as a rough approximation of his reign-period.<sup>2</sup> The Pāla records are silent about the names of any queen of Devapāla, and mention only one son, the *Yuvaiāja Rājyapāla*, who was the *Dātaka* of the Monghyr grant issued in the 23rd year of his reign. As he is not mentioned in any subsequent Pāla records, it has been usually assumed that he died during the reign of his father.\* As nothing indicates that the next ruler succeeded to the throne peacefully, and, on the contrary, there appears to have been a palace revolution, the arguments applied in the case of Tribhuvanapāla<sup>4</sup> apply with more force in his case. But if it is to be supposed that he died before his father, I would suggest that the event may have taken place before the 29th year of Devapāla and this would explain the rather unusual procedure of appointing an officer of North Bengal to serve as

<sup>1</sup> The statements in the Badal *praśasti* that Devapāla always stood at the gate awaiting the leisure of his Brahman minister Darbhapāṇi and that he sat on his throne trembling before him should not be coupled with the election of Gopāla, as in *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 79 fn. Though it is possible that the ministers enjoyed great power it would be perhaps going too far to represent them as King-makers. The passages referred to above occur in a private inscription of the ministerial family, which naturally tried to praise its members in the orthodox style of the *praśastikāras*.

<sup>2</sup> If, as seems not unlikely, the Gaudeśvara, the master of Kedāra Mīśra, be taken as Devapāla, then 3 generations served him as ministers, an undoubted evidence of the king's long reign. As Kedāra Mīśra was also the minister of the next king, he may be accepted as a young contemporary of Devapāla.

<sup>3</sup> For a different view see *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 40 fn, where Matra suggests the identification of Rājyapāla with Vīrabhapāla I. But as there is sufficient reason to believe that the latter was not the son of Devapāla his argument falls to the ground.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, p. 290.

*Dātaka* in a grant of land in Bihar, executed in Monghyr. In any case the Pāla inscriptions always represent Vīgrahapāla I as the successor of Devapāla. In the Badal *praśasti* king Śūrapāla is placed between Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla. Thus it is likely that Vīgrahapāla I and Śūrapāla were names of the same person. The relationship of this Vīgrahapāla-Śūrapāla with Devapāla has however given rise to considerable differences of opinion. In the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Dr. Hoernle stated : ‘ It seems clear from this (Amgachi) grant that Vīgrahapāla was not a nephew, but a son of Devapāla; for the pronoun “ his son ” (*tat-sūnuḥ*) must refer to the nearest preceding noun which is Devapāla. In the Bhāgalpur grant this reference is obscured through the interpolation of an intermediate verse in praise of Jayapāla, which makes it appear as if Vīgrahapāla were a son of Jayapāla.’<sup>1</sup> Mr. Maitreya held that, since in both these grants Devapāla is distinctly called Jayapāla’s *pūrvaja*, they must be brothers.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kielhorn on the other hand expressed the opinion that Vīgrahapāla-Śūrapāla was the son of Jayapāla, and the grandson of Vākpāla, the second son of Gopāla I.<sup>3</sup> This view seems to be supported by the fact that the names of Vākpāla and Jayapāla are entirely omitted from the inscriptions of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and regularly appear in the inscriptions of the descendants of Vīgrahapāla I, which is explained only by assuming that they were the grandfather and father of that king.<sup>4</sup> It is also significant that in the inscriptions which follow Vīgrahapāla I the victories of Devapāla’s reign are mainly ascribed not to Devapāla himself but to Jayapāla, which finds a parallel in the Badal *praśasti*, which ascribes the victories to the ministerial family. But the latter is a private inscription the main object of which was to praise the family of Garga. The praise of Vākpāla and Jayapāla

<sup>1</sup> Part II, Appendix II, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 65-66 f., notes.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. VIII, Appendix I, p. 17, fn. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 218.

in the official records of Vighrahapāla's successors appears to be meaningless unless we assume that they were specially connected with Vighrahapāla I in the way that Kielhorn has suggested.

Vighrahapāla I appears to be a rather shadowy personality. Though it is sometimes said of him that he was the cause of infinite trouble to his enemies, or that he was a veritable enemy-destroying Indra, no definite victories are ascribed in any inscription to him. Our suspicions seem to be confirmed by V. 17 of the Bhāgalpur grant of his son Nārāyaṇapāla, which runs as follows: "Let asceticism be mine and the kingdom thine. Thus two men have spoken to two others, Vighrahapāla to him and Sagara to Bhagīratha." This appears to be a clear hint that Vighrahapāla I abdicated in favour of his son. Another hint of his peaceful disposition seems to be contained in V. 7 of the same inscription, which compares him with Ajātaśatru, which was a name of the elder Pāṇḍava Yudhiṣṭhira.<sup>1</sup> The same verse informs us that Vighrahapāla married Lajjā, the ornament of the Haihaya race (*Haihaya-vamśa-bhūṣā*). The *Badal prāśasti* informs us that Śūrapāla often attended the sacrificial ceremonies of his Brahman minister Kedāra Miśra, and with bent head and his soul bathed in the waters of faith, received the holy waters (V. 15). To this king are ascribed two inscriptions incised on the pedestal of two images of Buddha. These are said to have been found somewhere in Bihar and are supposed to contain the name of Uddandapura (mod. town of Bihar). The inscriptions record that the images were installed by Pūrṇadāśa, a Buddhist monk of Sind, in the 3rd year of Śūrapāla.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 67 fn. I think Maitreya is right in taking this sense. A comparison with the Nāga (Haryāṅka?) king Ajātaśatru of Magadha is most improbable.

<sup>2</sup> These inscriptions are apparently the same which are edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1908, pp. 107-08; Mr. Chakravarti was of opinion that the inscriptions belong to Śūrapāla II. Mr. R. D. Banerji on palaeographic grounds referred them to Śūrapāla I. See *MASB*, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 57. He is supported by Mr. Bhattacharyya in the *IHQ*, September 1927, pp. 586-87, who rightly points out that the date on the plate published by Chakravarti is 3 and not 2.

**Vigrahapāla I** was succeeded by his son **Nārāyanapāla**. Though very few political facts are known for his long reign, yet from the number and distribution of his records he appears to have been a more substantial figure. The following records are known for his reign :

(1) *Gaya stone inscription*.—At present lying in the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gaya. It contains 16 lines of 'very incorrect Sanskrit, like that of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. of Nepal ;' very carelessly incised. The purpose of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery for Brahmanical ascetics by a man named **Bhāṇḍadeva** in the 7th year of king **Nārāyanapāla**.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Indian Museum stone inscription*.—Two lines incised on 'a long piece of carved stone, probably a portion of a pedestal. Most probably it came with other sculptures from the Behar Museum.' Its find-place is not definitely known. The inscription records the creation of an image in the 9th year of **Parameśvara-Nārāyanapāladeva** by the *Andhra-vaiṣayika Śākya-bhikṣu Sthavira* **Dharmamitra**.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *Bhagalpur grant*.—Discovered in Bhagalpur, in Bihar. Single plate written on both sides; 54 lines (front side 29 and back 26). The usual seal contains the legend *Śri-Nārāyanapāladevāsya*. The inscription begins with a verse in praise of *Lokanātha Daśabala* (Buddha), then gives the genealogy of the Pālas from **Gopāla** to the donor. Verse 3 contains the famous passage about the relationship of **Dharmapāla** with **Indrarāja** and **Cakrāyudha** of Kanauj. From this inscription onwards **Vākpāla** and **Jayapāla** regularly appear in the genealogical tables of Pāla inscriptions, and the victories of **Devapāla**'s reign are ascribed to **Jayapāla**. The *Śāsana* was issued from the *Jayaskandhāvāra* at **Mudgagiri**, and records the

<sup>1</sup> Discovered and noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 120, No. 6, Pt. XXXVI; re-edited in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 60-61.

<sup>2</sup> First noticed by Paṇḍit Vidyāvinod in the *Baṅgiya Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, Vol. XV, p. 18. Then edited in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 62.

grant of Mukutikā-grāma in Kakṣa-Viṣaya in Tira-Bhukti (mod. Tirhut) by Ps.-M. Vīgrahapāladeva-pādānudhyātā P.-Pb-M. Nārāyaṇapāladeva, to the temple of Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka and Pāśupata-ācārya-pariṣad at Kalasapota. The gift was made in the 17th year of the king. In lines 38-39 the king boasts of having built 1,000 temples for the said Śiva in the same locality. The Dūtaka of the grant was Bhaṭṭa Gurava 'who knew the meaning of the idea of Brahman...was extremely well-read in all the Śrutis together with their aṅgas, and performed great yajñas.' The record was incised by Maṅkhadāsa, who is described as Sat-Samatata-janmā. It is to be noticed that the title Paramasaugata does not occur here among the titles of the king.<sup>1</sup>

(4) *Badal pillar inscription*.—Found incised on a stone monolith at a distance of 3 miles from Badal in Dinajpur district, Northern Bengal. It contains 29 lines. Characters are well engraved and skilfully formed. The first 28 lines are in Sanskrit verse. The proper object of the inscription was to record in verses 27-28 the erection of a *Garuḍa-stambha*, i.e., a pillar bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garuḍa, by the Brahman Gurava Miśra, who was a minister of Nārāyaṇapāla. But the epigraph is really a panegyric on Gurava Miśra and his ancestors, who served as counsellors and ministers of the Pālas from Dharmapāla to Nārāyaṇapāla. Kielhorn had suggested that this Gurava is identical with the Bhaṭṭa Gurava mentioned as the Dūtaka of the Bhagalpur grant. The inscription was incised by Sūtradhāra Viṣṇubhadra. The upper part of the pillar with the figure of 'the foe of the serpents' is broken off and is now missing.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> First edited by Dr. R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 384. It was re-edited by Hultzsch in *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 304 ff. The text is reprinted in the *Gauḍalekhamālā* with notes. It is now preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

<sup>2</sup> Discovered in 1780 by Charles Wilkins. He published a translation of the epigraph in 1788 in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 131-44. In 1874 a mutilated and careless transcript of the inscription with a translation was published by P. C. Ghosh in *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp. 356-83. Properly edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 160-67. Re-edited in *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 70 ff. under the name *Garuḍa-stambha-lipi*.



(5) *Uddandapura image-inscription*.—The inscription is incised on a brass image of Pārvatī. It is a votive inscription, and runs as follows: “The pious gift of Thāruka, son of Rāṇaka Ucha (Utsa), resident of Uddandapura (mod. town of Bihar), in the 54th year of the reign of the illustrious Nārāyaṇapāladeva.”<sup>1</sup>

From these records it is clear that Nārāyaṇapāla ruled for at least 54 years, and must have held a large portion of Bihar. In his case too, though we have plenty of vague praise, there is no evidence of his military activity or success. Even the Badal *praśasti* fails to note any such victories for Gurava Miśra, the minister of Nārāyaṇapāla, as it mentions in the case of Garga, Darbhapāṇi, or Kedāra Miśra, the ministers of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. The reason for this becomes clearer when we look to the following table of the most important contemporary kings who had relations with the Pālas:—

Vīgrahapāla I (c. 854-57 A.D.)	Bhoja (c. 836-90 A.D.)	Amoghavarṣa (c. 814-77 A.D.)
Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 857-911 A.D.)	Mahendrapāla I (c. 890-910 A.D.)	Kiṣṇa II (c. 888-915 A.D.)

The Nilgund stone inscription of Amoghavarṣa (866 A.D.) informs us that the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha worshipped him.<sup>2</sup> This statement is also found in the Sirur stone inscription (866-67 A.D.) of the same king.<sup>3</sup> In the Deoli grant of Kṛṣṇa III, Kṛṣṇa II is said to have initiated the Gauḍas in *Vinayavrata* and received worship from Aṅgas, Magadhas and others.<sup>4</sup> Bhoja was already in the possession of Mahodaya as early as 836 A.D. His Gwalior inscription, dated in 876 A.D.,

<sup>1</sup> Not yet properly edited. Noticed in *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 225. The text is given on the same page, fn. 57; also in *IA*, 1918, Vol. 47, pp. 109-110. The image is said to be now in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Parīṣad. The inscription is as follows: *Śrī-Nārāyaṇapāladevarājye Samvat*, 54. *Śrī-Uddandapura-vāstavya Rāṇaka-Uchaputra Thārukasya*.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 103, line 8.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 218, line 6.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. V, p. 193, V. 13.

informs us that he was bent upon 'conquering the three worlds.'<sup>1</sup> During the remaining years of his reign and his son's rule there is unquestionable epigraphic evidence to show that the Gurjaras held the whole of Northern India from the Karnal district in the Punjab to the Kathiawar peninsula in the south,<sup>2</sup> and the borders of the Pāla dominions in the east. In the Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription Bhoja claims to have burnt in the fire of his rage the powerful people of Bengal (*brhad-vangān*).<sup>3</sup> The success of the Gurjaras against the Pālas is shown by a series of inscriptions discovered in Bihar. A slab of stone bearing the figures of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu in the walls of a modern temple of Śiva at Ramgaya (just opposite the temple of Gadādhara at Gaya on the other side of Phalgu) bears a short inscription, which tells us that it was a gift of a certain Sahadeva in the 8th year (from) the *abhiṣeka* of Mahendrapāla.<sup>4</sup> Another image-inscription of the same king was discovered at Gunariya, near the Grand Trunk Road in the Gaya district. It is dated in year 9 of the same king.<sup>5</sup> A third inscription of the same king was recently discovered at Itkhori in the Hazaribagh district, on an image of Tārā.<sup>6</sup> Another image inscription is reported to have been seen by Captain Kittoe<sup>7</sup> while two other inscriptions said to have been discovered in Bihar and belonging to the reign of Mahendrapāla are preserved in the British Museum.<sup>8</sup> It is thus clear that a large slice of Bihar including

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 156, V. 22

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff., 186 ff., 244 ff.; Vol. IX, p. 3; Vol. V, pp. 208 ff. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, 151; *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 112; *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *ASI*, 1903-04, pp. 282, V. 21. In *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 109, *Vaṅgān* is read as *Vaṁśān*.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 123; *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 63-64.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64; Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> *ASI*, 1920-21, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> *NKGWG*, 1904, pp. 210-11. It should be noted that of these two records one is an image-inscription dated in *Saṁvat* 6, while the other contains 8 verses and is dated in *Saṁvat* 2. The statement that they were discovered in Magadha is made by Mr. R. D. Banerji in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64, and *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 227, fn. 69. Kielhorn, who notices the two inscriptions, does not say where they were originally found, and I do not know Mr. Banerji's authority for his assertion.

at least Gaya and Hazaribagh districts passed under the control of the Gurjaras. Bhoja had already obtained some successes against Devapāla. The pressure was continued in the subsequent period; but it appears that up to the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla, the Pālas succeeded in holding Magadha against the Gurjaras, who were now at the head of a mighty empire. As I have already shown, Vīgrahapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla appear to have been rather men of peace, and were no match for their powerful rivals. Their position seems to have grown worse when they also became the targets of the attacks of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns. It is indeed significant that during this long period of more than half a century (c. 854-911 A.D.) there is not a single allusion in the Pāla records to a victory over the Gurjaras or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The silence of the *praśastikāras* bears eloquent testimony to the decadent state of Pāla power during these years. Our conclusion is remarkably confirmed by the recent discovery of a stone pillar-inscription of the 13th year of Mahendrapāla in the northern *Mandapa* of the Paharpur *vihāra* in Rajshahi district (North Bengal).<sup>1</sup> The Dighwa-Dubauli plate of this Gurjara emperor, dated in V. S. 955 (A.D. 898), records his grant of land in *Śrāvastī-Bhukti* (Gonda and Bahraich districts in U.P.).<sup>2</sup> So it seems that some time after the 17th year of Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 874 A.D.) the Gurjaras gradually advanced eastward along the Northern bank of the Ganges, till in the 13th year of Mahendrapāla they annexed the whole of Tirhut and Northern Bengal. If the Uddanāpura inscription of the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla has been correctly read we must suppose that the districts of Patna, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas, all on the southern bank of the Ganges in Bihar still remained under the Pālas, who possibly also ruled over portions of west, east and south Bengal. But as the Gurjara inscriptions show, their

<sup>1</sup> Not yet edited. Discovered in the recent excavations by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Circle. Noticed in *ASI*, 1925-26, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, p. 112. For the correction of the date wrongly read by Fleet as 155, see *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, 1902-04, pp. 405 ff.

western rivals had crossed the Gandak and the Son in an enveloping movement to strangle their precarious existence in Bihar and West Bengal

Nārāyaṇapāla was succeeded by his son Rājyapāla. The Bangad grant of Mahīpāla informs us that this king constructed many temples with lofty halls and dug numerous tanks deep as the sea (V. 7).<sup>1</sup> The same inscription informs us that he married Bhāgyadevi, the daughter of Tuṅgadeva, 'the moon in the family of the Rāṣtrakūṭas' (V. 8).<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn suggested that this Rāṣtrakūṭa prince was Jagattuṅga II, the son of Kṛṣṇa II, while N Vasu suggested that he is to be identified with the latter prince, who had the *biruda* Śubhatunga. A third suggestion is that he is the same as the Rāṣtrakūṭa prince Tuṅga-Dharmāvaloka whose stone inscription was discovered in Bodhgaya.<sup>3</sup> Only one inscription has so far been discovered of this Pāla king. This is the *Bargaon pillar-inscription* of his 24th year. It was found at Bargaon, near Bihar (Patna District) on the site of old Nālandā. The pillar and the record appear to have belonged to the ruins of an ancient Jain temple. The inscription consists of five lines of incorrect Sanskrit, and records the visit of one Vaidanātha (Vaidyanātha), son of Monoratha, of the *Vanika-kula*, to a temple in the month of Mārga[śīrṣa], in the 24th year of the reign of the illustrious Rājapāla (Rājyapāla).<sup>4</sup> This inscription shows that the Pālas still held the Patna district, and possibly also Monghyr, Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas. The Gurjaras probably were in possession of the region now known as Shahabad district, and having crossed the Son

<sup>1</sup> This is also found in V 7 of the Amgachī grant of Vīgrahapāla III, and the Manahali grant of Maḍanapāla (V. 7)

<sup>2</sup> This is found also in V 8 of the Amgachī grant of Vīgrahapāla III and the Manahali grant of Maḍanapāla (V. 8).

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1892, Vol. LXI, p. 80, fn. 9; N. Vasu, *Varāger Jātīya Itihās (Rājanya-Kāvya)*, p. 168; Dr. R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, p. 195, Pl. XL, lines 8-9; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, 1917, Vol. 47, p. 111. The pillar is now in a modern Jain temple at Bargaon; see also *JBORS*, December 1928, p. 489.

somewhere near Dehri, occupied Gaya and Hazaribagh districts, while in the north they overran the whole of Tira-Bhukti and Varendrī. But there is reason to conclude, as we shall see further on, that the Gurjara success was short-lived and their occupation of Gaya was not permanent. Rājapāla ruled at least for 24 years (c 911-35 A.D.), and was succeeded by his son Gopāla II. From the number and distribution of the records of this prince it is reasonable to conclude that there was probably a revival of Pāla power under his rule. The following dates and records of his reign have so far been discovered :

(1) *Bodhgaya stone image-inscription*.—Discovered in Bodhgaya. The inscription is incised on the pedestal of an image; it begins with a verse in praise of the Jina (Buddha), and then records the erection of an image of the Muni (Buddha) by Dharmabhīma, who describes himself as *Sindhūdbhava* (native of Sindhu ?) and also as Śakrasena. In the last line we have . 'Śrī-Gopāla-deva-rājye.' No year is mentioned. But as the script shows a resemblance to the Badal *praśasti* and may therefore be referred to the 10th century A.D., the inscription has rightly been ascribed to Gopāla II.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Nālandā Vāgīśvarī stone image-inscription*.—Discovered in the ruins of Nālandā. The inscription is incised on the pedestal of the image and records the erection of a statue of *Vāgīśvarī-bhattārikā* at Nālandā in the 1st year of the reign of *Pb.-M.-P.* Gopāladeva. As the script of the record is later than that of the inscription of Dharmapāla, it is now generally regarded as belonging to Gopāla II. It has been suggested that the word *Suvarnavrīhasaktā* occurring after the name of the

<sup>1</sup> Dug out by Cunningham in 1879; see plate XXVIII, No 2 in his *Mahābodhi*; also *ibid.*, p. 68. Edited by Prof N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N.S.), pp. 102-05; see also *JASB*, 1909, pp. 108-04. Text reprinted in *Gauḍalekhamālā* with notes, pp. 88 ff. According to H. P. Sāstrī *Sindhūdbhava* should signify Dharmabhīma's racial origin. This epithet according to the Pandit therefore makes Śakrasena a relative of Dharmapāla. The image is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

goddess indicates the custom of encasing the statues in gold plates.<sup>1</sup>

(3) A MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* was copied in the *Vikramaśīla-deva-vihāra* in the year 15 of *P-Pb.-Ps.-M. Gopāladeva*.<sup>2</sup>

(4) A palm-leaf MS. of the *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa* bears the date year 57 of Gopāladeva's reign. The characters of the MS. are described as *Kuṭīla* of the 10th century A. D. The treatise gives in the form of a prophecy the life of Maitreya, the future Buddha, and his teachings. The work was thrice translated into Chinese, for the first time by Kumārajīva (384-417 A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

From the records cited above it appears that Gopāla II probably ruled for at least 57 years. This is in harmony with the statement found in the Bangad grant of Mahipāla and all subsequent grants that Gopāla II ruled this earth 'for a long time' (*cirātaram avaner ekapatnyā*, etc.). The reappearance of Pāla inscriptions in Gaya district appears to indicate a revival of Pāla power during this period (c. 935-92 A.D.) and synchronises with the rapid decline of their western rivals, the Gurjara-Pratihāras. In the Deoli inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, Kṛṣṇa II is said to have defeated an unnamed Gurjara sovereign, possibly Bhoja II.<sup>4</sup> This Rāṣṭrakūṭa victory was followed by another crushing defeat of the Gurjaras. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV inform us that Indra III's cavalry crossed the unfathomable Yamunā and devastated the city of Mahodaya

<sup>1</sup> First discovered by Buchanan. See Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, Plate XV, figure 4. Cunningham noticed it in *ASR*, Vol. I, Plate XIII, p. 120. The inscription was fully read by H. P. Śāstrī and properly edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1908, Vol. VI (N S.), pp. 105-06. The same text is printed in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 150-51.

<sup>3</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Government Collection* by H. P. Śāstrī, Vol. 1 (Buddhist MSS.), Calcutta, 1917, pp. 14-15. Mr. R. D. Banerji has recently challenged Śāstrī's reading of the date; *JBORS*, December 1928, pp. 490 ff. He suggests that the date is 17 while D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that it is 11. Śāstrī still maintains that it is 57. I have given Śāstrī's reading pending my personal examination of the date of the MS.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. V, p. 193, verse 18.

(916-17 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The Kanarese poet Pampa tells us that Nara-siṃha, a Cālukya feudatory of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, put to flight the army of the *Ghūrjara-rāja* and terrified Mahīpāla so much that the latter fled in consternation 'not stopping to eat or sleep or rest.' The Rāṣtrakūṭa general, who was a contemporary of Indra III, claims to have 'bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and the sea.'<sup>2</sup> It thus appears that the Gurjaras were for a time completely overwhelmed by their southern rivals, and though there is evidence that Mahīpāla succeeded in recovering some amount of his power, there can be no doubt that these defeats shook the empire of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla to its very foundations so that in the period that followed, its vassal states gradually broke away under dynasties owing little or no allegiance to the central government. It is therefore not surprising that the Pālas should have striven at this time to regain some of their lost territories, and succeeded. But the decline of the Gurjaras did not afford any permanent protection to the Pālas on their western frontier. The Khajuraho inscription of the Candella Yaśovarman informs us that sometime before 953-54 A. D. he defeated the king of Gauḍa along with other princes of northern India.<sup>3</sup>

During the latter part of the reign of Gopāla II, or during that of his son Viṅraha-pāla II, a great calamity appears to have fallen on the fortunes of the Pālas. Verse 12 of the Bangad grant of Mahīpāla I, son of Viṅraha-pāla II, tells us that this prince recovered his paternal kingdom, 'which had been snatched away through pride of prowess by people who had no claim

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. VII, pp 26ff, V 19 *JL*, Vol X, pp. 66-67.

<sup>2</sup> *The Pampa Bhārata or Vikramārjuna Vijaya* of Pampa (941 A. D.), Ed. by L. Rice (Bibliotheca Carnatica), Bangalore, 1898, pp. 3 ff. The actual passage tells us that he bathed his horses in the junction of the Ganges and the sea (*Gaṅgā-Vārdhiyoḥ*). This statement may contain a hint that the Gurjara arms, which we have seen had already advanced as far as Itkhorī in Hazaribagh, possibly had advanced eastwards till sometime before 916-17 A.D. they had reached the mouths of the Hugli through Manbhūm, Bankura, and Midnapur districts.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, p. 126, V. 28.

to it.' <sup>1</sup> Who were these enemies conquered by Mahīpāla? The question is probably answered by the discovery of a pillar-inscription amongst the ruins of Bangad, in the district of Dinajpur, in North Bengal. The inscription contains only three lines, and records the erection of a temple of Śiva by a king of Gauda of the Kāmboja family (*Kāmbōjā-nvayaja Gaudapati*). The inscription possibly contains a date in the compound *Kuñjara-ghaṭa-varṣena*, which according to some scholars means 'in the year 888.' This date is then referred to the Śaka era (A.D. 966). But this view has not been accepted by some prominent orientalisists. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, for instance, took it to mean, 'he who pours forth an array of elephants.' Recently Mr. R. D. Banerji has referred the inscription, on palaeographic grounds, to the period between Nārāyaṇapāla and Mahīpāla I.<sup>2</sup> This conclusion seems to agree with the fact that during the reigns of Rājyapāla, Gopāla II, and Viṅrahapāla II (c. 911-92 A.D.) no record of the Pāla rulers have yet been discovered in North Bengal. After the Badal *prasaṣṭi* of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla we have to come down to the reign of Mahīpāla I before we can find any inscription in that locality. Thus it is not unlikely that Mahīpāla probably referred to this portion of Bengal as snatched away from his family and recovered by him. There is no means of knowing either the names or the number of the Kāmboja kings who ruled in Gauda. It is difficult even to find out the origin of this line of princes. The word *Kāmboja* does not materially help us. It occurs once in the Monghyr grant of Devapāla in connection with his victorious campaigns. The context of the passage where it occurs, as well as its association with horses, would seem to

<sup>1</sup> This is also found in v. 10 of the Manahali grant of Madanapāla.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription was first published by Westmacott with Dr R. L. Mitra's translation and comments in the *IA*, Vol. I, pp 127-28. For controversies on this publication see *ibid*, pp. 195 and 227. It was again edited by R. P. Chanda, in *JASB*, 1911, Vol. VII (N. S.), pp. 615-20. The inscribed pillar now stands in the garden in front of the palace of the Mahārāja of Dinajpur.



indicate that the composer of the inscription was referring to the Kāmbojas who are coupled with the Gandhāras and placed somewhere near modern Afghanistan. Prof. Foucher has pointed out that Nepalese tradition applied the name *Kāmboja-deśa* to Tibet. Accepting this suggestion, Chanda held that "the *Gaudapati* of the Kāmboja family probably came from Tibet, Bhutan, or some other Himalayan country at the head of a Mongolian horde who are now represented by the Koch, and the Paliyas of Northern Bengal, also known as Rājvanśis."<sup>1</sup> In this connection I would venture to point out that there was a Gandhāra and possibly also a Kāmboja as well on the north-eastern frontier of India, near the regions now known as Yunnan and Szechwan<sup>2</sup> and it is not unlikely that these conquerors of Northern Bengal may have come from that direction. The history of the Brahmaputra valley, as we have shown elsewhere, tells of more than one invasion by the Mongoloid tribes on its north-eastern frontier and the extension of the power of some of these conquerors to the west beyond the Karatoya is probably not beyond the range of possibility. An Assamese conquest of North Bengal, though only a temporary one, is shown by the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman.<sup>3</sup>

The above discussion shows that, so far as our present stock of information allows us to conclude, it is more than likely that the Pālas lost Northern Bengal (*Gauda*) during the period (c. 911-92 A.D.) The Bangad grant of Mahīpāla gives the following description of Vigrahapāla II :<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1914, p. 619, *Gaudarājamālā*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Campa*, by R. C. Majumdar, Lahore, 1927, p. xiv, *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia* by B. R. Chatterjee, pp. 278-79. From about 12th century there was a school of repute among the monks of Laittka, Southern Shan States, known as *Kāmboja-Saṅgha*, see Harfey, *History of Burma*, p. 109. fn. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 73, line 3. See also *supra*, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 329-30. In the place of the word *-mmaruṇu* in this plate, occurs *-s-taruṇu* in other grants. Kielhorn while editing this inscription read *s-taruṇu*. See *JASB*, 1892, Vol. LXI, Part I, p. 83. V 11 of this grant occurs also in the Amgachi grant (V 14) where it describes the activities not of Vigrahapāla II, but of Vigrahapāla III.

“As the moon, the scatterer of myriads of rays, from the Sun, so from him was born Vīgrahapāla-deva the scatterer of innumerable riches. By his rise (or birth), who was pleasing to the eyes on account of personal beauty (or by his soft rays), who was pure (or spotless), who was learned in the arts (*kalā-maya*), was alleviated the distress of the world” (V. 10).

“Whose war-elephants, like clouds, having drunk clear water in the *eastern* country, which abounds with water, after that having roamed according to their own will in the sandal-forests of the *Malaya* (country), (and) having caused a coolness in the *Marū* lands by throwing dense sprays (of water emitted from their trunks), enjoyed the slopes of the Himalayas” (v. 11).

Mr. A. K. Maitreya has read in these two verses an indirect hint of the calamities which according to him fell in the reign of Vīgrahapāla II. He says:—“By referring to him as a moon sprung from the sea and getting thereby an opportunity of fastening upon him the (fault of) *kalāmayatva*, the poet may have hinted at his adversities. In the next śloka, the story of his elephants, after roaming about hither and thither and finding rest at last in the slopes of the Himalayas, and the reference immediately after this to the recovery of lost dominions by Mahipāla, may lead us to believe that the first eclipse of the Pāla power probably occurred in the reign of Vīgrahapāla II.”<sup>1</sup> This conclusion has been accepted by other scholars as reasonable,<sup>2</sup> and fits in well with our scheme of things. Though there is at present nothing to support my guess I would venture to suggest that there might have been some connection between the extension of the Gurjara power in North Bengal and the Kāmboja rulers of the same locality. If my suggestion

<sup>1</sup> *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 100, fn. The interpretation seems to be rather forced specially in the case of V. 11, which appears clearly to refer, as Kielhorn took it, to his tours of conquest. But this vague eulogy should not mean anything.

<sup>2</sup> *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 288-89.

that these rulers were of Yunnanese origin, who came to the Brahmaputra valley and then to North Bengal, be accepted then it is possible they might have come to Bengal as allies of the Gurjaras. A double attack like this was eminently successful against Śaśāṅka when Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman combined against him. The withdrawal of Gurjara power after their defeat by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in c. 916-17 A D left the Kāmbojas masters of Northern Bengal. Anyhow it is certain that there was no great interval between the disappearance of the Gurjara hold on Gauḍa proper and the rise of this line of kings.<sup>1</sup>

Vigrahapāla II was succeeded by his son Mahīpāla I. For his reign we have the following dates and records :

(1) *The Baghaura Nārāyaṇa image-inscription.*—This image-inscription was discovered in a village near the subdivisional town of Brahmanbaria in the Tippera district. It was dug out of a pond in the village of Baghaura of that subdivision. The inscription is incised under the lotus-seat of a standing image of Nārāyaṇa. The characters belong to the N. E. variety generally known as *Kuṭila*, which gave birth to modern Bengali script. The inscription is dated in year 3 in the reign of Mahīpāladeva, and records that the image was the meritorious work of *Paramavaiṣṇava Vanika Lokadatta*, belonging to (the village of) Bilakīndaka (probably the mod. village of Bilakendual near Baghaura) in Samatāṭa. As Mahīpāla II had a short and troublesome reign, the inscription has been referred to Mahīpāla I.<sup>2</sup>

(2) A Cambridge library palm-leaf MS. the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, was copied in the year 5 of *P.-Pb.-Ps.-M. Mahīpāladeva*. For reasons given in (1) this date is also referred to Mahīpāla I.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After the MS. was sent to the typist Dr. Raychaudhuri of the University of Calcutta has written to me about the connection of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and Kāmbojas. As far as I know, he believes that the Kāmbojas came into N. Bengal in the train of the Gurjara forces from N. W. India.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 353-55.

<sup>3</sup> *CBMC*, pp. 100-01.

(3) A Nepal palm-leaf MS. of the same work was written at Nālandā in the year 6 of the reign of Pb.-M.-P.-Ps. Vīgrahapāla-deva-pādānudhyāta Pb.-M.-P.-Ps.-Mahīpāla-deva. For the reason given in (1), this date is also referred to the reign of Mahīpāla I.<sup>1</sup>

(4) *Bangad grant*.—Discovered among the ruins called *Bān Rājārgaḍ* or Bangad in the Dinajpur district, Bengal. Single-plate surmounted by a highly wrought ornament containing the usual seal of the Pālas, and the inscription *Śrī-Mahīpāladevasya*. Inscribed on both sides, 34 lines on the front and 28 lines on the back. The first 24 lines give the genealogy of the Pālas from Gopāla to Mahīpāla I. Verse 12 runs as follows: "from him (Vīgrahapāla II) was born Mahīpāla-deva, who, slaying all enemies and having obtained his paternal kingdom, which had been snatched away through pride of prowess by people who had no claim to it, placed his lotus-like feet on the heads of kings." The inscription was issued from the "victorious camp" situated at Vilā(?)apura on the Bhāgīrathī. It records that in the 9th year of ~~Ps.-M.~~ Vīgrahapāla-deva-pādānudhyāta P.-Pb.-M. Mahīpāla-deva, in the name of Lord Buddha, after bathing in the Ganges according to custom (*vidhi*), gave to the excellent Brahman Bhattaputra Kṛṣṇāditya Śarman the village of Kuratapallikā in the Gokulka-*Maṇḍala* in the Koṭivarsa-*Viśaya* in the Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti*. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Mantri* Bhaṭṭa Vāmana, and it was incised by the *Śilpi* Mahīdhara. The first 5 ślokaś of the inscription are also found in the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. The 6th is slightly different.<sup>2</sup>

(5) *Bodhgaya stone image-inscription*.—The inscription consists of 3 lines, and is incised on the pedestal of an image of

<sup>1</sup> The MS. was exhibited by H. P. Śāstri at the March meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1899; see *Proceedings* for that year, pp. 69-70.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription was first published by Kielhorn in *JASB*, 1892, Vol. LXI, Part I, pp. 77-87. The text was then printed in the *Gauḍalekhamālā* with notes. Recently it has been again edited by Mr. Banerji in *BI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 324-330. The plate is now the property of Mr. N. N. Vasu of Bengal.

Buddha sitting in the *Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*. It is in an imperfect state of preservation, having lost a number of letters. It records the erection of two *gandha-kuṭīs*, probably along with this image, in the 11th year of M.-P.-Pb.-Ps. Mahīpāladeva. For the reasons given in (1) this date is also referred to Mahīpāla I.<sup>1</sup>

(6) *Nālandā stone inscription*.—This inscription was discovered during excavations at the site of the great temple of Bālāditya at Nālandā. The inscription consists of 11 lines; and apparently records the gift of the elaborately carved gateway at the foot of which the inscription is reported to have been discovered. We are told that this gift was made by *Pravarā-mahāyāna-yāyinaḥ-Paramopāsaka* Bālāditya, a resident of Tailādhaka (mod. village of Telāra or Telādhā, about 21 miles to the west of Bargaon, *i.e.*, ancient Nālandā), and an immigrant from Kauśāmbī, in the year 11 of Mahīpāla, when (the great temple) was restored after it had been burnt down. On palaeographic ground the inscription was referred to Mahīpāla I by Kielhorn.<sup>2</sup>

(7) *Saranath stone inscription*.—Discovered in digging stones at Sarnath at about 520 ft. to the west of great tower, of Dhamekh. The inscription consists of only two lines, and is incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha, which is now broken above the hips. “The historical part of the inscription is

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham, see his *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 122, No. 9, plate XXXVII, No. 5, edited by R. D. Banerji in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 75. The image is now worshipped as one of the five Pāṇḍavas in a small shrine in front of the great temple at Bodhgaya.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription was discovered by Captain Marshall in 1864. A cast of the inscription which was sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was lost, and the epigraph was rediscovered by Mr. Broadley. Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 122-123; then edited by Kielhorn in *NEG WG*, 1904, Heft 2, pp. 111-112. Prof. N. Chakravarti edited it again in *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N.S.), pp. 106-107; text printed with a plate and notes in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 101-103, under the name ‘*Bālāditya Stone Inscription*.’ For identification of Telādhaka see *ASR*, Vol. XI, pp. 164 ff. The record is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

engraved below the statue.” Then follows a band of sculptures of seven panels. The central panel contains the *Dharmacakra*, the 3rd and the 5th two antelopes (exactly as in Pāla seals), the 2nd and the 6th two tigers, and the 1st and 7th two kneeling male figures, which support the stone above with their hands, like the giants in front of Cave III at Nasik. The inscription begins with *Oṃ namo Buddhāya*. Then we are told that “The illustrious Sthirapāla and his younger brother the illustrious Vasantapāla, whom the lord of Gauda, the illustrious Mahipāla, caused to establish in Kāśī hundreds of precious monuments of his glory, such as *Īśānas* (i.e., Lingas ?), paintings (*citra*) and bells (*ghaṇṭā*), after he had worshipped the feet of the guru *Śrī-Vāmarāśi* at *Vārāṇasī*..... repaired the *Dharmarājika* and the *Dharmacakra* with all its parts and constructed this new *gandha-kuṭī* with stones coming from 8 different holy places (*aṣṭa-mahāsthāna-śāila-vinimāta*).” The date (V.) *Samvat* 1083 (A.D. 1026) is given at the end.<sup>1</sup>

(8) *Imadpur image-inscription*.—In the course of excavations of a mound called Jowhrī Di, near the village of Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, two groups of inscribed brass figures were dug out. The inscriptions, which were identical ran as follows: *Śrīman Mahipāladeva-rājasa Samatt 48 jeṣṭha dina Sukala pakṣa 2*.<sup>2</sup>

(9) *Titarawa image-inscription*.—The inscription is incised on the base of a colossal statue of Buddha at Titarawa, an

<sup>1</sup> The inscription (now in Lucknow Museum) was discovered in 1794, and a transcript of it was published in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol V, p. 133, Cunningham published a defective translation in his *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 121-122; the text is given in Vol XI, p. 182. Dr. Hultzsch edited it in *IA*, 1885, Vol XIV, pp. 139-140. Dr. Vogel discussed the inscription in the *ASI*, 1903-1904, pp. 222-223; Arthur Venis challenged some interpretations of Hultzsch in *JASB*, 1906, Vol. II (N. S.), pp. 445-447; edited also in the *Gauḍalekha-mālā*, pp. 104-109; the interpretation of the inscription is full of difficulties. In the main I have followed Hultzsch.

<sup>2</sup> These inscriptions have not yet been edited. They are noticed by Hoernle in fn. 17 of his article on the *Pālas of Bengal* in *IA*, 1885, Vol. XIV, p. 165. The excavations are noticed in a small article in *JASB*, 1881, Vol. L, p. 98.

ancient site 6 miles from the town of Bihar in the Patna district of Bihar. The record consists of "three lines of very small letters which are too much injured to be read easily. The last word in the legible portion of the 3rd line is the name of Mahīpāla."<sup>1</sup>

It is evident from the above that Mahīpāla I had a long reign. According to Tāranāth, he ruled for 52 years.<sup>2</sup> The Imadpur image inscriptions show that he reigned at least for 48 years (c. 992-1040 A.D.). I have already referred to the arguments advanced to prove that the year 1026 A.D. of the Sarnath inscription was his last year, or the year immediately following his death, as inconclusive.<sup>3</sup> It is evident from the number and distribution of his records that Mahīpāla was a successful king. I have drawn attention to the passage in his grants and subsequent inscriptions which give him credit for having recovered his paternal kingdom (*vāhu-darpād anadhikṛta-viluptam rājyam āsādyā pitrām*) by killing his enemies in war. Since the earliest inscription of his reign comes from Samatāṭa, it has been assumed by certain scholars that before he succeeded in recovering his ancestral dominions, his kingdom was reduced to that portion of Bengal. They find confirmation of their conclusion in V. 11 of the Bangad plate of Mahīpāla, which according to them informs us that Vīgrahapāla II, after losing his kingdom, took shelter in the eastern country where water

<sup>1</sup> Noticed by Cunningham in 1873 in his *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, 1875, Vol IV, p. 366

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1921, Vol XVII (N S), p. 4. Dr. R C Majumdar argues that since the sumtotal of the known reign-periods of the successors of Mahīpāla I, when added to 1026 takes us to the second quarter of the 12th century A D "it may be held that Mahīpāla died c. 1026 A.D., and the same conclusion must be upheld even if it is proved that Madanapāla continued to rule for some time after the conquest of Varendra by Vijayasena" (c. 1120 A.D.?). In *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 257-258, the author argues that since the Sarnath epigraph does not use either *Pravarāhamāna-vijaya-rājya* or *Kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājya* and the composer of the inscription has used *akārayat*, it should be assumed that at the time of the inscription Mahīpāla was dead. But he had the good sense to point out that his arguments could not be used with any force, since the inscription in question is composed in verse and not in prose. See also *supra*, p. 281 and fn. 1.

-abounds (*deśe prāci pracura-payasi*).<sup>1</sup> Apart from the fact that the inscription in question (No. 1) is an image-inscription which can be moved from place to place, I would point out that verse 11 of the Bangad grant does not bear that interpretation. It simply refers to the roaming about of the army of Vighraha-pāla from the eastern country to the Maru lands and from the Himalayas to the Malaya country. The distribution of his inscriptions however shows, that, whatever the limits of his ancestral dominions were at the time of his accession, before his 48th year he ruled over Gaya, Patna, and Muzaffarpur districts in Bihar, and possibly over the Tippera district in Bengal. From the composition of the Sarnath inscription, scholars have assumed that even Benares was included in his dominions about 1026 A.D.<sup>2</sup> His Bangad grant shows his power over Northern Bengal. Mahīpāla therefore can very well be regarded as the second founder of the fortunes of the Pālas. But his attempts to revive Pāla power brought him into conflict with other ambitious sovereigns of India. A MS. of the *Candakauśika* of Kṣemīśvara, dated 1331 A.D., refers indirectly to a conflict of Mahīpāla with the Karṇāṭas. From the fact that it compares Mahīpāla with Candragupta and the Karṇāṭas with the *nava-Nandas*, it can be assumed that the Pāla king successfully repulsed an attempted invasion of his territories by the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, who were at this period the rulers of Karṇāṭa.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *BEI*, Vol. XVII, p. 354, *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 139, unpublished article by Mr. Stapleton noticed in fn. 8 on the same page.

<sup>2</sup> *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 74; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 240

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1893, Vol. LXII, Part I; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, pp. 251 ff. But from the fact that none of the inscriptions of the contemporary Cālukya sovereigns (Taila II, Satyāśraya, Vikramāditya V, and Jayasīma II) refers to any conflict with the Pālas, it may not seem impossible that the author was referring to the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā and Nepal. But the possibility of such an identification is rendered impossible by the fact that these Karṇāṭakas probably came to N.E. India in the train of prince Vikramāditya, son of Cālukya Someśvara I (1044-68 A.D.). See *supra*, pp. 203 ff. The identification of the Coḷas with Karṇāṭas however is entirely mistaken, see *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. xi.



possibility of another struggle with a western potentate is revealed by a Nepal MS. of the *Rāmāyana*, the colophon of which tells us that it was copied in (V) *Samvat* 1076 (A.D. 1019), when *Mahārājādhirāja* *Punyāvaloka* *Somavamśodbhava* *Gaudadhvaja Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva* was reigning in *Tīra-Bhukti*.<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have identified this Gāṅgeyadeva with the Tripurī Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, the father of Laksmī-Karna. As his Piawan rock inscription is dated in K E. 789 ? (1037 A.D.), there is no inherent impossibility in the identification of the two kings.<sup>2</sup> If they are identified, then we must assume that Gāṅgeyadeva conquered Tirhut and also Benares, which lay between his territories and *Tīra-Bhukti*, some time before 1019 A.D. This conflicts with the interpretation of the Sarnath inscription according to which Mahīpāla was in possession of that city about 1026 A.D. Unless we now hold that building or repairing of temples in one of the sacred places of Buddhism by a Buddhist king need not necessarily imply his possession of that place,<sup>3</sup> we have to agree with Prof. Lévi that this Gāṅgeyadeva was perhaps a member of a local branch of the Kalacuris, for one of whom we have the Kahla (Gorakhpur Dist. U.P.) plates dated in V.S. 1134 and 1135 (A.D. 1077 and 1079).<sup>4</sup> The only other possible interpretation, if we accept the identification of the *Gaudadhvaja* Gāṅgeyadeva with the father of Laksmī-Karna, is to suppose that the latter was defeated some time between A.D. 1019 and 1026 by Mahīpāla, who conquered Benares from the Kalacuri ruler.

If the evidence of conflict with the *Karṇāṭas* and *Kalacuris*

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1903, Vol. LXXII, Part I, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1, pp. 262-63.

<sup>3</sup> This is quite possible, see *supra*, pp. 294-95, the Nālandā grant of Devapāla.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 85; *Le Népal*, Vol. II p 202, fn. 1. The absence of any expression such as *rājya*, *vijayarājya*, *Kalyāṇarājya*, etc., in the Sarnath epigraph and the method of dating the inscription in Vikrama era, which is so very unusual for Pāla records found within their dominions, naturally raise the suspicion that Sarnath was possibly not included in Mahīpāla's kingdom.

is somewhat problematical, we are on firmer ground when we come to discuss the invasion of Mahīpāla's dominions by the Colas. The Tirumalai (near Pōlur, North Arcot district, Madras) rock inscription dated in the 13th year of the Cola king Parakeśa-rivarman, *alias* Rajendra-Coladeva I, contains the following account of his victories in Northern India “ (He) seized by (his) great, warlike army (the following) : . . . . *Odda-Viṣaya* which was difficult to approach (and which he subdued in) close fights ; the good *Kōśala-nāḍu* where Brāhmanas assembled ; *Tandā-butti*, in whose gardens bees abounded (and which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) hot battle ; *Takkana-lādam*, whose fame reached (all directions, (and) which he occupied), after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra ; *Vaṅgāla-deśa*, where the rain wind never stopped (and from which) Govindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant ; elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahīpāla, decked (as he was) with ear-rings, shippers, and bracelets ; *Uttira-lādam*, as rich in pearls as the ocean ; and the *Gaṅgā*, whose waters dashed against bathing-places (*tīrtha*) covered with sand, ..... ” <sup>1</sup>

As the Mērpāḍi inscription of the same king, dated in his 9th year, does not contain any account of those conquests,<sup>2</sup> it has been assumed with some probability that the-e victories were obtained in the course of some expeditions undertaken between the 9th and 13th years of his reign.<sup>3</sup> Rājendra Cola I, ascended the throne between the 27th March and the 7th July, A.D. 1012.<sup>4</sup> It may therefore be suggested that this northern expedition probably took place roughly between 1021 and 1025 A.D. There

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first edited by Hultzsch in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Madras, 1890, pp. 96-99 ; it was re-edited by him in *EI*, Vol IX, pp. 229-33

<sup>2</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, 1899, Madras, pp. 27-29.

<sup>3</sup> *Baṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 247

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. III, p. 262, and Appendix II, p. 22.

are some differences of opinion about the identification of the countries and princes mentioned in the above quotation. But there is general agreement amongst scholars in accepting the identification of Mahīpāla of the Tirumalai inscription with the first prince of that name in the Pāla list.<sup>1</sup> The identifications of *Odda-Viṣaya* with modern Orissa and of *Kośalai-nādu* with Southern Kośala (the upper valley of the Mahanadī and its tributaries), first suggested by Hultzsch, are also generally accepted.<sup>2</sup> But there are differences of opinion about *Takkana-lādam* and *Uttira-lādam*. Kielhorn in his list of *South Indian Inscriptions*<sup>3</sup> accepted the suggestion of Hultzsch that they are to be identified with *Dakṣiṇa-Lāṭa*, and *Uttara-Lāṭa* and located in Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency. But while re-editing this inscription in 1907-08 Hultzsch accepted the view of Venkayya "that the Tamil term *Ilāda* does not correspond to Sanskrit *Lāṭa* (Gujrat), but to *Virāṭa* (Berar)." <sup>4</sup> He would thus locate the places in Berar. I do not know whether *lādam* can really stand for *Ilādam*. Anyhow the suggestion of Mr. R. P. Chanda that *lādam* should be taken to stand for *Rāḍha* seems to be more in harmony with the facts.<sup>5</sup> The mention of the *Vaṅgāla-deśa* after *Takkana-lādam* and of the Ganges after *Uttara-lādam* appear to be favourable to this latter suggestion. The probable identification of *Taṇḍa-butti* (Daṇḍa-Bhukti) with the Balasore district and the Southern portion of Midnapore district,<sup>6</sup> and the mention of *Uttara-Rāḍha* in Sena

<sup>1</sup> First suggested by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol VII, Appendix, p. 120, fn. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol I, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol VII, Appendix, p. 120, No. 733.

<sup>4</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* by Venkayya for 1906-07, pp. 87 ff.; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 281, fn. 2. Dr. Barnett suggests : Tamil *Ilādam* or *Lādam* may stand for either *Lāṭa* (in Gujarat), or *Rāḍha*; but I am sure it could not = *Virāṭa*, for initial *V* could not disappear.

<sup>5</sup> *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 248-49; *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 8, p. 71. In the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* Jayasinhha of *Daṇḍa-Bhukti* is said to have defeated Utkaladeśa Karṇakeśari and aided Rāmapāla in his campaigns. See *MASB*, Vol. III, No. I, p. 86.

and Varman inscriptions seem to be additional grounds for locating the places in Western Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

Dharmapāla, who was probably, as Mr. R. D. Banerji has suggested, the ruler of "the marchland between Orissa and Bengal," is otherwise unknown. The ending of his name in *pāla* is at the present stage of our knowledge an insufficient reason for connecting him with the Pālas. The name of Raṇaśūra, who was apparently the ruler of the tract situated to the north of *Danda-Bhukti*, raises the question of the authenticity of the Śūra kings of Bengal, who are mentioned in the genealogical lists of Bengal match-makers (*ghatakas*). The *Kulapañjikās* of these *ghatakas* contain the following list of Śūra kings: (1) Ādiśūra, (2) Bhūśūra, (3) Kṣitīśūra, (4) Avaniśūra, (5) Dhāranīśūra, and (6) Ranaśūra.<sup>2</sup> The traditional account of the first of these princes, who is said to have brought five Brāhmanas and Kāyasthas from Kānyakubja to Bengal has been doubted on good grounds by more than one scholar.<sup>3</sup> But it is significant that the name of the 6th prince should be identical with the name of the ruler of *Dakṣiṇa-Rādha*. In the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* (II, 5), there occurs the name of one Lakṣmīśūra, the ruler of Aparā-mandāra, who is described as one of the chief feudatories of Rāmapāla. It has been suggested by some scholars that Aparā-mandāra was situated in Western Bengal. The authenticity of a line of princes bearing names ending in Śūra is further proved by the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena which

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 8, p. 72. The Sena inscription is now edited in *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156 ff. The grant was discovered in Katwa subdivision of Burdwan district, and the village granted was situated in *Uttara-Rādha-Manḍala* of the *Vardhamāna-Bhukti*. For the Varman grant, see *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N. S.), p. 286, fn. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See for the latest opinion on the subject *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 287-89. Ādiśūra is placed by various authorities within the period c. 700-1100 A. D. The following verse in the *Kulaśāstras* refers to the bringing of Brāhmaṇas by Ādiśūra.

*Āsit purā Mahārāja Ādiśūra pratāpavān*  
*Ānītavān dvajān pañca pañca-gotra-samudbhavān.*

Also consult on this, Chanda's *Gaudarājamālā* and Banerji's *Bāṅgālār Itihās*.

informs us that Vijaya married Vilāsadevī, a daughter of the Sūra family.<sup>1</sup> As V. 3 of the Naihati grant of Vallālasena tells us that the predecessors of Vijayasena were ornaments of the Rādhā country,<sup>2</sup> we can now safely conclude that a line of kings really existed in Western Bengal who were known as Śūras.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the exact relationship between this Raṇaśūra and Mahīpāla. But from the description of him in the Tirumalai inscription, he appears to have been quite independent of the Pāla king. The area over which Mahīpāla held sway is further circumscribed by the mention of Govindacandra of the *Vaṅgāla-deśa*, or Eastern Bengal.<sup>4</sup> Like Dharmapāla of Daṇḍa-*Bhukti*, this prince also was long unknown and unconnected with any of the other ruling dynasties of the lower Ganges valley. But recently a number of copper-plates and an image-inscription have revealed the existence in Eastern Bengal of a line of princes whose names end in *Candra*. The *Rampal grant* of Śrīcandra was discovered somewhere in Rampal by a cultivator while digging land. It is a single plate; at the top, in the middle, is attached a circular seal "which has in its upper part, the emblem of a Buddhist wheel of law with two deer in couchant posture on both sides of it. Just below the wheel and above the legend *Śrī-Śrī-Candra-devaḥ* something like the emblem of a small conchshell is seen. Beneath the legend again the representation of a digit of the moon with floral decorations on the three sides of it may be marked. The characters of the inscription belong to a variety of alphabets used in India in the 11th and 12th centuries A. D." The inscription opens with a verse in praise of *Jina* (i.e., Buddha),

<sup>1</sup> *BI*, Vol. XV, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For a prince of Nepal bearing the name Raṇaśūra (A.D. 1221), see *supra*, pp. 212-13.

<sup>4</sup> Gobindacandra has been identified by Mr. Bhattacharya with king Govindacandra of the Bengal ballads who was the daughter's son of Tilakacandra, king of Mohārka, which is still a *pargana* of the Tippera district. He has further suggested that Layahacandra of the Bharella Nāṭeśvara image-inscription may have been the father of Tilakacandra. *BI*, Vol. XVII, p. 351.

*Dharma* and *Bhikṣu-saṅgha*. Then we are given the following genealogical information about the donor :

In the <i>Candravamśa</i>	...	who ruled over Rohitāgi(rī) [mod Rohtasgaḍh in Sahabad Dist., Bihar?]
Pūrnacandra.		
Buddha Suvarṇacandra.		
Trailokyacandra	...	" The support of the royal majesty smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of <i>Harikela</i> (= Vanga = Eastern Bengal) who became king of the <i>dvīpa</i> which had the word <i>Candra</i> prefixed to it (Candradvīpa = some portions of mod districts of Bakerganj, Khulna and Faridpur) "
Śricandra.		

The inscription was issued by *Ps.-M.* Trailokyacandra-deva-pādānudhyātāḥ *P.-Pb-M.* Śricandradeva from the *Vikramapura-samāvāsita-Śrīmaṇ-jayaskandhāvāra*. It records the grant of one *pāṭaka* of land in *Nehakāṣṭhi-grāma* of *Nānya-Manḍala* in *Paundra-Bhukti* to the *Brāhmaṇa Pītavāsagupta Śarman*, who was officiating in the *Koṭi-homa*. The grant was made in the name of *Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka*. It is not dated.<sup>1</sup> Two other copper plates of this king issued from his camp at *Vikrampur* have been discovered, though they have not yet been properly edited.<sup>2</sup> Another inscription of this family,

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Mr. R. G. Basak in *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 136-42. Re-edited by N. G. Majumdar, *IB*, pp. 1-9. In his opinion the script belongs to "close of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century." The record is now in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, at Rajshahi. Mr. Basak cites evidence for the identification of *Harikela* and *Candradvīpa*; see also Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, v. 957; Takakusu, *I-tsing*, Oxford, p. xlv. *Candradvīpa* is still one of the fiscal divisions of Bakerganj; see Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Dhulla and Edilpur grants of Śricandra, see *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 350; *Dacca Review*,

"incised on the pedestal of a huge image of Nāṭeśa Siva was dug out of a tank in a village called Bharella police-station Baḍkāmtā in the district of Tippera (Bengal)." The epigraph consists of two lines, and is written in characters which are assigned to the latter half of the 10th century A.D. The inscription is dated in the 18th year of the *Vijaya-rājya* of Layahacandradeva, and records the consecration of the image "on a Thursday under the constellation Pushya, on the 14th day of the dark half of the month, the day being the 14th *Aśāḍha* counted by the movement of the moon" by Bhāvudeva, son of Kusumadeva, Lord of Kārmānta (mod. Badkamta, some 3 miles S.W. of the find-spot of the image).<sup>1</sup>

The records cited above reveal the existence of a line of *Candra* kings of Vikramapura in Eastern Bengal in the period c. 950-1050 A.D. The time and locality fit in so well with those of Govindacandra (c. 1021-25 A.D.) that it is almost impossible to resist the temptation to conclude that he was one of them. It is not unlikely, as Mr. Bhattasali has contended, that they were related to the *Candra* kings of Arakan (c. 788-957 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> But if these *Candras* were independent sovereigns, of a large portion of Eastern and Southern Bengal, as is evident from their records and the Tirumalai inscription, and if they also had control over a portion of North Bengal, as seems to be the case from their grant of land in *Paṇḍra-Bhukti* (the same as *Paṇḍravardhana-Bhukti*), and if we take into account the

Vol. II, p. 250. *Ibid.* for May-June, 1919, see also *IB*, pp. 164-67. His Kedarpur grant has now been edited in *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92 and *IB*, pp. 10-13.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Bhattasali in *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 349 ff. The image is now in the Dacca Śāhitya Paṇḍit. Note the similarity of the Pāla and *Candra* seals. The rulers of both the dynasties bore the title *Paramasāugata* and had no scruples in granting land to the Brahmins in the name of *Buddha-bhāṭṭāraka*.

<sup>2</sup> Phayre, *History of Burma*, London, 1883, p. 45; *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 350; Mr. Bhattasali points out the outlandish character of the name Layahacandra and inclines to the conclusion that he may have belonged to the Arakanese branch and refers the image inscription to c. 989 A.D.

existence of independent sovereigns in the Burdwan division, then we must cut down the limits of the so-called empire of the Pālas in the time of Mahīpāla and his successors. Undoubtedly there was a revival of Pāla power under this ruler, but the facts revealed in the documents cited above considerably circumscribe the extent of his real power in Bengal and Bihar. The presence of Candras in *Vaṅgāla-deśa* in about 1021-25 A.D. shows that Mahīpāla I must have lost his hold on Eastern Bengal some time after about 995 A.D., or, what is more probable, the Baghaura inscription dated in his 3rd year, being on an image, was transferred to Tippera district from some region further west outside *Vaṅgāladeśa*. We can now understand why the name of the Pālas was omitted by the Musalman writers from the list of princes, who according to them, were active in opposing the rising tide of Islam in Northern India. It was not Mahīpāla's asceticism<sup>1</sup> or his envy and religious bigotry,<sup>2</sup> that prevented his name from figuring in the lists of the Muslim chroniclers among the opponents of the Yamīnīs. It was their position as rulers of a comparatively small and decadent principality in the north-east of India, a position which was much too humble to be even compared with that of Dharmapāla, which prevented them from taking any intelligent interest or playing any ambitious role in pan-Indian affairs.<sup>3</sup>

Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Nayapāla,<sup>4</sup> for whose reign we have the following records and dates :

(1) The colophon of a Cambridge University Library MS. of the *Pañcarakṣā* tells us that it was written on the instructions

<sup>1</sup> *Gaudarājamālā*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere I have shown reasons to doubt the veracity of these statements of Muslim chroniclers. See *supra*, pp. 91-92 and *infra*, chapters on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras* and the *Candrātreyas*.

<sup>4</sup> *Gauḍalekāmālā*, pp. 105, 108-09, fn. Mr. Maitreya has suggested that Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla were the brothers of Mahīpāla I, while others contend that they may be sons of that king. I think Hultzsch was right in his interpretation, and have followed him.



of *Pravara-mahāyāna-yāyinī Paramopāsikā-Rājñī* Uddākā in the year 14 of the *viṣṇavarāja* of *Ps.-M.-P.* Nayapāla deva.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Gaya Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple stone inscription*.—The inscription is on the entrance of a modern temple built about 100 years back at Gaya, and now known as the Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple. It consists of 18 long lines of Kuṭila characters. It begins with *Om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*, and then praises Viṣṇu. Then come verses praising 'Gayā,' which is described as *mokṣadvāra*. There the Brāhmaṇas while studying the Vedas made so much noise in the course of their studies that it was difficult to follow other talk. There the smoke from the sacrifices of the Brāhmaṇas was constantly rising. In this city was born in a Brāhmaṇa's family one Viśvāditya, whose bravery destroyed all his enemies. He constructed this temple of Janārdana in the 15th year of Nayapāla, the ruler of the whole earth. The inscription was composed by the *Vāji-vaidya* Sahadeva, and incised by *Silpī* Saṭṭasoma.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *Gaya Narasimha stone inscription*.—This was discovered "inside the small temple of Narasimha in the Viṣṇupāda compound" at Gaya. The inscription consists of 15 lines. It opens with *Om Lakṣmīścirañjayati*. It records the "building of the temple of Gadādhara and several other minor temples of Viṣṇu" by Viśvarūpa at 'Gayāpuri' in the 15th year of Nayapāla-deva. The *praśasti* was composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi, and written by Sarvānanda.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *CBMC*, p. 175, No. 1698.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 123, Plate XXXVII; then Dr. R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 218-19, tried to give the substance of the inscription. The inscription was first edited by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1900, pp. 190-95; re-edited with a complete translation in *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 110-29, under the name *Kṛṣṇadvārikā Temple Inscriptions*.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription was discovered in 1884, and was noticed by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1900, Part I, p. 191, fn 1; the text of the inscription is given in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 78-79.

These records show that Nayapāla ruled at least for 15 years (c. 1040-55 A.D.), and held portions of Bihar. It is quite likely that he ruled over a wider area, but unfortunately no other evidence has hitherto been discovered to support that conclusion. There is some possibility that the Pāla kingdom at this time came into conflict with the rising power of the Kalacuris under Lakṣmī-Karṇa (c. 1041-70 A.D.). The Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimhadeva, the great-grandson of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, tells us that the latter was waited upon by Gauḍa and other princes.<sup>1</sup> The Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī, the queen of Gayā-Karṇa, the grandson of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, informs us that when the latter gave full play to his heroism, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga.<sup>2</sup> Tibetan tradition contains stories of a war between Nayapāla, king of Magadha and the "Tirthika king of Karṇya of the West." We are told that failing to capture the city, Karṇya's 'troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five (men), out of whom four were ordained monks and one *upāsaka*. At this time the celebrated Buddhist monk *Dīpankara* Śrījñāna (also called Atīśa) who had accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramaśilā at the request of Nayapāla, was in residence 'at the Vihāra of Mahābodhi at Vajrāsana.' When a good deal of church-furniture was carried away as booty, Atīśa showed no concern or anger. But "afterwards when victory turned towards (Nayapāla) and the troops of Karṇya were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took the king of Karṇya and his men under his protection and sent them away." Atīśa then "caused a treaty to be concluded between the two kings. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of war, all other things which had fallen in the hands of the parties were either restored or compensated for. Unmindful of his health even at the risk of his life, Atīśa again and

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 217, line 11.

<sup>2</sup> *BI*, Vol. II, p. 11, V. 12.

again crossed the rivers that lay between the two kingdoms and thereby brought peace to all living beings.”<sup>1</sup> Scholars have proposed to identify this ‘king Karṇya of the West’ with the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa.<sup>2</sup> Though this identification is probable, the success of Nayapāla against Lakṣmī-Karṇa is rendered somewhat doubtful by the Paikor stone pillar-inscription of the latter king recently discovered in the Birbhum district of Bengal.<sup>3</sup> This fact coupled with the existence of independent dynasties in Eastern Bengal, seems to show that the area under the rule of the Pālas at this time did not extend much beyond portions of Bihar and Northern Bengal. It is significant that in the Tibetan life of Atīśa, quoted above, Nayapāla is described as king of Magadha, and, what is more important, from this time onward all the Pāla inscriptions are found either in Magadha or in Pundravardhana-*Bhukti*.<sup>4</sup> The reality, or at least the permanence of the alleged treaty between the two kingdoms, to attain which Atīśa is said to have risked his health and life, is also rendered very questionable by the fact that the *Rāmacarita* clearly refers to the struggles of Karṇa and Nayapāla’s son Vighrahapāla III.<sup>5</sup> If the Tibetan account of the alliance be correct, this must be accepted as a second war waged by the Kalacuri king against the Pālas. According to Tibetan tradition Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa went to Tibet at the invitation of prince Chan Chub, in the reign of Nayapāla. When he started for Tibet he was 59

<sup>1</sup> *JBTS*, Vol. I, 1893, pp. 9-10, and fn. on p. 9; see also *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, by Saratchandra Das, Calcutta, 1893, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1900, Part I, p. 992. *Gaudarājamālā*, p. 45. If this identification is accepted we may have to move back the date of accession of Nayapāla by a few years. For this war happened a few years before the departure of Atīśa for Tibet in c. 1040 A.D. But the difficulty in accepting this date lies in the fact that Lakṣmī-Karṇa did not probably come to the throne before 1040 A.D. when his father died. See *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *ASI*, 1921-22, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> That Dharmapāla also is described as king of Magadha is probably explained by the fact that when these Tibetan documents were compiled, the Pālas were kings only of the Magadha region.

<sup>5</sup> *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 22 (commentary on V. 9 of the first chapter).

years old, and he died there at the age of 73. Mr. S. C. Das gives these dates as A.D. 1042 and 1055.<sup>1</sup> But in his *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*<sup>2</sup> edited by his brother N. C. Das in 1893 the date of his birth is given as A.D. 980 and that of his death as 1053. According to this calculation the date of the departure of Atiśa works out at 1039 A.D. Prof. Lévi gives this date as c. 1040 A.D.<sup>3</sup> It is better to take the Tibetan date as only approximate.

Nayapāla was succeeded by his son Vīgrahapāla (III). We have the following records of his reign, extending over a period of at least 26 years (c. 1055-81 A.D.):

(1) *Gaya stone inscription*.—The stone on which this is incised is attached to the base of the *Akṣayaṇa* at Gaya. The inscription contains 26 lines, and opens with *Om Om namaḥ Śivāya*. The inscription appears to be a *prāśasti* of one Viśvarūpa-Viśvāditya, who seems to be the person for whom we have two inscriptions at Gaya dated in the 15th year of Nayapāla. It records the building of two temples by him for (Śiva) Vateśa and (Śiva) Prapitāmaheśvara(?) in the *Gayā-Maṇḍala*. It is dated in the 5th year of king Vīgrahapāla, and claims to have been composed by *Vaidya Dharmapāṇi*.<sup>4</sup>

(2) *Bihar stone image-inscription*.—This was found on the pedestal of an image of Buddha at Bihar. According to Cunningham, it is dated in the 12th year of Vīgrahapāla.<sup>5</sup>

(3) *The Amgachi grant*.—Found by a peasant at the village of Amgachi in Dinajpur district, Bengal, while digging earth. The record is incised on a single plate of copper. The royal seal 'consists of a circle with raised rim and beaded border, resting

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1881, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 50 and 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 132-133; it is edited from the original stone in *MASB*, Vol. No. 3, pp. 80-82.

<sup>5</sup> *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 121-22, No. 7. The image is said to have belonged to 'the Broadley collection afterwards called the Bihar Museum' (Collection) which was sent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The image at present cannot be traced. See *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 82.

on a mass of arabesque work ; on its top rests a small *caitya* over which is an umbrella. A long penon hangs from each side of the umbrella.' The upper half of the circle is occupied by the wheel of law resting on a pedestal and having a small umbrella over it. There is the usual deer couchant on each side of it. Below this is the legend *Sī Vīgrahapāladevaḥ*. 'The alphabet shows a nearer approach to the complete Bengali forms than the Bangad grant of Mahīpāla I.' The inscription is written on both sides of the plate and consists of 49 lines (33 on the front and 16 on the back). The record gives the Pāla genealogy from Gopāla to Vīgrahapāla III. Most of the verses of this portion are the same as in the Bangad grant of Mahīpāla I. In verse 13 Vīgrahapāla III is described as the *cāturvarṇya-samāśrayaḥ* (a supporter of the four castes). Curiously enough Verse 14 of this inscription beginning with *deśe prāci pracura-payasi*, which describes the campaigns of the donor of this grant occurs as V. 11 of the Bangad grant of Mahīpāla I as the description of the campaigns of Vīgrahapāla II. The inscription was issued by *Ps.-M. Naya-pāladeva-pādānudhyātah P.-Pb.-M. Vīgrahapāladeva*, from the victorious camp at Haradhāma (?) in the year 12 of his reign (line 42). It records the grant of some land in the village of Visamapura with a place called Daṇḍatraheśvara (?) in the Brāhmaṇi-grama-Maṇḍala of Koṭivarsa-Visaya in the Puṇḍravaradhana-Bhukti to the Brāhmaṇa Khoduladeva Sarman. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in honour of Buddha-bhaṭṭaraka, etc., after bathing in the Ganges according to religious practice (*vidhivat*). The *Dātaka* was the *Mantri* Sahasiṇa (?), and the document was incised by the *Śilpi* Mahīdharadeva.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An account of the grant was given by Colebrooke in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, pp. 434-438, which was republished in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 279-282. The next attempt to give a reading of the inscription was made by Hoernle in the *Century Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part. II, pp. 210-218. This was reprinted after revision in the *IA*, 1885, Vol. XIV, pp. 166-168. Kielhorn next published the metrical portion of the grant (first 20 lines) in the same journal in 1892, Vol. XXI, pp. 97-101.

(4) *Indian Museum stone image-inscription*.—This consists of two lines, and is incised on an image of Buddha in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It records the erection of the image by the *Suvarṇakāra Dehaka* in the 13th year of *Vigrahapāladeva*.<sup>1</sup>

(5) A MS. of the *Pañcarakṣā* was copied in the 26th year of *Vigrahapāla*. As the reference of this date to *Vigrahapāla* I and II would tend to push back the reign of *Dharmapāla* beyond 769 A.D. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has rightly referred it to the 3rd *Pāla* king of that name.<sup>2</sup>

(6) Some of the more barbarous specimens of the silver coins discovered in Bihar bearing 'very faint recollections of either the Sassanian head or the fire-alter,' marked with the legend *Śrī-Vi*, or *Śrī-Vigraha*, have been assigned by some scholars to this prince. The better specimens are assigned to the two earlier princes of this name. But as the latter appear to have been rather weak rulers with very short reigns, it may be that these coins also should be assigned to the early part of *Vigrahapāla* III's reign.<sup>3</sup>

During the reign of *Vigrahapāla* III, the *Pālas* again came into conflict with the *Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa*. The commentary on the *Rāma-carita* tells us that *Vigrahapāla* III defeated in battle *Karna*, the ruler of *Ḍāhala*, but did not completely uproot him. We are further told that the *Pāla* king married *Yauvanaśrī*, the daughter of *Karṇa*.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that this marriage was the result of an alliance between the two powers. Another foreign invasion of the lower Ganges

Mr. R. D. Banerji has now fully edited the inscription in *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 295-301. Mr. Banerji is wrong in asserting in his fn 1, p. 295, that Kielhorn found *Mudgagiri* is the name of the camp in the rubbings sent to him by Fleet. This was the opinion of Hoernle and not Kielhorn, who distinctly says it is 'not *Mudgagiri*', see *Id.*, Vol. XIV, p. 167, fn 39, and Vol. XXI, p. 97. The grant is now in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 112. According to R. D. Banerji this inscription appears to be the same as No. 2; but its date was read by Cunningham as year 12.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N.S.), p. 6, fn. 1.

<sup>3</sup> V. A. Smith, *CCIM*, Vol. I, pp. 233 and 239, and plate XV, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 22.

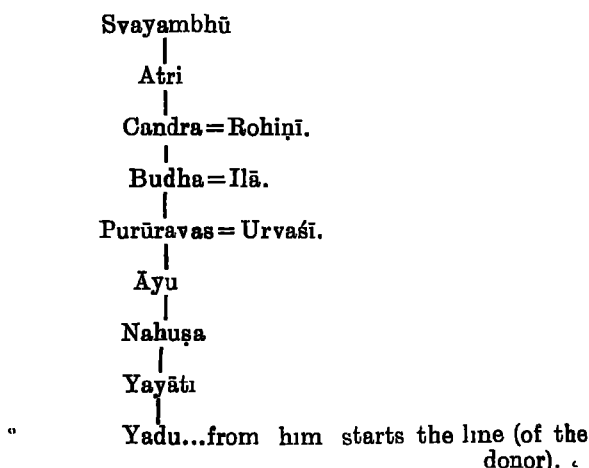
valley appears to have taken place during this reign. We are informed by Bilhana that during the latter part of the reign of the Cālukya Someśvara I of Kalyāna (c. 1044-68 A.D.) his son Vikramāditya undertook expeditions in northern India and defeated the kings of Gauda and Kāmarūpa.<sup>1</sup> It was probably these raids of the Karṇāṭa prince which brought into various parts of north-eastern India bodies of his countrymen who soon afterwards succeeded in carving out separate principalities for themselves. The rise of the *Karṇāṭakas* of Tirhut and Nepal, as also of the *Karṇāṭa-Kṣatṛiyas* of Rāḍha (i.e., the Senas), in the 11th century, naturally leads to the suspicion that their origin may have been connected with these Cālukya invasions. It has indeed been suggested that Sāmantasena, the grandfather of Vijayasena, may have accompanied Vikramāditya in one of these expeditions and carved out a principality somewhere in Western Bengal.<sup>2</sup> As Someśvara I is also said to have utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa,<sup>3</sup> the lord of Dāhala, it is not unlikely that the Senas of Karṇāṭa entered Rāḍha after the expulsion of the Kalacuris from that region by the Cālukyas. Another dynasty which also may have come from the south and settled in Eastern Bengal during this period was that of the Varmans. The existence of this line of princes is revealed by the *Belava* copper-plate of *Bhojavarman*. This inscription was discovered by a peasant while digging earth in the village of Belava, situated on the northern boundary of Rupganj Thana, in the Maheswardi pargana (Narainganj subdivision, Dacca district). It is a single plate, containing in all 51 lines of writing (front 26 and back 25). The plate had a seal with the representation of Viṣṇu's wheel (*Śrīmad Viṣṇu-cahṛa-mudrāyā*, line 48) at the top," but the impress of the sacred wheel, as well as any possible legend on it was completely scraped off by the finder

<sup>1</sup> *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, edited by Bühler, Bombay, 1875, III, 74.

<sup>2</sup> *PTOC*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 347; *JL*, Vol. XVI, 1927, pp. 6-7; *Gaudarājamālā*, p. 47. See also *supra*, chapter on Nepal, pp. 203 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, I, 102-103.

of the plate.<sup>1</sup> The characters of the inscription belong to a period not earlier than the 11th century, and according to some they are "of the late 11th and early 12th century A.D." The inscription opens with *Om Siddhih*, and then traces the genealogy of the donor of the grant from Svayambhu (Brahmā) :

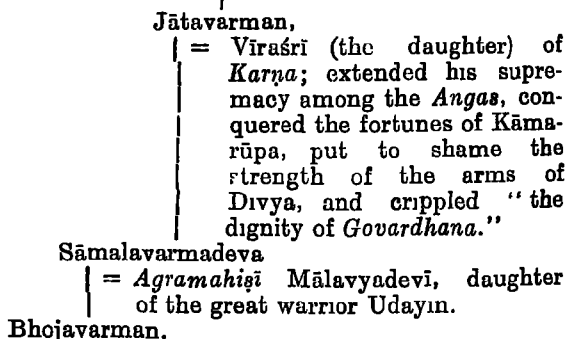


In his family

Kṛṣṇa, Hari.

His kinsmen the *Varmans*, who occupied Sindhapura

In course of time there was one Vajravarmān, the ornament of the Yādava soldiers.



<sup>1</sup> This is the version of Mr. R. C. Basak, the editor of the plate in the *BI*; Mr. R. D. Banerji in editing the same inscription in the *JASB*, says that the seal "consists of two concentric circles the outer one of which is thicker than the inner one, with a thick axle and spokes which are thick in the centre but tapering towards the extremities and a nude dancing figure on each side of it." In the plate given in the *BI*, I do not find the details observed by Mr. Banerji in the circular space,



The inscription was issued from the *ṣaya-skandhāvāra* situated at *Vikramapura*, and records the gift of a piece of land in the village of *Upyalikā*, situated in the *Kauśāmbī-Aṣṭagacchakhandala* in the *Adhahpattana-Maṇḍala* of the *Puṇḍra-Bhukti*, to the *Śāntyāgārādhikṛta* *Rāmadeva Śaīman*, an inhabitant of the village of *Siddhala* in *Uttara-Rādhā* by *M. Sāmalavarma-deva-pādānudhyātaḥ Paramavaśnava-P.-Pb.-M. Bhoja(h)*. The grant is dated in the 5th year of the donor, and it was composed by *Puruṣottama*.<sup>1</sup>

The Varmans claim to come from *Simhapura*. Mr. Basak identified this place with the *Sīhapura* of the *Mahāvamśa* which was situated in *Lāla* (*Rādhā*) between *Vaṅga* and *Magadha*, while Mr. Banerji drew attention to the *praśasti* of *Lakhamandal* (at *Madha* in *Jaunsar Bawar* district on the Upper *Jumna*), which refers to 11 generations of *Candragupta*, the prince of *Jālandhara* (c. 300-600 A.D.), who claims to belong to the *Yādavas* of the lunar race reigning at *Singhapura*.<sup>2</sup> This *Singhapura* is undoubtedly the *Seng-ha-pu-lo* of *Yuan Chwang* situated to the north side of the *Salt Range* in the *Punjab*.<sup>3</sup> But *Dr. Hultsch* has pointed out a dynasty of *Varmans* who ruled in a *Simhapura* nearer home.<sup>4</sup> The *Komarti* (near *Narasannapeta*, *Ganjam District*) plates of *Candravarman* and the *Brhatproṣṭhā* (in *Palakonda Taluka*, *Vizagapatam*) grant of

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was discovered in 1912. Since then it had been several times edited. "An imperfect reading of the plate with a faulty translation, without any *fac-simile*" was published in the *Dacca Review*, Vol. II, No. 4 (July 1912); a small photograph of the record was published in the next issue of the same journal. An improved version of the grant then appeared in *Sāhitya* (Bengali Monthly, Bengali year 1319, *Śrāvaṇa-Bhādra*) by Mr. R. G. Basak. Mr. R. D. Banerji then edited the inscription in *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X. (N.S.), pp. 121-31, it has been re-edited by Mr. R. G. Basak in *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 37-43, and by N. G. Majumdar in *IB*, pp. 14-24. Dr. R. C. Majumdar drew my attention to the similarity of the legendary portion of the genealogy of the *Candellas* and the *Varmans*, cf. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 122 ff., Verses 4-8.

<sup>2</sup> See *JASB*, 1922, Vol. XVIII (N.S.), pp. 435-37.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 10-15.

<sup>4</sup> *YC*, Vol. I, pp. 248 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 4.

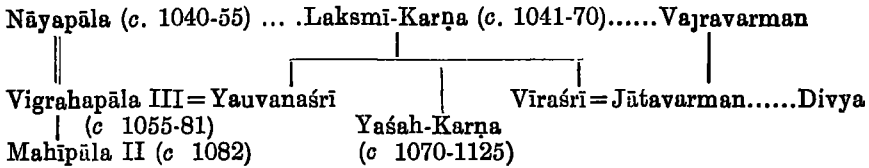
Umāvarman reveal the existence of a line of kings of Kalinga who resided in Siṃhapura or Siḥapura.<sup>1</sup> According to Hultzsch, this Siṃhapura "is perhaps identical with the modern Siṅgupuram between Chicacole and Narasannapēta."<sup>2</sup> The same scholar has also pointed out that "according to Singhalese inscriptions, the two kings Niśśankamalla and Sāhasamalla, the second of whom ascended the throne in A.D. 1200, were sons of the Kalinga king Goparāja of Siṃhapura. The Buddhist chronicle *Mahāvamsa* stated that Tilokasundarī, a queen of Vijayabāhu I (c. 1054-1109 A.D.), was a princess of Kalinga, and three relatives of hers.....came to Ceylon from Siḥapura." It is thus not entirely impossible that this enterprising city may have sent a colony northwards to Bengal, where they supplanted the Candras. The script of the Belava grant, which is later than the Rampal plate of Śrīcandra, and the fact that the Varmans issued their charters from the same place (Vikramapura) and grant land in the same area (Pundra-Bhukti) appear to confirm this suspicion.<sup>3</sup> In their campaign against the Buddhist Candra rulers the Varmans may have posed as the champions of orthodox Hinduism. In Verse 5 of the Belava grant, we are told that "(the knowledge of) the three Vedas is a covering for men, and those who are devoid of it are certainly naked; (thinking) so the kinsmen of Hari, the Varmans, mauling themselves with their hair standing on end in their enthusiasm for the three Vedas and for marvellous fights, and wearing the very solemn name and possessing noble arms, occupied Siṃhapura." The date of these princes is approximately fixed by the suggested identification of Karṇa, whose daughter Vīraśrī was married to Jātavarman, with the Kalacuri king of that name (c. 1041-70 A.D.). Mr. A. K. Maitreya, to whom we are indebted for the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142-45, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6. The characters of these inscriptions are of "early southern type," belonging to the 4th or 5th centuries A.D. (Pre-Cālukyan).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, Vol. LI, 1922, p. 153.

suggestion, has also identified Divya, whose strength was put to shame by Jātavarman, with the Kaivarta ruler Divyoka, who according to the *Rāma-carita* killed Mahīpāla II, the son of Vīgrahapāla III.<sup>1</sup> If these identifications are accepted, then we may represent the relations of the 4 dynasties thus : <sup>2</sup>



The Kāmarūpa prince is probably to be identified with one of the predecessors of Vallabhadeva, whose Assam plates are dated in *Saka* 1107.<sup>3</sup> The identification of Govardhana, whose dignity was crippled by Jātavarman, is not certain. Mr. Basak has asked: May he be the father of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of a Bhuvanesvar inscription,<sup>4</sup> the Brahman Govardhana “distinguished as a warrior and a scholar,” whose father was the *Mahāmantrī* and *Sandhivīgrahin* of a king of Vaṅga? The probability of this identification is increased by the fact that the village of Siddhala where lay the residence of the donee of the Belava grant is also mentioned in this Bhuvanesvar epigraph as the residence of this ministerial family. The context of both the inscriptions shows that this village was situated in Rādhā. It is not unlikely that the *Vaṅganāṇa* referred to above is to be identified with one of the Candra kings after whose downfall the family in the time of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the son of Govardhana, transferred its allegiance to the Varmans. If this guess is correct, king Harivarmadeva,

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 38; *Rāma-carita*, I, pp. 29, 31-39. *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 28-21.

<sup>2</sup> See also *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N S.), p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, pp. 259-60.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-07; re-edited in *IB*, pp. 25-41; Kielhorn placed the inscription on palaeographic grounds in c. 1200 A.D. For different views on the date of Harivarman see *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 308-04, and *IB*, p. 25.

who together with his son was aided by the counsel of Bhavadeva, must be supposed to be a later member of the line of Bhojavarman of the Belava grant.<sup>1</sup> Another identification proposed by Pandit H. P. Śāstrī is that the great warrior Udayin, the contemporary of Sāmalavarman, who is mentioned in V. 10 of the Belava inscription, is the same as the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya (c. 1060-87 A.D.) who defeated the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karna.<sup>2</sup> The same scholar also takes the word Jagad-vijaya-malla in V. 11, not as an adjective of *manobhū*, but as a proper name, and identifies him with Jagaddeva or Jagadeo, the youngest son of the Paramāra Udayāditya, who served under Jayasimha-Siddharāja, the Caulukya ruler of Anahīlapāṭaka (c. 1094-1144 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Though some of these identifications have been accepted by other scholars, yet on the whole I think them rather improbable, if not impossible. The reason that led H. P. Śāstrī to place all these rulers in Malwa is perhaps the occurrence of the word Mālavya (Mālava?)-devī in V. 11, as the name of the queen of Sāmalavarman.<sup>4</sup> Whatever may be the value of these identifications, it is certain that these Varmans held Eastern Bengal, and portions of North and West Bengal during the latter half of the 11th century. The Belava inscription shows that they had their

<sup>1</sup> Two MSS. dated in the 19th and 39th year of one Harivarmadeva have been discovered in Nepal. N. N. Vasu gave a reading of a grant of the same king, *Vanger Jātiya Itihās*, Vol. II, pp. 215-17, but it has never been edited. See *Bāngālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 302-04. In this grant *Purama-Vaiṣṇava-P.-Pb M.*-Harivarman is said to be the son of *M.-Jyōtivarman*, it is dated in his 42nd year. See *IA*, 1922, p. 163, fn. 18; *IB*, p. 168. For Bhavadeva see also *JASB*, 1912, pp. 333-48. In the Bhuvanesvar epigraph Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva is called *Bāla-Valabhi-bhujanga*. Kielhorn could not explain the word. The commentary of the *Rāma-carita* II, 5, mentions a *Sāmanta* of Rāmapāla, Vikramarāja, the ruler of Bāla-Valabhi. There is no doubt therefore that Bāla-Valabhi was the name of a place. In the *Rāma-carita* it is placed near Devagrāma which has however not been identified. It was probably a place in West Bengal. See *infra*, p. 342, fn. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), p. 125. N. G. Majumdar takes Udayin to be a son of Sāmalavarman by another wife. See *IB*, p. 20, line 17, and p. 191. He also takes Jagad-vijaya-malla as the name of the father of Mālavyadevī.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

camp at Vikramapura, and they granted land in Pundra-*Bhukti* (= Pundravardhana-*Bhukti*) to inhabitants of villages in Rāḍhā. At least one of them, Jātavarman, was so powerful as to gain supremacy over Anga (Bhagalpur region, Bihar), which was certainly under the Pālas during this period. Thus the Pāla power under Vīgrahapāla III must have been restricted to portions of Bihar, North Bengal, and probably the upper part of the Presidency division of Bengal. It is possible that the Varmans took possession of portions of Pundravardhana *Bhukti* after the 13th year of Vīgrahapāla III. In this case it must be assumed that the Pāla kingdom was fast declining in the latter part of the reign of this ruler. The crisis was hastened by the death of Vīgrahapāla III (c. 1081 A.D.) He left three sons, Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II, and Rāmapāla.<sup>1</sup> Of these the eldest, Mahīpāla II, succeeded him. The history of his reign and of the troublesome period that followed is entirely derived from the *Rāma-carita* of Saṁdhyākara Nandī. According to this work there was not much love lost between these brothers, and soon after his accession Mahīpāla imprisoned Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla.<sup>2</sup> Taking advantage of these internal dissensions, Divvoka, a chief of the Kaivartas, who appears to have been at first a servant of the Pālas,<sup>3</sup> raised the standard of rebellion in Varendrī, and drove away his master from that part of North Bengal which still remained under the Pālas. Mahīpāla II who is described as lacking in good policy<sup>4</sup> did not accept the advice of his ministers, but foolishly marched out against the rebel chief with a hastily collected force. The campaign ended in disaster. Mahīpāla was defeated and killed.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the fact that Mathana, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla, mentioned in the *Rāma-carita* II, 8, is described as a *Rāstrakūṭa* it has been assumed that Vīgrahapāla married a *Rāstrakūṭa* princess and Rāmapāla was the son of this queen and not of Kalacuri Yauvanastri; see *MASB*, Vol. V, No 3, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Commentary on I, 31-33 and 36-37. In the commentary the name of the second brother is spelt as *Surapāla*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, on I, 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, on I, 31.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, commentary on I, 31.

After this Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla appear to have been released, and the former who was probably senior to Rāmapāla, and is described as *sahodara* of Mahīpāla in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla, became king of the much reduced Pāla dominions, which now seem to have consisted of only a portion of Bihar and the northern part of the Presidency division of Bengal. It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Rāma-carita* does not mention Śūrapāla as having ascended the throne. It passes on from Mahīpāla II to Rāmapāla. But as the Manahali grant of Madanapāla distinctly refers to him as *narapati* it is almost certain that Sandhyākara Nandī was wrong on this point. A reason for this omission by a courtier of Rāmapāla may have been the fact that Śūrapāla's reign was rendered rather short by the violent hand of his master, which probably (though definite evidence is lacking) led the court historian to pass over unpleasant details of his patron's life.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may have been the means by which Rāmapāla secured his throne, his accession was justified by his success. Aided by his maternal uncle, the Rāstrakūṭa Mathanadeva, he took active measures to reorganise the resources of his kingdom. Taking advantage of the troubles of the Pālas, most of the feudatories appear to have asserted their independence. The first task was to re-establish the royal power over these vassals. The commentator of the *Rāma-carita* informs us that Mathana (also called Mahana), riding on his elephant *Vindhyamānīkya* defeated the *Pīthīpati* Devarakṣita. The word *Pīthīpati* is explained by the commentator as *Magadhādhipa*. This incident appears to be also referred to in the

<sup>1</sup> *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 280; Prof. Chakravartī referred to this king's reign two image-inscriptions dated according to him in the 2nd year of Śūrapāla II. See *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N.S.), pp. 107-08. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī, in his introduction to the *Rāma carita* (*MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 13) followed him. But the inscriptions on palaeographic grounds have now been referred to Śūrapāla I (*MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 57-58). This view appears to me to be more probable. The date on the plate given by Prof. Chakravartī is clearly 3 and not 2. See *supra*, p. 298 and fn. 2.

Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī, the queen of the Gāhādavāla Govindacandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.). We are told that:<sup>1</sup>

“ In the Gauda country there was a priceless warrior with his quiver (*Kāṇḍapaṭika* ?), this incomparable diadem of the *Ksatriyas*, the Anga king Mahana, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered Devarakṣita in war and maintained the glory of Rāmapāla, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed ” (V 7). We are told in verses 3-5 that this Devarakṣita belonged to the Chikkora family, and had succeeded his father Vallabhajā as lord of Pīṭhī. Verses 8-20 inform us that Mahanadeva married his daughter Saṅkara-devī to the lord of Pīṭhī (Devarakṣita), who had by her a daughter named Kumāradevī, who became the queen of the Gāhādavāla king Govindacandra. The identification of the two Devarakṣitas, appears to be clear. As the conquest of the *Pīṭhī-patī* is thus prominently mentioned in these records, it seems that this ruler was a very important feudatory of the Pālas. The Sarnath epigraph also says that after the removal of this obstruction the glory of Rāmapāla ‘ rose in splendour.’ In the list of the *Sāmantas* of Rāmapāla, as we shall see later on, the lord of Pīṭhī is placed first. It thus appears that Mathana-Mahana, who was the feudatory ruler of the principality of Aṅga, after defeating this prince, finally won him over by giving him his own daughter. This combination of force with

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, pp 324-327. In view of the meaning of *Pīṭhī* given by the commentator of the *Rāma-carita*, as *Magadha*, Sten Konow's identification with Pithapuram, in Veṅṅi must be given up. See *ibid*, p. 322, *JBORS*, Vol. IV, p 267. The same commentator on II, 5, explains *Magadhādhipatī*, by *Pīṭhīpatī*. See *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp 36 and 38. Though this victory of Mathana is given in the second chapter of the *Rāma-carita*, where the author is describing the campaign of Rāmapāla on the north, it should not be taken as having occurred in that campaign. This incident was an explanatory note on the activities of Mathana just as in the list of the *Sāmantas* various incidents are mentioned to explain the importance of each of the feudatories. This is finally proved by the fact that the *Pīṭhīpatī* himself was marching with Rāmapāla; and unless we assume that there were two such rulers, which is extremely unlikely, we have to assume that Bhūmayāśas, the ally of Rāmapāla, was a successor of Devarakṣita, who was defeated by his uncle Mathana.

diplomacy was eminently successful, and the *Piṭhīpatīs* henceforward materially helped Rāmapāla in his campaign against the Kaivartas. The Pāla prince then travelled to the principalities of his *Sāmanta-cakra* and of the forest chiefs (*āṭavikāḥ* = *aṭavīya-sāmantāḥ*), to win them over to his cause.<sup>1</sup> He also distributed wealth and granted land with unstinted generosity. Thus by a judicious use of policy and his sword he at last succeeded in gaining the good will of his feudatories and raised a powerful army consisting of cavalry, elephants and infantry.<sup>2</sup> By this time the Kaivarta chief Divvoka was dead. Their leader now was Bhīma, the son of Rūdoka, the brother of Divvoka. The campaign against him was opened by the *Mahāpratīhāra Śivarāja*, the nephew of Mathana.<sup>3</sup> He crossed the Ganges, and entering Varendrī, crushed the *raksaka-vyūhas* of Bhīma, and for a time was so successful that the whole country appeared to be free from the control of the Kaivartas.<sup>4</sup> But this was merely a *reconnaissance en force*. The real campaign came some time later, when Rāmapāla, in addition to his maternal uncle Mathana, the latter's sons the *Mahāmāṇḍalikas* Kāhnuradeva and Suvarṇadeva<sup>5</sup> and Mathana's nephew the *Mahāpratīhāra Śivarājadeva*,<sup>6</sup> was assisted by the following *Sāmantas*:<sup>7</sup>

(1) Bhimayaśas

the ruler of Magadha, who defeated the army of Kanauj (*Kānyakubja-rāja-vājīnigantḥana-bhujanga*).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rāma-carita*, commentary on I, 43

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, on I, 44-45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, on I, 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, on I, 47-50.

<sup>5</sup> He was represented by H. P. Śāstrī as a brother of Mathana. But I think B. G. Basak is right in taking him to be his son. The passage runs as follows: *Mahana ... . tadīya nandana-mahāmāṇḍalika Kāhnuradeva-Suvarṇadeva-bhrātrja-Mahāpratīhāra-Śivarājadeva-prabhṛti*. I accept that 'bhrātrja' in this passage 'should rather go with the word that follows in the compound'. See *IHQ*, March 1929, pp. 44-45.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, on II, 8

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, on II, 5-6.

<sup>8</sup> This Kānyakubja king was probably one of the first three Gāhadavāla kings of Kanauj (c. 1075-1155 A.D.).



- (2) Viraguna ... the ruler of *Koṭ-ātavi*, who was *dakṣiṇa-simhāsana-cakravartī* (a ruler of some southern region).
- (3) Jayasimha the ruler of *Danda-Bhukti*, who defeated *Utkuleśa* *Karṇakeśarī*.
- (4) Vikramarāja ... the ruler of *Bāla-Valabhī*, which was close to *Devagrāma*
- (5) Laksmīśūra ... described as *Apara-mandāra-madhusūdana* and *Sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmani*,
- (6) Sūrapāla of Kujavati
- (7) Rudrasikhara ... the *Kalpataru* of Tailakampa.
- (8) Mayagalasimha the ruler (*bhūpāla*) of Ucchāla
- (9) Pratāpasimha .. the ruler (*īāja*) of Dhekkariya.
- (10) Narasimhārjuna the *Maṇḍalādhipati* of Kayangala.
- (11) Candārjuna of Sankatagrāma.
- (12) Vijayarāja of Nidrūbala.
- (13) Dvorapavardhana ... the ruler (*pati*) of Kauśāmbī
- (14) Soma of Paduwanvā ... (*Paduwanvā-pratibaddha-maṇḍalāpratīvallabhah*?)

The identification of all these princes and their principalities is not easy. Bhīmayaśas appears to have been a successor of Chikkora Devarakṣita, the son-in-law of Mathana. It is uncertain who was the Kanauj ruler who was defeated by him. But he was possibly the Gāhadavāla Candradeva, who appears to have conquered Kanauj some time during the period 1073-1090 A. D. Koṭātavi (the forest principality of Koṭ?) whose ruler Viraguna has been described as a southern ruler, has been identified with the Koṭ-des in Sarkār Katak (in Orissa) of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*.<sup>1</sup> But this seems to be improbable, for it involves the assumption that the dominions of Rāmapāla extended so far south as to include portions of Orissa. The principality mentioned next is *Danda-Bhukti*. This place is spoken of in the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Cola as between *Kośala-nāḍu* and *Takkana-lāḍam*. Its king Jayasimha was a neighbour of

<sup>1</sup> *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 144; *Bāngālār Itihās*, p. 287.

the Orissa king Karṇakeśarī. Hence it must be located somewhere near the borders of Orissa, Western Bengal, and the western portion of the Central Provinces. It is therefore not unlikely that it was "the march-land between Orissa and Bengal corresponding to the modern British districts of Midnapore and Balasore."<sup>1</sup> But its prince Jayasimha is not known from any other source. Nor can we explain his relationship with Dharmapāla, who ruled the same principality in the time of Mahipāla I. The next principality is Bāla-Valabhī,<sup>2</sup> which is described by the commentator as *Deiagrāma-pratibaddha*. We have already pointed out that this name occurs in the Bhuvanesvar *prasaṅga* of Bhatta Bhavadeva. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī has identified it with "Bagdī (Vāgadi), one of the five provinces into which Bengal was divided," while others locate it in the Nadia district. Though there is no evidence in support of either of these identifications, it is likely that it was the name of a district in West Bengal. It is to be noted that Bhatta Bhavadeva, who is described as *Bāla-Valabhī-bhujanga*, was a resident of Rādhā. The relationship of Vikramarāja, the ruler of this place, to Harivarmadeva, whom Bhavadeva aided with his counsel, is at present unknown. The next ruler is Lakṣmīśūra of Aparā-mandāra. I have already pointed out the presence of Śūra rulers in Western Bengal.<sup>3</sup> Though we do not exactly know what relationship, if any, this ruler had to the Śūras of Cola and Sena inscriptions and of

<sup>1</sup> *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 71. According to some scholars *Danda-Bhukti* is to be identified with Dātan in Midnapur, see *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 248. The Orissa king Karṇakeśarī, who was defeated by Jayasimha, is otherwise unknown. For kings with the title *Kesarī*, see *infra*, Chapter on *Dynasties of Orissa*.

<sup>2</sup> In the text the name is given as बालबलभी (बि) : e, Bāla-Balabhī(bhī). But in his introduction Śāstrī spells the name as Bāla-Valabhī. As the records of this period often confuse between व and ब it is possible that Śāstrī's emendation of the text was justified. बाल has the sense of 'new'; so the principality may be designated 'New-Valabhī'. Is it possible that it was a colony of the people of Valabhī in Kathiawar which was destroyed by the Arabs in the second half of the 8th century A.D.? See *supra*, p. 336, fn. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, pp. 320-321.

Bengal tradition, he may have belonged to a branch of the same family, and in that case we should locate Aparā-mandāra somewhere in Western Bengal. The next ruler,—Śūrapāla, is not otherwise known. The identification of his principality is also uncertain. It would clearly be hazardous to regard him as a kinsman of the Pālas from his name.<sup>1</sup> The next principality, Tailakampa, has been identified with some probability with Telkup, near Pachet, in the Manbhum district (Bihar)<sup>2</sup> by Pandit H. P. Śāstrī. Nothing is known about its chief Rudraśikhara.<sup>3</sup> The next principality Uchhāla, has been identified with pargana Ujhiyal in Birbhum. But it has been rightly pointed out that if this identification is to depend only on a mere similarity of sound, there are other places in Bengal bearing like names.<sup>4</sup> Its ruler, Mayagalasimha, is not known from any other source. The next principality, Dhekkariya, has been identified by Pandit H. P. Śāstrī with modern “Dhekura on the other side of the river Ajaya, near Katwa” in Burdwan district.<sup>5</sup> The reasons for this equation excepting the similarity of names, are unknown to me. Its *vājā* Pratāpasimha is not known from any other source. Of the remaining princes and principalities we can only make some suggestions about Vijayarāja and Kauśāmbī. The latter place is evidently not to be identified with the city of the same name near Allahabad. A place nearer home bearing the same name is mentioned in the Belava grant of Bhojavarman. This is the Kauśāmbī-*astagacha-khaṇḍala* situated in Puṇḍra-Bhukti. Very probably the Kauśāmbī of the *Rāma-carita* commentary is to be identified with the region

<sup>1</sup> *Baṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 289

<sup>2</sup> *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 14, *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 169. Excepting the similarity of the names, I know no ground for this identification.

<sup>3</sup> Śāstrī in his introduction spells the name as Rudraśekhara, no doubt a mistake.

<sup>4</sup> Apyālagbātī, and Sultānpur-Apyāl in Sarkār Udner commonly known as Tāṇḍā (now a petty village in Malda district); Ajiyālpur and Tērā-Ajiyāl, Husain-Ajiyāl, Soltāra-Ajiyāl, Shāh-Ajiyāl, in Sarkār Mahmudābād, Husain-Apyāl in Sarkār Sharifābād, etc. See *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 180, 192-93, and 140; *Baṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 289-90.

<sup>5</sup> *MASB*, Vol. III, No. I, p. 14.

round about this *Khandala* in North Bengal. The evidence which led Mr. R. D. Banerji to identify this *Kauśāmbī* with *Kuśumbā* in Rajshahi district is not known to me.<sup>1</sup> *Vijayarāja* has been identified by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri with the Sena prince *Vijyasena*.<sup>2</sup> Though there is at present little evidence excepting similarity of names there is no insuperable chronological difficulties in making him a contemporary of *Rāmapāla* (c. 1084-1126 A.D.), for his reign-period as we shall see later on, falls between about 1097 and 1159.<sup>3</sup> If this identification is accepted, we must locate his principality of *Nīdrābala* in West Bengal, for the *Naihati* grant of *Ballālasena* informs us that the princes of his family who preceded him were ornaments of the *Rādhā* country (V. 3).<sup>4</sup>

Though all the *Sāmantas* and their principalities cannot be identified, it should be observed that, so far as it is possible to identify them, most of them are located in portions of West Bengal, Bihar, and North Bengal. This is consistent with our conclusion that East and South Bengal under the *Candras* and the *Varmans* were completely freed from the control of the *Pālas* long before the *Kaivarta* rebellion. *Rāmapāla* accompanied by these feudatories, crossed the Ganges probably on a bridge of boats (*Gaṅgāyām tarāṇi sambhavana naukāmelakena*).<sup>5</sup> In the struggle that followed *Bhīma* was defeated and taken prisoner.<sup>6</sup> It was probably after this victory that *Rāmapāla* destroyed the *Damara* of the *Kaivartas*, which is described as a small town (*upapura*).<sup>7</sup> Though imprisoned *Bhīma* was at first treated kindly by his captors.<sup>8</sup> It was only after the resistance of *Hari*, probably an officer of *Bhīma*, who rallied the remnants of

<sup>1</sup> *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 290

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, 1920, p. 175, *JL*, Vol. XVI, Appendix D, pp. 80-82.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Rāma-carita*, commentary on II, 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, on II, 16-17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, on I, 27

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* on II, 86-87.

the Kaivarta army and was defeated and taken prisoner by one of the sons of Rāmapāla that both Hari and his master were put to death.<sup>1</sup> Rāmapāla celebrated his conquest of Varendrī by founding the city of Rāmavati. It has been identified with Rāmauti in the Sarkār Lakhnauti of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*.<sup>2</sup> The *Rāma-carita* seems to locate it between the Karatoya and Ganges.<sup>3</sup> From the camp situated in this city Madanapāla issued his Manahali grant in his 8th year.<sup>4</sup>

After consolidating his territories by this conquest, Rāmapāla according to his biographer, undertook invasions in foreign countries. In the course of these he is said to have conquered Utkala, Kāhṇga, and Kāmarūpa.<sup>5</sup> We are also told by this authority that a king of the eastern country (*prāgdeśīya*) "who held the title of Varman" sought the protection of Rāmapāla by surrendering his elephants and chariot."<sup>6</sup> It has been rightly assumed that this Varman king must be identified with a prince of the line of Bhojavarman, possibly Harivarman or his son.<sup>7</sup> The cause of his distress may have been an attack on his territories by Vijaya, the feudatory chief of Nīdrābala in Western Bengal, who, as we have seen, is perhaps identical with

<sup>1</sup> *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 14. I do not find any passage which actually refers to the execution of Bhīma. This has been assumed by Paṇḍit H. P. Sāstrī, R. D. Banerji, and other scholars. This is not unlikely as Bhīma is not heard of again. The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva however refers to the recovery by Rāmapāla of Janakabhū (Varendrī?) after killing *Kṣaunḍināyaka* Bhīma. See *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 347 ff., V. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 131, *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 292. H. P. Sāstrī identifies Rāmavati with Rāmapāla in Dacca and places the former at 'the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā'. But 'Karatoyā' joins the Atrai and falls in the Jamuna in the SW of Pabna. See *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *III*, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1900, Vol. 69, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Rāma-carita*, II, 45 and 47. The interpretation of *Bhava-bhūṣaṇa santati* to whom Rāmapāla is said to have returned Utkala has given rise to difficulties. Paṇḍit H. P. Sāstrī takes it in the sense of Nāgavamśa (*Bhava-bhūṣaṇa*=Snake) while R. P. Chanda takes it to mean Somavamśa (*Bhava-bhūṣaṇa*=Moon).

<sup>6</sup> *III*, 44; I have accepted the translation of Mr. Maitreya; see fn. 2, in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 8, p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 294.

Vijayasena the founder of the Sena power, which was soon to destroy the kingdom of the Pālas in Bengal.

✓ For the reign of Rāmapāla we have the following dates and records :

(1) *Bihar stone image-inscription*.—This consists of two lines, incised on the pedestal of an erect figure of Tārā, discovered in Bihar. The inscription records in incorrect Sanskrit the dedication of the statue by one Bhaṭṭa Icchara (Īśvara ?) in the 2nd year of the reign of king Rāmapāladeva.<sup>1</sup>

(2) A MS. of the *Astasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* was written in the 15th year of *M.-P.-Pb.-Ps.* Rāmapāladeva at Nālandā in the *Magadha-Viṣaya*.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *Chandi-mau image-inscription*.—This consists of 3 lines incised on an image of Bodhisattva Padmapāni near the village of Chandi-mau, 7 miles to the S.W. of Bargaon, the old site of Nālandā. It records the gift of the statue by *Paramopāsaka Parama-mahājana Vanika* Sādhu Saharaṇa, who had come from Rājagṛha and was resident in the village of Etrahagrāma, in the 42nd year of the reign of *Pb.-P.-Ps.-M.* Rāmapāladeva.<sup>3</sup>

✓ (4) *The Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī (*Nandī-kulakumuda-kānana-purnendu*).—This *Kāvya* is divided into four cantos and is “written throughout in double *en tendre*. It is written in imitation of the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*. Read one way it gives the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Read another way it gives the history of Rāmapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal.” The work is called *Kaliyuga-Rāmāyaṇa* and the author *Kalikāla-Vālmīki*. But the text is so difficult that it is more or less

✓<sup>1</sup> Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 124; edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N. S.), pp. 108-09. It is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford. Vol. II, p. 250, No. 1428; *JASB*, 1900, Part I, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XI, p. 169; he read the date as 12. The record was then edited in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 98-94. Mr. R. D. Banerji read the date as 42. It is not impossible that the *Mahāmāyādhārika* Śivaraḥṣa whose copper-plate has been discovered near Ramganj in the district of Dinajpur, was a vassal either of Rāmapāla or some of his immediate successors. See *IB*, pp. 149-57.

unintelligible except canto 1 and 36 verses of canto 2, for which we have a commentary. The author's ancestral home was at Vṛhadvaṭu which was attached to Paundravardhanapura in Varendrī, and his father Prajāpati Nandī who is described as *Karanyānām-agraṇī* was the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Rāmapāla. The work was completed probably in the reign of Madanapāla, as he ends his work with a wish for the long reign of that prince (IV. 48).<sup>1</sup>

It is certain from the records cited above that Rāmapāla's reign extended over at least 42 years (c. 1084-1126 A.D.). It is interesting to note in this connection that Tāranāth assigns him a reign of 46 years.<sup>2</sup> Among his ministers the *Rāma-carita* refers to the *Sāndhi(vi-grahika)* Prajāpati Nandī, while the Kamauḥ grant mentions the *Saciva* Bodhideva. Bodhideva's father Yogadeva served in the same capacity under Vigraphapāla III. The same inscription mentions Rāmapāla's queen Madanadevī. Sandhyākara Nandī tells us that this Pāla king, when residing at Monghyr heard of the death of his uncle Mathana and committed suicide by entering the sacred waters of the Ganges.<sup>3</sup> Rāmapāla had more than one son. The commentator of the *Rāma-carita* refers to prince Rājyapāla, who materially assisted his father in his preparations and campaigns against the Kaivartas. From his comments on I, 23, it is clear that Rāmapāla had at least two more sons.<sup>4</sup> The Manahāḥ grant of Madanapāla gives us the names of Kumārapāla and Madanapāla as his sons. Tāranāth refers to his son Yakṣapāla who according to him ascended the throne three years before his father's death, and ruled for a year.<sup>5</sup> The possibility of a son of Rāmapāla undertaking the administration

<sup>1</sup> The work was discovered in Nepal by Pandit H. P. Śāstrī, and has been edited by him with an introduction in *MA SB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1-56.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> *MA SB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 15 and 51; IV, 8-10. See for the similar death of Cālukya Someśvara of Kalyāṇa, *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 442.

<sup>4</sup> *Yārnandanaiḥ putraiḥ Rājyapālādibhiḥ teṣāṃ.....*

<sup>5</sup> *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 366.

of the state before his death is supported by the *Rāma-carila*, which tells us that Rāmapāla used to reside in Rāmāvatī after entrusting the kingdom to his son (*Sūnu-samarpita-rājya*).<sup>1</sup> But unfortunately he does not mention the name of the son. Kielhorn edited an undated Gaya inscription of a king named Yakṣapāla.<sup>2</sup> This stone-inscription consists of 21 lines written in Devanāgarī script of about the 12th century A.D. It opens with *Om namo Sūryāya*, and records that the above-mentioned *nṛpati* built a temple at Gaya for the gods Maunāditya, Sahasraliṅga, Kamalā, Ardhāṅgīna, Dvīstomeśvara, Phalgunātha, Vijayāditya and Kedāradeva. He also dug a tank and established a hall of charity (*sattra*). In the genealogical portion of the inscription Yakṣapāla traces his descent from Śūdraka, to whom we are told the lord of *Gauda*, "almost equal to Indra," paid homage. His son was *nṛpa* Viśvarūpa, who is said to have gained great victories and conferred the riches appropriated from the enemy to "the most excellent twice-born." His son was *narendra* Yakṣapāla. Kielhorn was right in not accepting this prince as a son of Rāmapāla. The mention of Śūdraka and Viśvāditya shows that this family must be identified with the Brahman family whose inscriptions at Gaya are dated in the 15th year of Nayapāla (c. 1040-1055 A.D.) and the 5th year of Viśrahapāla III (c. 1055-81 A.D.) The assumption of royal titles by Viśvāditya and his son Yakṣapāla at Gaya, shows that the Pāla hold even over Magadh was growing loose. It is likely that this family became practically independent soon after the death of Rāmapāla. Another small principality which also probably became free from the control of the Pālas at this time was that of the Mānas. The beginning of the importance of this family is carried back to about the 8th century A.D. by the *Dudhpani rock inscription of Udayamāna*

<sup>1</sup> IV, 1.

<sup>2</sup> IA, Vol XVI, pp. 63-66.

<sup>3</sup> EI, Vol. I, pp. 343-47. According to Kielhorn the script of this inscription is "somewhat more modern than that of the *Aphsaḍ* inscription of Ādityasena." He assigns it to about the 8th century A.D.



in Hazaribagh district.<sup>3</sup> This record informs us that three brothers named Udayamāna, Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna, who were merchants engaged in trade between Ayodhyā and Tāmalipti, became masters of the three villages of Bhramaraśālmali, Nabhūtiṣandaka and Chhīngala, through the favour of *Magadhādhirāja* Ādisimha. They must have remained petty feudatory chiefs for about four centuries, at the end of which they emerge as independent rulers in the same locality. The *Govindpur stone-inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara* dated in *Saka* 1059 (A.D. 1137-38), was discovered by Cunningham at Govindpur in the Nawada subdivision of the Gaya district in Bihar.<sup>1</sup> This is really a *prāśasti* of Gaṅgādhara and his family who claimed to be Maga Brahmins highly proficient in Vedic studies. They were also poets. Cakrapāṇi, one of the ancestors of Gaṅgādhara, is compared to Vālmīki, while Gaṅgādhara himself composed a poem named *Advaitaśataka*. Kielhorn has identified the six Maga Brahmins whose verses are quoted in the *Saṅkṣipta-lakṣmī* compiled by Śrīdhara-dāsa in A.D. 1205 with the six Maga Brahmins of this inscription bearing the same names. Gaṅgādhara's uncle Daśa-ratha first came to the court of the *Magadheśvara* Varnamāna, and was appointed to the office of *Pratīhāra*. Later on Gaṅgādhara became the counsellor of king Rudramāna and married Pāsala-devī, a daughter of Jayapāṇi, a friend of the king of Gauda. Kielhorn has approximately dated these two Māna rulers of Magadha "towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D." There seems to be no reason to doubt that the family of Yakṣapāla, which claimed to rule in the neighbourhood of Gaya city, and the Mānas who held the western portion of the Gaya district and northern portions of Hazaribagh were petty rulers, and they may therefore have ruled in that area simultaneously. It is also extremely likely that the prince referred to as the *Gaudarāja* in this inscription was

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 330-42.

the contemporary Pāla king, whose rule in Bihar south of the Ganges probably extended only over the narrow strip of territory extending from the western borders of Patna to Rajmahal. In addition to this he also held a portion of north Bengal, so to deserve the title of *Gaudarāja*.

According to the Manahali grant of Madanapāla, Rāmapāla was succeeded by his son Kumārapāla. But it is clear from the Kamauli grant of his minister Vaidyadeva,<sup>1</sup> that the pent-up forces of disruption so long held up by the powerful arm of Rāmapāla began now to assert themselves. Vaidyadeva claims to have become dearer to the life of the *Gauḍeśvara* by gaining a naval victory probably somewhere on the Ganges in *Anuttara* (South ?)-*Vaṅga* (V. 11). The disaffection of Tūṅgyadeva in the east (Kāmarūpa) was suppressed by the same minister, but in his 4th year, the date of his Kamauli grant, he himself appears to have practically asserted his independence, as his assumption of imperial titles amply testifies.<sup>2</sup> How long Kumārapāla ruled is not known; but it may be inferred that he was still living when the Kamauli grant of his minister Vaidyadeva was issued in the 4th year of the latter's reign. Scholars have assumed that he had a short reign from the fact that only one verse is devoted to his rule in the *Rāma-carita*.<sup>3</sup> So far no records or dates of his reign have been discovered; but, as I have already said, we shall probably be not far wrong if we assign him a reign of about four years (c. 1126-30 A.D.).

He was succeeded by his son Gopala III. It is assumed from Verse 18 of the Manahali grant and from the *Rāma-carita* (IV. 12) that this prince died in his youth probably at the hands of men employed by his uncle Madanapāla, who succeeded

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 349 ff.; also *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 127ff

<sup>2</sup> His titles are *Paramamāheśvara-Paramavarṣa-M.-P.-Pb.-Vaidyadeva*. It is difficult to agree with the view that this inscription was dated in the reign of Kumārapāla, though it is quite likely that king was still ruling when this grant was issued. See *JASB*, 1902, p. 3, fn. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *IV*, 11; see *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 311.

him.<sup>1</sup> Only one stone-inscription of Gopāla III has been discovered at Manda in Rajshahi.<sup>2</sup> Madanapāla was a son of Rāmapāla by his queen Madanadevī. We have the following dates and records for his reign :

✓ (1) *Bihar Hill image-inscription*.—This consists of two lines incised on the base of an image of Śaṣṭhī recording the erection of the image in year 3 of the reign of Madanapāladeva.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Manahālī grant*.—This plate was discovered during the excavation of a tank in the village of Manahali in Dinajpur district. It contains 35 lines on the obverse and 23 lines on the reverse. It bears the usual *Dharmacakra* seal of the Pālas with legend *Śrī-Madanapāladevasya*. The inscription begins with *Om namo Buddhāya* and traces the genealogy of the family from Gopāla to Madanapāla, who was born from Rāmapāla, by his queen Madanadevī. The grant was issued from the *Jayaskandhāvāra* situated in Rāmavati-nagara, and in the 8th year of *Ps.-M. Rāmapāladeva-pādānudhyātah P.-Pb.-M. Madanapāladeva*. Its object was to record the gift of some land in *Halāvarta-Maṇḍala*, in *Kotivarsa-Vīsaya*, in *Punḍravardhana-Bhukti*, by the king to the Pandit *Bhāttaputra Vāteśvara Śarmā* as a fee for reading the *Mahābhārata* (*Veda-Vyāsa-prokta prapāṭhita Mahābhārata*),<sup>4</sup> to the *Patta-mahādevī Citramatikā*. The usual *Buddha-bhaṭṭā-rakam nḍdisya*, etc., also occurs in it. The *Dūtaka* was *Sandhivigrahiḥa Bhīmadeva*, the engraver *Śilpī Tathāgatasara*.<sup>5</sup>

✓ (3) *Jaynagar image-inscription*.—This consists of four lines incised on the pedestal of a "Buddhist statue." It was

<sup>1</sup> See *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 158 fn., *Bāngālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 311; *MASB*, Vol. III, Part 1, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Not yet properly edited; see *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 158 fn., *Baṅgīya Śāhitya-Pariṣad-Patrickā*, Vol. XIX, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 124. The inscription is unfortunately incomplete. Its whereabouts are at present unknown.

<sup>4</sup> Epic composed (*prokta*) and taught (*prapāṭhita*) by Vyāsa.

<sup>5</sup> The grant was discovered in 1875 and came into the possession of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1899. It was edited by Mr. N. N. Vasu in *JASB*, 1900, Vol. 69, pp. 66-73; also in the *Gaudalekhamālā*, pp. 147-58.

found at Jaynagar, near Luckeesarai (Lakṣmīsarai, the Lakhi Sarai of Cunningham), a village in the head-quarters sub-division of Monghyr district, Bihar. The image was installed in the year 19 in the reign of Madanapāladeva.<sup>1</sup>

It is thus clear that Madanapāla ruled at least for 19 years (c. 1130-50 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> I have already drawn attention to the fact that the Pāla kingdom at this period included only portions of Northern Bengal and Bihar. There is however reason to suspect that not long after his 8th year Madanapāla was driven out of Bengal by the rising power of the Senas. This brings us to the discussion of the Sena chronology. Before introducing this subject I wish to make it clear that the era which started from A.D. 1119, and which later became associated with the name of Lakṣmanasena, had nothing to do with the Senas of Bengal. All the Sena records so far discovered, even those of the successors of Lakṣmanasena, are dated in regnal years; and so far as is known to me, there is not a single authentic document discovered within the limits of the Sena kingdom which is dated unmistakably in the era commonly known as that of Lakṣmanasena.<sup>3</sup> Applying the dictum of Fleet that "Any era may be introduced in a country

<sup>1</sup> *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 125. In this report 'Jaynagar near Lakhi Sarai' is placed under Gaya, but the *IGI*, Vol. XVI, 1908, p. 180, places Luckeesarai in Monghyr district. Another Jaynagar image-inscription dated in the 35th year of Gaudesvara Palapāla was noticed by Cunningham, see *ASR*, Vol. III, Plate XLV, No. 33. Mr. R. D. Banerji accepts this ruler as a Pāla prince and places him after Madanapāla; see *JBORS*, December 1918, pp. 496 ff. He may have succeeded Madanapāla and Govindapāla in a portion of Bihar with pretensions over portions of Gauda. The title *Gaudesvara* in that case finds a parallel in the title *Kālañjarādhipati* of the Southern Kalacuris.

<sup>2</sup> R. G. Basak shows good reason to believe that the Candra mentioned in the *Rāmācarita* as a friend of Madanapāla, was not the Gāhadavāla Candradeva but the *Maṇḍalādhipati* of Anga and a grandson of the Rāstrakūṭa Mahana, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla; see *IHQ*, March 1929, pp. 35-48.

<sup>3</sup> The contention that the Dacca Candī image-inscription, dated *Śrīmal-Lakṣmanasena-devasya Sam. 8*, was dated in the Lakṣmanasena era starting from 1119, A.D. (see *HI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 359 ff.) cannot be accepted. The fact that the Bakerganj plate of Keśava-sena, son of Lakṣmanasena, is dated in year 3, while the Madanapāra grant of another son Viśvarūpasena, who appears to have preceded his brother (*JASB*, Vol. X (N. S.) 1914, p. 98), is dated in year 14, is sufficient to prove that the date is regnal, and does not refer to any era. But as we shall see, there are additional grounds.

to which it was not founded, but no era can have been founded in a country in which it was never used," to this particular case, we must refrain from introducing the 'era of Lakṣmanasena' into Sena chronology.<sup>1</sup> In any discussions on this problem we must take into consideration the following facts :

(1) The date *Saka* 1082 (1159-60 A.D.) supplied by some MSS. of the *Adbhutasāgara* as the initial date of Ballālasena's reign.

(2) The statement in the *Dānasāgara* that it was completed by Ballālasena in *Saka* 1091 (A D. 1169-70).

(3) The statement of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, that Rai Lakhmania (Lakṣmanasena) was defeated between 1193 and 1205 A.D. by Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār.

(4) The contemporaneity of Vijayasena with Nānyadeva of Tirhut and Nepal (c. 1097-1150 A.D.), and probably also with Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126 A.D.) and Rāghava of Kalinga (c. 1156-1170 A.D.).

(5) The probability of *rasaikavimśe* in the colophon of the *Saduktī-kamāmṛta* being a copyist's mistake for *rajjayakavimśe*. This would give us the date *Śaka* 1127 (1206 A.D.) as the 21st year of the reign of Lakṣmanasena and consequently the date 1185 A.D. as that of his accession to the throne.<sup>2</sup>

Taking into consideration these facts and the known reign-periods of the Sena kings, we may suggest the following chronological table for their dynasty :

Sāmantasena.	..	c. 1050-1075 A.D	(Reign period not known).
Hemantasena.....	..	c. 1075-1097	.. ( .. .. )
Vijayasena..	..	.....c. 1097-1159	.. ( .. .. so far known 62 years).

<sup>1</sup> This view was first advocated by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri of the University of Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> For the passage see R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. III, p. 141; for the interpretation see *JL*, Vol. XVI, pp. 18-19.

Ballālasena.....c. 1159-1185 A.D	(Reign period so far known 11 years).
Lakṣmaṇasena.....c. 1185-1206	,, ( ,, ,, ,, known 3 years).
Mādhavasena ?.....	..... ?
Viśvarūpasena.....c. 1206-1225	,, (Reign period so far known 14 years).
Keśavasena....c. 1225-1230	,, ( ,, ,, far known 3 years).

The facts on which the chronology rests are perhaps not quite unexceptionable. But the apparent agreement of the dates of the *Adbhutasāgara* and the *Dānasāgara* with that of Minhāj must tend to discourage all attempts to prove them to be spurious or unreliable. In the present state of our knowledge the above suggestion may be accepted as approximately correct.<sup>1</sup>

Turning now to the question of their origin, I have already pointed out the possibility that they came from the South. In the *Ballāla-carita* of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, a work composed in the beginning of the 16th century, the Sena genealogy is traced back to the epic hero Karna, whose great-grandson Vīrasena married Somatā, the daughter of a Gauda Brahman. The Senas of Bengal were sprung from the descendants of this Vīrasena, and were higher in rank than the Kṣatriyas, being Brahma-Kṣatriyas like the Pāṇḍavas.<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions of the Senas,

<sup>1</sup> On Sena chronology see *JASB*, 1896, Vol. 65, pp. 16-37; 1905, Vol. 1 (N.S.), pp. 47 ff. 1913, Vol. IX (N.S.), pp. 271-290; 1915, Vol. XI (N.S.), pp. 406 ff.; 1921, Vol. XVII (N.S.), pp. 6-16; 1926, Vol. XXII (N.S.), pp. 365-39. *IA*, 1912, pp. 167 ff.; 1913, pp. 185 ff., 1919, pp. 171 ff.; 1922, pp. 145 ff. and 153 ff. *IHQ*, March, 1929, pp. 133-37. *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Orientalia, pp. 1-5. *JL*, 1927, Vol. XVI, pp. 73 ff., Appendix A. *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 280 ff. *Bangālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 308 ff. *Gaudarājamālā*, pp. 60-65. On the contention of Mr. R. D. Banerjī that the *Adbhutasāgara* says that Ballālasena died shortly after Śaka 1091 (1169 A.D.), see R. C. Majumdar's fn. 1 on p. 12, *JASB*, 1921. The passage in question simply says that the work was begun in Śaka 1090 and was left incomplete when the royal author died. See *Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency* (1887-90) by R. G. Bhandarkar, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ballāla-carita*, Ed., by H. P. Sāstrī, Calcutta, Śakābda 1823, Chap. XII, p. 55; Trans. by the same, Calcutta, 1901, p. 48.

Karṇa, Vṛṣasena and Prṭhusena are entirely omitted. But they mention Vīrasena as the remote ancestor of Sāmantasena, who appears to have been the real founder of the line. The Senas claim to belong to the lunar race. In the Deopara Stone inscription of Vijayasena we are told that in the family of the moon were born the southern rulers (*Dākṣiṇātya-Kṣaunīndra*) Vīrasena and the rest. In that Sena family (*Sen-ānvaye*) was born Sāmantasena the *Kulaśīrodāma* of the *Brahma-Kṣatriyas* who “slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of Karṇāṭa (*Karṇāṭa-lakṣmī-lunṭhakānām*).”<sup>1</sup> In the Barrackpur grant of the same king, Sāmantasena is said to have sprung from the family of the *rājaputras* of the lunar race. He is further described as the head ornament of the Ksatriyas.<sup>2</sup> In the Naihati grant of Ballālasena, Sāmantasena is said to have been born in the family of the *rājaputras* of the lunar family who were ornaments of the *Rāḍhā* country.<sup>3</sup> In the Madhainagar grant of Lakṣmanasena, Sāmantasena is described as the head-garland (*Kula-śīrodāma*) of the *Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriyas*.<sup>4</sup> From these passages it is quite clear that the Senas came from *Karṇāṭa* in the Deccan and settled in *Rāḍhā*, in West Bengal. It is interesting in this connection to note that names ending in *Sena* were by no means unknown during this period in the *Karṇāṭa* country. Prof. R. C. Mojumdar has recently pointed out a line of 7 Jaina teachers with names ending in *Sena* in the Dharwar district (Bombay).<sup>5</sup> As the dates of these Senas range from about 850 to 1054 A. D., and as change of religion, from Jainism to Hinduism or *vice versa*, is not an unfamiliar feature of Indian society, it had been suggested that the Senas of *Rāḍhā* may have had some connection with the Senas of Dharwar. The religious revolution in *Karṇāṭa* in the

<sup>1</sup> *BI*, Vol. I, p. 307, Vs. 4-5 and 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. XV, p. 282, Vs. 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. XIV, p. 159, Vs. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1901, Vol. V (N.S.), p. 471, V. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *PTOC*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 343.

11th and 12th centuries, which ultimately led to the foundation of the Liṅgāyata sect, may have helped to change the creed of the Jaina family into Śaivism. The conversion of the Cālukya prince Jayasīma II (c. 1018-1042 A.D.) from Jainism to Śaivism is an interesting example on the point. The fact that Sāmantasena is called *Brahmaṇḍī* in the Deopara inscription and that he retired in his old age to a hermitage on the Ganges whose parrots even knew by rote the text of the Vedas, seems to support the contention that he sprang from a line of teachers. The example of Mayūraśarma, the founder of the Kadambas, shows that in the south proficiency in the Vedas was no bar to a military career<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely that Sāmantasena, like Mayūraśarma was a Brahman, and like him entered the royal service and adopting a Kṣatriya's life soon gained prominence "by acts of bravery in battles." This would give a satisfactory explanation to the puzzling word *Brahma-Kṣatriya* applied to him.<sup>2</sup> By adopting a Kṣatriya's profession, they became ultimately merged in the general body of the Kṣatriyas. In the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena, which is one of the earliest documents of the Senas, they still remembered their Brāhmana origin. But the prefix *Brahma* gradually disappears in their records. In the Barrackpur grant of the same king Sāmantasena is already the 'head-ornament' of only the Kṣatriyas.<sup>3</sup> I have suggested the possibility that Sāmantasena or one of his predecessors came in the train of the Cālukya prince Vikramāditya when the latter invaded N. E. India in the reign of his father Someśvara I (c. 1044-68

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 31-32, Vs. 4-20

<sup>2</sup> On this word see *JASB*, 1909, Vol V (N.S.), p 186. In the Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya the Guhila prince Bhartṛpatṭa is described as *Brahma-Kṣatrānṛita* (V 6), see *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 11 and 13.

<sup>3</sup> In this connection compare the title *Brahma-Kṣatra* applied to Rāma son of Jamadagni in the epics and the Purāṇas. He was so called because "though a Brāhmaṇ, he is generally spoken of as virtually a Kṣatriya," combining the characteristics of both. Similarly the Kṣatriyas who became Brahmans were designated *Kṣatropetā-dvāyayaḥ*; see Pargiter, *Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922, pp 199, 243-52.



A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Verses 8-9 of the Deopara inscription describe the activities of Sāmantasena in the following terms :—“ This hero singly slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of Karnāṭa overrun by hostile tribes to such an extent that the ruler of goblins, whose citizens are delighted, does not even now leave the *southern quarters* where the store of marrow, flesh and fat is not yet exhausted In his old age, he frequented the sacred hermitages in the woods by the sandy banks of the Ganges, full of religious devotees, doing battle against the terrors of life, (hermitages) which were fragrant with the smoke of sacrificial butter ; where the young deer relished the milk of the breasts of kindly hermits’ wives ; (and) where crowds of parrots knew by rote the texts of the Vedas ” When this is read with the statement of the Naihati grant of Ballālasena that he sprang from the lunar race of the *Rājaputras*, who were ornaments of Rādhā it is clear that Sāmantasena, though engaged in military campaigns in the south,<sup>2</sup> probably in the interest and service of a Karnāṭa prince, was settled in Rādhā, possibly its northern part, which was closer to the Ganges<sup>3</sup>

Sāmantasena was succeeded by Hemantasena. Nothing but vague praise is recorded for this prince. The following verse from the Deopara inscription may be accepted as a sample : “ On his head he had the dust of the feet of the half-moon-crested (god), in his throat true speech, in his ear sacred precepts, at his feet the hairs of enemies, on his arms the marks of the scars made by the hard bow-string ” (V. 11.). But from

<sup>1</sup> The other two theories that the Senas came to Bengal with Rājendra Coḷa or Coḍaganga, are less probable for the reason that none of the two princes can be said to be rulers of Karnāṭa

<sup>2</sup> In V. 5 of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena, Sāmantasena is said to have “carried on near the border of the dam” (*setu*=Adam’s Bridge) “his victorious arms exterminating hundreds of opposing champions.” See *EI*, Vol. I, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol IX, pp 95 ff Cf. the mention of Ganges next to *Uttira-lāṣam* in the Tirumalai inscription Uttara-Rāṣha occurs in the Naihati grant of Vallālasena See *EI*, Vol. XIV, p 161, also in Belava grant of Bhojavarmān, *EI*, Vol XII, pp. 37 ff. *Supra*, pp 319-20

the epithet of *mahārājñī*, given to his consort Yaśodevī in the same inscription, he seems to have already claimed to be a chief of some importance. The feet of Yaśodevī we are told, "were brightened by a series of rays of the lines of the crest-jewels of the wives of princes both friendly and hostile" (V. 14). But the prince who really laid the foundation of the Sena kingdom in Bengal appears to have been Vijayasena, his son by this queen. In our chronology his reign extended from about 1097 to 1159 A. D. This is quite consistent with the suggestion already made that he is to be identified with the Vijaya of Nidrābala who, according to the commentary of the *Rāmācarita*, helped Rāmapāla (c 1084-1126 A. D.) in defeating the Kaivartas in Varendrī. If this identification is accepted, it must be supposed that Vijayasena, in about the last quarter of the 11th century, was only a feudatory of the Pāla king. But from the fact that he is not given any such epithet as *bhūpāla*, *rājā*, or *pati*, which are given to some of the other *Sāmantas*, it must be assumed that he did not enjoy a position of any considerable power in the Pāla's *Sāmantacakra*. It was probably his marriage with Vilāsadevī, who is described as *Śūra-kulāmbodhi-kaumudī* in his Barrackpur grant, that first raised him into importance. We have already noticed that the Śūras were the rulers of a principality in South Rādhā, in the first quarter of the 11th century A. D. A Śūra chief also figures in the list of the *Sāmantas* of Rāmapāla. A matrimonial alliance with the Śūras therefore must have certainly led to a considerable improvement of the position of this ambitious Sena chieftain. I have suggested elsewhere that the enemy from whose attack a Varman prince of the eastern country sought the protection of Rāmapāla was possibly Vijayasena. In any case the Varmans must have been supplanted by the Senas before the 62nd year (c. 1159 A.D.) of Vijayasena, as his Barrackpur grant was issued in that year from Vikramapura, the same place where was pitched the "victorious camp" of Bhojavarman in the Belava grant. But this was not his only conquest.

In the Deopara inscription, Vijayasena claims to have "defeated Nānya and Vīra, impetuously assailed the lord of Gauḍa, put down the prince of Kāmarūpa, defeated the Kaliṅga (king)," imprisoned a number of chiefs, including Nānya, Rāghava, Vardhana and Vīra, and sent a naval expedition to the western regions which sailed up the whole course of the Ganges (Vs. 20-22). The identification of these princes is difficult, as they are not connected with the countries which they ruled.<sup>1</sup> The lord of Gauḍa is generally identified with Madanapāla (c. 1130-1150 A.D.), whose Manahali grant, dated in his 8th year was found in Dinajpur district. The discovery of the Deopara inscription in Rajshahi district shows that before that inscription was incised Vijayasena was already in possession of a portion of Gauḍa. The possession of part of Northern Bengal is also proved by his Barrackpur grant, which assigns land in *Puṇḍravardhana-Bhukti*. The chronological scheme adopted by us shows that Madanapāla and Vijayasena were contemporaries, and as their inscriptions prove that they were neighbours the impetuous assault by the Sena prince may have been really aimed against the *Gaudapati*, Madanapāla. Nānya and Rāghava have been identified with Nānyadeva of Tirhut and Nepal (c. 1097-1150 A.D.) and Rāghava, king of Kalinga (c. 1156-70 A.D.), a son of Codagaṅga (c. 1076-1147 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> In the *Ballāla-carita* Vijayasena is described as a friend of Codaganga.<sup>3</sup> We do not know how far this assertion of an author who lived about four centuries later, is to be believed. There is a statement contained in the Kēndupatna plates of the Gaṅga king Narasimha II, that Codagaṅga levied tribute from the lands bordering on the Ganges (*bhūmer Gaṅgā-Gotama-Gaṅgayōh*) and defeated the ruler of

<sup>1</sup> This is done in the Allahabad pillar-inscription of Samudragupta; see *GI*, pp. 6 ff; *JL*, Vol. XVI, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *BI*, Vol. I, p. 307; *JASB*, 1915, Vol. XI (N.S.), pp. 408-09; 1908, Vol. I (N.S.), pp. 101-13.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. XII, p. 55; Trans., p. 48.

Mandāra.<sup>1</sup> This Mandāra is perhaps to be located near the Aparā-mandāra, mentioned in the commentary of the *Rāmācarita*.<sup>2</sup> The latter principality, probably situated in West Bengal, was under a Śūra prince in about the last quarter of the 11th century and was possibly still under them in the 12th. As the Śūras were relatives of Vijayasena, we can readily understand why the Senas and Gaṅgas came into conflict. Vijayasena, probably in the latter part of his reign, succeeded in defeating Rāghava, the son of his powerful rival. As Nānyadeva was a contemporary of Vijayasena, we can also accept the proposed identification. <It seems that the Sena king, after driving out Madanapāla from North Bengal, some time before his 62nd year, the date of his Barrackpur grant, crossed the river Nagar and came into conflict with the chief of Mithilā.> It was a struggle between two Karnāṭa chiefs; and it was possibly in the course of this campaign that the Bengal chief sent a naval expedition to the western regions (*pāścātya-cakra*) up the "whole course of the Ganges."<sup>3</sup> <The Pāla principality at this time therefore probably comprised only the region to the south of the Ganges, now known as the districts of Patna, and Monghyr.> Of the remaining chiefs, Vīra and Vardhana have been identified with Vīraguṇa of Koṭātavī and Vardhana of Kauśāmbī who figure in the commentary of the *Rāmācarita* as *Sāmantas* of Rāmapāla.<sup>4</sup> The *Kāmarūpa-bhūpa* is probably to be identified with Rāyārīdeva or Udayakarna, of the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva.<sup>5</sup> The identifications proposed are in some cases still somewhat doubtful; but as a scholar has rightly pointed out, the rejection involves the assumption that in about the latter part of the 11th and the first part of the 12th century, there were

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 239-41.

<sup>2</sup> II, 5.

<sup>3</sup> This expedition may have also some connection with the Gāhaḍavālas, see *infra*, my chapter on the Gāhaḍavālas.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, 1920, pp. 174-75.

<sup>5</sup> *BEI*, Vol. V, pp. 181-88; see *supra*, my chapter on Assam, pp. 259-60.

two Nānyas, two Rāghavas, two Vīras and two Vardhanas in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. "Such a conclusion, though not absolutely impossible is highly improbable."<sup>1</sup> In addition to these victories, the Naihati grant of his son Ballālasena tells us that his father "outshone *Sāhasānka* by his deceitless prowess." This prince has not yet been satisfactorily identified.<sup>2</sup>

The discussion above would show that after the death of the last Pāla king Rāmapāla there was a general scramble for power in the lower Ganges valley amongst the feudatories of the Pālas and the neighbouring chiefs. In this struggle the goddess of victory gave her garland to one of the former *Sāmantas* of Rāmapāla. The claim to have imprisoned so many kings is probably an exaggeration of the actual facts by the *prastatikāra*; but the find-spots and internal evidence of his records shew that there is a substantial amount of accuracy in his claims. It is certain that he ruled over portions of West, North and East Bengal. In the Deopara inscription Vijayasena is praised for his liberality to the *Śrotriya*s and the poor. We are told that "through his favour the *Śrotriya*s enjoy so much wealth that their wives had to be taught by the *nāgarīs* (wives of the townspeople) the use of pearls, emeralds, etc." The same inscription records his erection of the high temple of Pradyumneśvara Śiva and the excavation of a lake. He was a worshipper of Śiva, and had the *biruda* of *Anursabhaśankhara* and the title *Parama-māheśvara*. His two inscriptions also begin with salutations to Śiva. The poet Umāpatidhara, who composed the Deopara *prastati*, and describes himself as a "poet whose understanding is purified with the study of words and their meanings," lived in his court. It is likely that the city of Vijayapura mentioned as capital of Lakṣmaṇasena by the *Pavanadūta* of

<sup>1</sup> *JL*, Vol. XVI. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 159, V. 7. For unsuccessful attempts to identify *Sāhasānka* see *ibid.*, pp. 157-58; R. D. Banerji suggests that he may be identified with the Ohamba prince *Sāhasānka*, also called *Sāhasānka*; see *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 81, note 5 for the grant of the son of this prince. This identification does not appeal to me.

Dhoyī was built during his time and named after him.<sup>1</sup> As the wind-messenger comes to the city after crossing the Suhmadeśa and the confluence of the Bhāgīrathī and Yamunā (Trivenī), the city should be located somewhere near the district of Hugli.<sup>2</sup>

The following records of Vijayasena have so far been found :

(1) *Paikor pillar-inscription*.—Incised on a small decorative stone pillar surmounted by the figure of the goddess Manasā at Paikor in Birbhum district (Bengal). The inscription consists of a single line and mentions the name of king Vijayasena.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Deopara stone inscription*.—This is incised on a piece of basalt carefully polished on the upper surface. It was discovered amidst a number of large blocks of stone in a dense jungle near the village of Deopara, in the Godagari Thana, Rajshahi District, Bengal. The characters may be described as a Bengali variety of the northern alphabet of the 11th or 12th century. It contains 32 lines, and opens with *Om namaḥ Śivāya*. Then occurs a verse in praise of Sambhu and Devī. Next we are told that the god Pradyumneśvara represented the union of the 'beloved of Lakṣmī' and the 'husband of the daughter of the mountain.' Then follows a verse in praise of the moon. In his race were born the southerner Virasena and the rest. In that Sena family was born Sāmantasena ; his son Hemantasena ; his son Vijayasena. The object of the inscription is to record that this king built a magnificent temple of the god Śiva Pradyumneśvara and dug a lake. The *praśasti* was composed by the *Kavi* Umāpati, and was engraved by the *Rāṇaka Śūlapāṇi*, 'the crest jewel of Varendra artists' ( *Varendraka-śilpi-goṣṭhī-cūḍāmaṇi* ).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *JL*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15, 21-24 ; see for other views *JASB*, 1906, Vol. I (N.S.), p. 45 ; *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> This inscription has not yet been edited. It was noticed in the *ASI*, 1921-22, p. 115 ; *IB*, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was first published with a translation by Mr. O. T. Metcalf, in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, pp. 128-54 ; then edited by Kielhorn in the *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 305-15 ; again in *IB*, pp. 42-56.

✓(3) *Barrackpur grant*.—This is incised on a single plate of copper, and was discovered near the cantonment of Barrackpur in the possession of some villagers. The obverse contains 24 and the reverse-side 26 lines of writing. On the top of the plate is attached the royal seal, which “ consists of a ten-armed figure of Śiva, called in the Edilpur grant of Keśavasena *Sadāśivamudrā*, embossed in relief.”<sup>1</sup> There is no legend on the seal. The characters belong to the 11th or 12th century, and are in what “ may be called the Bengali alphabet.” The grant opens with *Om namah Śivāya*. The first verse praises Dhurjati, and the next the moon. The genealogy is then traced from Sāmantasena, who was born in the family of the lunar princes, to *Vijaya-sena*. This last prince had as his *mahiṣī* Vilāsadevī, a daughter of the Śūra family. By her was born to him, Ballālasena, “ an umbrella (protector) of the Kṣatriyas (who had the *biruda*) *Niṣaṅka-śankara*.”<sup>2</sup> In verse 10 we are told that her husband caused her to make various gifts. We are then told that the grant was issued from the *Jayaskandhāvāra* situated at Vikramapura by *M. Hemantasena-pādānudhyāta-Parama-māheśvara-Pb. -M. -Vijaya-senadeva*. The object of the grant is to record the gift of four *pātakas* of land (measured) by *Samataṭṭiya-nala* in the *Ghāsa-sambhoga-Bhaṭṭavaḍā-grāma* in the *Khāḍi-Viṣaya* situated in *Puṇḍravardhana-Bhukti* to the Brahman *Udayakaradeva Śarman* in honour of *Maheśvara-bhaṭṭāraka*, as a fee for performing the *homa* ceremony of the *Kanaka-tulā-puruṣa* gift given by *Mahā-mahādevi* Vilāsadevī on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donee was an immigrant from the *Madhyadeśa*. Then comes the *biruda* of the donor, *Arivṛṣabhaśankara*, and the name of the *Dūtaka Śālādānāga*. Next comes the date *Sam. 62, Vai-*

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N. S.), 1914, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>2</sup> V. 8 refers to Ballālasena, and V. 9 refers to *Niṣaṅka-śankara*, both born of the same lady. If we did not know from the *Madanapara* grant of *Viśvarūpasena* (*JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, p. 7) that the latter name was the *biruda* of the former, the impression might have been produced that they were the names of two sons.

sākhadine 7. At the end is the word (*ma*)hā, which according to some, means *Mahāsāndhuvigrahika*.<sup>1</sup>

Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Ballālasena. From Verse 9 of the Barrackpur grant of his father it appears that he was already associated in the government of the state. Epigraphic records however supply little information regarding him. The Madanapara grant of Viśvarūpasena calls him *Gauḍeśvara*, which title is also given him in the beginning of the *Dānasāgara*.<sup>2</sup> From his Naihati grant we know that he ruled at least for 11 years. (The *Ballāla-carita* tells us that his kingdom comprised the five provinces of Vaṅga, Vāgaḍī, Varendra, Rāḍha, and Mithilā and that he had three capitals, in each of which he stayed occasionally. These were Gauḍapura, Vikramapura, and Svarṇagrāma.) The book also gives details of how this king socially degraded the Suvarṇavaṇīks of Bengal, and made a clean caste of the lowly Kaivartas.<sup>3</sup> According to Bengal tradition, he was also the founder of Kulinism in Bengal. Recent historical research however has shown that little or no reliance can be placed on the tradition of the Bengal *Kula-paṇḍikās*. It is significant that not a single land grant of Ballālasena or of his successors refers to this institution, though in every case they record gifts to Brahman families. (It is however not impossible that Ballāla's power extended in the West up to Mithilā.) We have seen that its ruler, Nānyadeva, was defeated by Vijayasena, and there is no reason to suppose that the Sena kingdom lost any of its provinces during the next reign. (A tradition recorded in the *Laghu-bhārata*, contains references to Ballāla's expedition to Mithilā.<sup>4</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Edited by R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 278-86, re-edited in *IB*, pp. 57-67. The plate is now in the possession of Mr Schumacher, an officer of Messrs. Bird & Co., of Calcutta. Dr. Barnett examined the date on the plate and was of opinion that it was more probably 62 than 32 or 61.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, p. 7. In the *Adbhūtasāgara* too he is called king of Gauḍa; see *Report on the search for Sans. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency*, (1887-91) by Bhandarkar, p. lxxxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ballāla-carita*, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LVI, p. 26.



Ballāla was noted for his learning. In the Barrackpur grant of his father he is said to be "the cherished lover of the intellect of the preceptor of the gods (*Bṛhaspati*) (which has become like) an excessively passionate woman" (V. 8). In the beginning of the *Dānasāgara*, a work on various kinds of gifts and connected ceremonies completed by him in *Saka* 1091 (A. D. 1169-70)<sup>1</sup> we are told that he "learnt all the *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛti* works (*adhigata-sakala-purāṇa-smṛti-sūrah*) from his preceptor Aniruddha." In addition to the *Dānasāgara*, he began the compilation of another work, the *Adbhutasāgara* (dealing with omens and portents) in *Saka* 1090 (A. D. 1168-69), which was completed after his death by his son Lakṣmaṇasena.<sup>2</sup> But much of the credit of these encyclopaedic compilations must go to the preceptor (*guru*) of the king, who is described as *ślāghya-varendrī-tale*, and who must have composed also some other works on ritual.<sup>3</sup> Ballāla, like his father, was a Śaiva. He also had the title *Parāma-māheśvara*, and his grant also begins with *Om namah Śivāya*, and praises *Ardhanārīśvara* (Śiva). He is given the *biruda* *Niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara* by his father's Barrackpur grant, and the *Madanpara* grant of his grandson Viśvarūpasena adds *Arirāja* before this title. The *biruda* is also mentioned in the colophon of the *Dānasāgara*. A MS. of the *Adbhutasāgara* contains the following passage *Bhuja-vasu-daśa-1082-mita-Śake Srīmad-Ballāla-sena-rājy-ādau-*

<sup>1</sup> J. Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the India Office*, Sanskrit Lit., Part III, London, 1891, pp. 542 ff. The date is given as *Śaśinava-daśa-mita, 1091 Śaka-varṣe*, see also *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* by R. L. Mitra, No. II, Calcutta, 1870, p. 151. The date is wrongly given there as "*Saka* year 1019=A. D. 1097." *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, second series, by H. P. Sāstrī, Vol. I, Part II, Calcutta, 1898, pp. 169-72.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bomb. Pres.*, 1887-91, Bombay, 1897, pp. lxxxii ff. The date is given as *Śake kha-nava-khendv-abde* (1090).

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1906, Vol. II (N S.). In the *Sat-kṛyā-śāra-dīpaka* Gopāla Bhaṭṭa says that he compiled it after consulting the works of Aniruddha.

*varṣa*....<sup>1</sup> The word *ādaṁ-varṣa* has been variously interpreted as the first year or the beginning of his reign.<sup>2</sup> I have already referred to the possible interpretation of the passage in the colophon of the *Sadukti-karnāmrta*, which gives the date 1185 A.D. as the first year of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, the son of Ballāla. Under the circumstances we venture to place his accession in about 1159 A.D. and his reign-period in about 1159-85 A.D. (So far only one inscription of this reign has been found. This is his *Naihati grānt*.) The inscription is written on a single plate of copper and “was discovered by some coolies while digging some waste land between the villages of Naihati and Sitahati in the Katwa sub-division of the Burdwan district in Bengal; the place where it was discovered is locally known as *Nai rājār bhūṭā*. A copper cup, a copper censor, four small stands and three carved small conch shells were also found in the same place.” The inscription consists of 64 lines, 32 lines on each side. At the top of the plate is attached the usual seal “a seated image of the ten-armed Śiva known as *Sadāśiva*.” The seal does not contain any legend. The characters show a “well developed Bengali alphabet of the 12th century A. D. The inscription opens as usual with *Om namaḥ Śivāya*. The first verse contains an invocation to *Ardhanārīśvara* (Śiva). Then comes the usual praise of the moon. The third verse tells us of the *rājaputras* of the lunar family who ornamented *Rādhā*. Verses 4 to 13 give the genealogy of the Senas from *Sāmantasena* to *Ballālasena*. Verse 7 tells us that *Vijayasena* “outshone *Sāhasāṅka* by his deceitless prowess.” The grant was issued from the *jayaskandhāvāra* situated at *Vikramapura* by *M. Vijayasenadeva-pādānudhyāta-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Pb.-M. Ballālasena* to the *ācārya* *Ovāsudeva Śarman* and records the gift of

<sup>1</sup> The MS. is India Govt. MS. fol. 52 A; see *JASB*, 1906, Vol. II (N.S.), p. 17, fn. 1. Mr Chakravarti, who first drew attention to this passage took the date to be 1081 *Saka*. But Dr. Barnett rightly suggests that *bhujā*=2 and not =1, see also *IHQ*, March 1929, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N.S.), p. 11; *IA*, 1921, Vol. LI, pp. 156-57.

Vallahiṭṭhā-grāma measured by *Vṛṣabha-śankara-nala*, with an annual income of 500 *Kapardaka-Purāṇas*, in *Svalpa-dakṣiṇa-vīthī* of *Uttara-Rādhā-Mandala* of the *Vardhamāna-Bhukti*, as *dakṣiṇā* of the *Hemāśva-mahādāna* made by the king's mother *Vilāsadevī* on the banks of the Ganges. The village granted has been identified with modern *Vāluṭiyā* in the Murshidabad district. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Sāndhivigrahika* *Harighoṣa*. Then comes the date *Sam. 11, vaiśākha-dīne 16*. At the end occur the words *Mahāsām Karana-ni*.<sup>1</sup>

(*Ballālasena* was succeeded by *Lakṣmanasena*), his son by his wife *Rāmadevī*, described as *Cālukya-bhūpālāpāla-kulendralekhā* in the Madhavnagar grant of the new king. *Lakṣmaṇasena* probably came to the throne in about 1185 A.D.<sup>2</sup> In the Madanapara grant of his son *Viśvarūpa* he is given the following titles. *Aśvapati - gajapati - narapati - rājatrayādhipati - Sena-kula-kamala-vikāśa-bhāskara - Soma-vamśa-pradīpa - Pb. - Parama - saura-M. - Arirāja - Madanaśankara - Gauḍeśvara*.<sup>3</sup> The sudden assumption of so many titles suggests that he won some military success during his reign. This guess is supported by the *Pavana-dūta* of Dhoyi, which informs us that the Gauḍa king *Lakṣmaṇa* came as far as the sandal hills in Malaya (Travancore hills) in the course of his world-conquest. The Madhainagar

<sup>1</sup> A reading and photograph of the grant was published in Vol XVII, pp. 231-45 of the *Patrika of the Bangiya Sāhitya-Parīṣad*. A revised reading of the text was published in the Bengali monthly, *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXII B.S. 1318; a Bengali translation was published in the same journal, pp 575-85; Mr. R D Banerji has now edited it with the help of Dr. Spooner's text and translation in *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156-63; finally re-edited in *IB*, pp 67-80. It is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> The passage in the colophon of the *Sadukti-karnāmṛta*, runs as follows :

*Śāke saptaśatādyadhikāśatopetadaśaśate śaradām*

*Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasena-kṛtīpasya rasakavīmśe.*

As the passage is giving the date of the compilation of the work in the reign of *Lakṣmaṇasena* (Phālguna, *Śaka* 1127 = 1206 A.D.) and since the word *rasakavīmśe* gives no sense, I think Mr. Sarcar was quite right to suggest that it was a copyist's mistake for *rājyaikavīmśe*. See *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* by R. L. Mitra, Vol. III, Part II, Calcutta, 1875, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1905, Vol. I. (N.S.), pp. 42 ff., V. 1.

grant informs us that the *Gaudeśvara* in his youth took his pleasure with the females of Kaliṅga. The verse (no. 11) which makes this statement, seems to contain also a reference to the defeat of a *Kāśī-rāja*. Line 32 of the same grant tells us that he conquered Kāmarūpa. The Edilpur and Madanpara grants of his sons Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena refer to his erection of pillars of victory "on the southern sea, where exists (the images of) *Musaladhara* (Balarāma) and *Gadāpāṇi* (*Jagan-nātha*, i.e. Purī), and also in Viśveśvarakṣetra at the confluence of the Asi, the Varuṇā, and the Gangā (i.e. Benares), and also at the Trivenī (i.e. Allahabad)." The hostility with Kaliṅga, as we have seen, was inherited from the reign of his grandfather; and as it is said that he undertook the expedition in his youth the incident referred to may have happened during the reign of his father or grandfather.<sup>1</sup> The prince of Kāmarūpa at this time was probably Vallabhadeva whose Assam plates are dated in Śaka 1107 (A.D. 1184 or 1185).<sup>2</sup> If the statement that he advanced in his conquering campaigns as far as Allahabad be correct he carried out the policy which opened with his grandfather's victories in Mithilā and his naval campaign in the *pāścātya-cakra*. His father too is reputed to have conquered Mithilā. Thus it is not at all unlikely that he may have raided the regions further west. But unfortunately the records referred to above do not mention the name of the princes defeated by Lakṣmanasena. Who could be his rivals for the possession of these western districts? We have seen how Madanapāla was gradually ousted from Bengal by the Senas. His power probably lingered around Patna and Monghyr till about 1150 A.D. Who succeeded him is not known. But a Gaya inscription shows that one Govindapāla was reigning there in

<sup>1</sup> The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga who ruled from the time of Vijayasena to that of Lakṣmanasena were Coṭagaṅga (c. 1076-1147 A.D.), his sons Kāmārjuna (c. 1147-56 A.D.), Rāhgava (c. 1156-70 A.D.) and Rājārāja II (c. 1170-90 A.D.).

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, pp. 259-60.

c. 1160 A. D. This stone inscription dated in V. S. 1232, consists of 14 lines and was found in the temple of Gadādhara at Gaya.<sup>1</sup> It was recorded in the 14th year after the end of his reign (*gata-rājye caturdaśa-samvatsare*), so he must have ceased to reign about 1161-62 A. D. Though at present nothing is known about his relationship to Madanapāla, yet the nearness of their dates and the find-spots of their records suggest that one succeeded the other in Bihar. If this was the case, it is possible that if he was not uprooted, Govindapāla at least came into conflict with the advancing Sena armies along the Ganges towards the west. Another power which may have also come into conflict with the Pālas was that of the Gāhadavālas. The Maner plates of Govindacandra records that in V S. 1183 (A. D. 1124) he granted land in the neighbourhood of Patna, while the Lar plates of the same king show that he was in residence at Mudgagiri in V S 1202 (A. D. 1146).<sup>2</sup> The Tārācandī rock-inscription proves that Vijayacandra, of the same dynasty, was in possession of portions of Shahabad in V S 1225 (A. D. 1169), while the Bodh-gaya inscription of Jayacandra tells us that the Gāhadavālas were in Gaya district in c. 1180 A. D.<sup>3</sup> It seems therefore that the Gāhadavālas gradually advanced into Magadha during the period 1124-1180 A. D. The moribund Pāla power was thus crushed out of existence, being attacked on both its flanks. Therefore it seems likely that the chief rivals of the Senas in the West were these Gāhadavālas.<sup>4</sup> Jayacandra (c. 1170-1193 A. D.) of the latter line was the contemporary of Lakṣmanasenā (c. 1185-1206 A. D.).

The struggle of the Gāhadavālas and the Senas was soon hushed up at the appearance of the conquering Turk. The

<sup>1</sup> *ISR*, Vol. III, p. 125; *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 109, see also *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N S.), p. 6, fn. 2. For the dates connected with Govindapāla's *Vināṣtarājya*, *Atītarājya*, etc., the best explanation is given by Dr R. C. Majumdar in the *JASB* 1921, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1922, Vol. XVIII, pp. 81 ff.; *SI*, Vol. VII, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, Vol. VI, p. 548; *PASB*, 1880, April, pp. 76-79.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1922, pp. 82-83.

second battle of Taraori (1192 A. D.) had been fought and lost by the Hindus. The gate of Delhi was forced; and small bands of adventurous Muhammadan cavaliers spread over the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. One of these named Malik Ḥusām ud-Dīn Āghūl-Bak had carved out a principality in Oudh. Under him *Ikhṭiyār* ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bakht-yār, a Turk belonging to the Khalj tribe of Ghūr, held the fiefs of Bhakwat (بھکوت) and Bhīwālī (بھیرلی) between the Ganges and the Karmanasa, eastward of and adjoining Chunargarh, which was probably included in it.<sup>1</sup> This Turkish chief, we were told, had an 'ungainly build,' so that when he stood upright on his feet and lowered his arms his hands reached below his knees so far that the fingers could touch the calves of his legs.<sup>2</sup> But he was a daring and reckless cavalry leader, and making his fiefs the base of his operations he carried on regular incursions into the territory of 'Muner and Bihar.'<sup>3</sup> After gaining much booty and ample resources in the shape of horses, arms, and men, he organised an attack upon 'the fortified city of Bihar.' According to the informants of Minhāj, the force under Muḥammad consisted of only 'two hundred horsemen in defensive armour.' The attack resulted in the capture of the 'fortress,' and with it great booty. Minhāj thus describes the capture on the place: "The great number of the inhabitants of that place were Brahmans, and the whole of those Brahmans had their heads shaven, and they were all slain. There were a great number of books there, and when all these books came under the

<sup>1</sup> TN, Vol. I, pp. 548-50. See Raverty's note 5 on p. 550. He has given the alternative forms of the names of the fiefs as Bhugwat and Bhīlī. I have retained *k* in the spelling of the first name, following the Persian spelling. Raverty points out that two Parganas in the locality indicated still bear the same names. The *TA*, gives the names of the fiefs as Kamplah and Patialī; see *Bibliotheca Indica*, trans. by Dey, 1913, p. 49, and footnote 2.

<sup>2</sup> TN, p. 556.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 550. *TA*, p. 50. "Muner is an old place at the confluence of the Son and the Ganges, on the right bank of the former." It should be identified with the *Maniari-pattalā*, of the Muner grant of Govindacandra.

observation of the Musalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus, that they might give them information respecting the import of those books; but the whole of the Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted (with the contents of those books), it was found that the whole of the fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindūī tongue they call a college (مدرسة) Bihār.<sup>1</sup> The following account of Nizām ud-Din is substantially the same: “(He) conquered the fort of Behar, plundered and ravaged the whole of the country, and acquired much booty. He made the inhabitants of the country, who were all old and ascetic Brahmans, and had their heads shaven, food for his merciless sword. In the language of Hindustan, a college is called a Behar, and as this province had formerly been a mine of learning it had got the name of Behar.”<sup>2</sup>

These two accounts make it abundantly clear that there was at this time no ruler in Bihār of any importance. The Gāhādavālas, who were masters of this region, must have retired from it after the fall of the Cāhamānas at Taraon in 1192 A.D. The centre of the power of the Senas, who occasionally raided this land, lay further east. The Pālas were no more. They must have been destroyed before the arrival of the Turk in Bihār. It thus appears that Magadha at this time was a no man’s land. The knowledge of the advancing tide of irresistible Turks had moved all able-bodied men to flee in all directions. Only old men and shaven-headed ascetics remained and what is described as the ‘fort of Bihār’ was only a fortified University-town. There is no evidence anywhere that any king fought with Muḥammad.<sup>3</sup> Soon after his capture of Bihār Muḥammad presented himself to Qutb ud-Dīn Aibak at Delhi in c. 1193 A.D. and was received

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 552

<sup>2</sup> *TA*, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> I do not find any evidence to support the statement of Sir Wolsley Haig that “the conquest of Bihār involved the destruction of the Pāla dynasty,” or that Indradymnapāla the last king of the line, “was alive in 1197, but retained no power during the latter years of his life;” see *CHI*, Vol III, p. 513.

with "great honour and distinction." Qutb ud-Dīn "entrusted the rule of the country of Lakhnautī to him, and nominated him for the duty of conquering it."<sup>1</sup> In the meantime the fame of the intrepidity and the victories of Muḥammad had reached the court of Lakṣmaṇasena. We are told by Minhāj that "Fear of him operated exceedingly in the hearts of the unbelievers of the different parts of the territories of Lakṣanavatī and Bihār, and the countries of Bang and Kāmiūd." To the same historian we are indebted for an almost contemporary account of the advance of Islām into Bengal. His story which was collected largely from anecdotes current at his time, and is not free from exaggerations, may be summarised as follows: Rāi Lakhmaṇīah was "a very great Rāi," and "had been on the throne for a period of 80 years." His seat of government was the city of Nūdiāh. His father died when he was still in his mother's womb. "The crown was placed on the belly of his mother, and all girded up their loins in her service. The Rāis of Hind used to hold their family in great importance, and were wont to consider him in the position of Khalīfah by descent." When the birth of Lakhmaṇīah drew near, the astrologers represented that if the child should be born at that hour, it would never attain to sovereignty; but if it should be born two hours later, it would reign for 80 years. Whereupon the queen-regent kept herself suspended with her head downwards and legs bound together. When after two hours she was taken down, she gave birth to Lakhmaṇīah and immediately after died. Lakhmaṇīah reigned for 80 years; never did tyranny proceed from his hand; he was also famous for his magnificence. After the conquest of Bihār "a number of astrologers, wise men, and counsellors of his kingdom" represented to him that it was written "in our books of the ancient Brahmans" that this country would fall into the hands of the Turks. They assured him that the Turks had subjugated Bihār, "and next year they will surely come into this country." Under the circumstances they advised the king to "be

<sup>1</sup> TA, p. 50.



removed from the country in order that we may be safe from the molestation of the Turks ” On the Rāi hesitating, they gave him the description of the conqueror, which on verification was found to agree with the physical appearance of Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār When they became assured of these facts, “most of the Brahmans and inhabitants of that place retired into the province of Sankanāt ( سکانت or سکنات ), the cities and towns of Bang, and towards Kāmūd ; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Lakhmanīah. In the following year Muḥammad caused a force to be prepared, and advanced upon Nūdiāh, so swiftly that no more than 18 horsemen could keep up with him, and the other troops followed after him.” On reaching the gate, Muhammad proceeded at once to the palace, and surprised its guards. The Rāi, who was at his table, fled bare-footed by the back part of his palace In the meantime the rest of Muḥammad’s army arrived, and the whole city was captured Lakhmanīah, got away “towards Sankanāt and Bang, and there the period of his reign shortly came to a termination His descendants, up to this time, are rulers in the country of Bang ” Muhammad in the meantime “left the city of Nūdiāh in desolation and the place which is now Lakhanvati, he made the seat of his government ” <sup>1</sup> To this Nizām ud-Dīn adds that the people, on the declaration of the astrologers, fled also to Jagannath His account simply states that Muḥammad started from Bihar with a small force, and reached the city of ‘Nudiar’ by successive rapid marches. On his arrival Lakhmanīah “in great confusion embarked in a boat and escaped ” The conqueror, we are told, then “devastated the city of Nudiar, and in place of it founded another city, which has become Lakhnauti, and made it his capital ; and to-day that city is in ruins and is known as Gaur.” <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The danger of exaggeration by historians is perhaps illustrated by the following : “The raja ( i e , Lakṣmapasena), in the half-naked state in which a Hindu of high caste is obliged to eat” (CHI, Vol III, p 46) Minhā only mentions that the ‘Rāo’ fled bare-footed ; TN, pp 554 59.

<sup>2</sup> TA, p. 51 ; Dey spells Gaur as ‘Gour,’ see also AAK, Vol. II, p. 148.

There are differences of opinion about the date of this conquest. But it must have happened before 1205 A.D., when Muḥammad started on his ill-fated expedition to Tibet, and after 1193, when he met Qutb ud-Dīn Aibak after the conquest of Bihar. As Minhāj says that the Rāi died soon after the capture of Nūdiāh, and as we know from the colophon of the *Saduktī-karṇāmṛta* that he was living in 1206 A.D., I think we are justified in placing the date of the expedition nearer 1205 than 1193.<sup>1</sup> Though much fiction is mixed up in the account of Minhāj, the general outline of his story is fairly reliable. Without going so far as to say that there was a real conspiracy between the officers and Brahmans of the court and the Muhammadans<sup>2</sup> we may assume that there was a general panic at the capital. The fall of the powerful dynasties of the Cāhamānas and the Gāhaḍavālas convinced the courtiers that nothing could possibly stop the oncoming tide. A sudden cavalry attack by a bold leader on such a demoralised city may well have produced the results described by Minhāj, and Nizām ud-Dīn. It should be noted that the former distinctly says that the city was captured when the whole army arrived, and the only function undertaken by the advanced party appears to have been to completely destroy the *morale* of the citizens.

Another question that has given rise to difficulties is the location of the capital of Lakṣmanasena. Nizām ud-Dīn seems to place 'Nudiar,' 'Lakhnauti' and 'Gaur' all in the same place. Minhāj simply says that Muhammad left Nūdiāh, the capital of Lakhmaṇiāh, in desolation and established his capital at a place "which is now known as Lakhanavati." In the *Pavana-dūta* of Dhoyī, the wind-messenger after travelling through various countries passes through Suhmadeśa and reaches Vijayapura, the capital of Lakṣmanasena, near the confluence of the

<sup>1</sup> See *JL*, Vol. XVI, p. 77; Raverty placed it in 1193, Blochmann in 1197-98, Thomas in 1202, and Stewart in 1203. The *CHI* places it in c. 1202. See *ibid.*, p. 46 and fn. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, p. 29.

Yamunā and the Bhāgīrathī (Trivenī).<sup>1</sup> Attempts have been made to identify Nūdiāh with Vijayapura; some have tried to place Vijayapura near Gaur in Malda District.<sup>2</sup> As Vijayapura, according to Dhoyī, was situated not far from the separation of the Yamunā from the Bhāgīrathī, and as the wind-messenger does not cross the Ganges to reach it, it is reasonable to locate this city near the modern district of Hooghly.<sup>3</sup> It may therefore be concluded that the Senas, like other dynasties, had more than one capital in North, East and West Bengal, and Nūdiāh was the place where Lakṣmanasena was residing when Muhammad made his raid. After the fall of Nūdiāh, the Sena king took to his boats and crossed over to 'Bang,' i.e., Eastern Bengal. The inscriptions of the sons of Lakṣmanasena are issued from Vikramapura, and thus confirm the statement of Minhāj that "up to this time his descendants are rulers of the country of Bang."

Lakṣmanasena was a liberal patron of letters. Umāpati, the composer of the Deopara *prasasti*, who appears to have survived both Vijayasena and Ballālasena, probably lived for some time in his reign. Jayadeva, the author of the *Gītagovinda*, Dhoyī, the author of the *Paṇana-dūta*, Halāyudha, the author of *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasa*, Śrīdharadāsa, the compiler of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, were the other more important luminaries of his court. Of these Śrīdharadāsa, is described as *Mahāmāṇḍaliḥa* and son of the *Mahā-sāmanta-cūdāmani* Vaṭudāsa. The king himself was a poet of some repute. Nine of his verses are quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*. He also finished the *Adbhuta-sāgara*, which was left incomplete by his father.<sup>4</sup> In religion Lakṣmanasena still remained a worshipper of Śiva,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 1905, Vol. I (N.S.), p. 44, Vs. 27-36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 45; *Gauḍarājamālā*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>3</sup> *JL*, No. XVI, pp. 21-24, and 80-82.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1906, Vol. II (N. S.), pp. 15-22 and 157-78; 1905, Vol. I (N. S.), pp. 41-71; *JL*, Vol. XVI, 58 ff.

as his title of *Madana-saṅkara* in the Madanapara and Myensing grants of his son shows. But in his Tarpandighi and Anulia grants he assumes the title *Parama-vaiṣṇava*, and in the Madhainagar grant that of *Parama-nārasimha*. All these three grants open with *Om namo Nārāyaṇāya*; but in the opening verses of the Madhainagar and Anulia inscriptions there are invocations to Pañcānana and Śambhu. It thus appears that he gradually leaned towards the Vaiṣṇava form of religion. His eclecticism is however proved by the title *Parama-saura* given to him in the Madanapara grant of Viśvarūpa.

The following records of his reign are so far known to us :—

(1) *Dacca Candī image-inscription*.—The image was discovered in the ruins of Rampal (Dacca district). The goddess has four arms and “stands in a graceful tribhanga pose on a full-blown lotus over a couchant lion.” Her upper left hand holds a half-blown lotus with some buds, the lower left hand holds an “ornamental basket-like thing” (a flower basket or waterpot), the upper right hand an elephant goad, lower one is in *Paradamudrā*. As two elephants are found pouring water over her, a sign of Gaja-laksmī, it has been suggested that she may represent the *Śakti* of the god Harihara. The inscription records that the *Adhikṛta* Dāmodara, son of Māladatta (or Mālākhadga?) began (this image) of Candī-devī which was installed by his younger brother Nārāyaṇa. It is dated in the year 3 of Lakṣmaṇasenadeva.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Tarpandighi grant*.—This was found in the village of Tarpandighi (Dinajpur district, Bengal). It is incised on a single plate of copper, and contains 56 lines (27 on the front-side and 29 on the back). The royal seal contains the figure of the five-faced and ten-handed god Sadāśiva, and is attached

<sup>1</sup> *ET*, Vol. XVII, pp 359-62. The editor reads the last letter as 4; but it looks more like a *visarga*, re-edited in *IB*, pp 116.117. This image is now worshipped in a small temple in the Dalbazar quarter of the city of Dacca.

to a projection on the top of the plate by means of a copper bolt. The script belongs to the Bengali variety of the N.E. alphabet of the 12th century. The inscription opens with *Om namo Nārāyanāya*, and in the next two verses praises the moon. This is followed by the genealogy of the Senas from Hemantasena to Lakṣmanasena. The grant was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* at Vikramapura, and records the gift of the *Velahiṣṭī-grāma* in Varedya (Varendra) in the *Punḍravardhana-Bhukti* to the Brahman Īśvaradeva Śarman as *dakṣinā* on the occasion of the gift known as *Hemāśva-ratha* by M.-Ballālasena-pādānudhyāta-P.-Parama-vaishnava-Pb.-M Lakṣmanasena. The *Dūtaka* was the *Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta. The land granted yielded an income of 150 *Purānas*. It is dated simply in the year 3 Bhādradine 2.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Anulia grant*.—This was discovered in the village of Anulia near Ranaghat in the district of Nadia. It is very similar to the Tarpandighi grant, and the first seven verses of the two records are identical. The character is a Bengali variety of the N.E. alphabet of the 12th century A.D. The inscription opens with *Om namo Nārāyanāya* and an invocation of Śambhu and the Moon, after which the well-known genealogy of the Sena kings from Hemantasena to Lakṣmanasena follows. It was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* at Vikramapura, and records the gift of some land measured by *Vṛṣabha-śankara-nala* in Vyāghratatī of the *Punḍravardhana-Bhukti* to Pandita Raghudeva Śarman by M. Ballālasenadeva-pādānudhyāta-P.-Parama-vaishnava-Pb.-M. Lakṣmanasenadeva. The *Dūtaka* is, as in the previous grant, *Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta. It is dated in the year 3.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Westmacott first published an account of this grant in the *JASB*, Vol. XLIV, Part I, pp 11 ff, with two lithographs of drawings made from the copper-plate. Edited by R. D. Banerji in *EB*, Vol. XII, pp. 6-10. Re-edited in *IB*, pp. 99-105. The record is now owned by the *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> The grant was first edited by Paṇḍit R. K. Chakravarti in the now defunct Bengal journal *Atithāśka Citra*, of Rampur, Boalia, in Rajshahi. Then by A. K. Maitreya, in *JASB*, 1900, Vol. LXIX, pp. 61-65. Finally edited in *IB*, pp. 81-91.

(4) *Madhainagar grant*.—This is said to have been discovered among some ruins in the village of Madhainagar, police station Raiganj, in the sub-division of Sirajganj, Pabna. It is incised on a single plate of copper, and consists of about 58 lines (front side 29 + 29 on the back). The “badly corroded state of the plate at its lower extremities on both sides renders complete decipherment of those portions impossible.....The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets and may be specified as 12th century Bengali.” The inscription opens with the usual *Om namo Nārāyaṇāya* and then in V. 1 invokes the god *Pañcānana*, on whose lap sits Gaurī, and ‘who sustained Hari in a half of his most wonderful body.’ The next verse praises the Moon, and then from the kings of his line is traced the family of Vīrasena. The genealogy of the Senas is then given from Sāmantasena to Lakṣmanasena. The inscription was issued by *Pb.-M.-Ballālasenadeva-pādānudhyāta* ..... *Gaudeśvara-Parama-nāraṣmha-Pb M.-Lakṣmanasenadeva* when he was resident in Dhāryagrāma (?). It records the grant of Dāpaniyā-pātaka near Kāntipura, in Varendrī in Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* to the Brahman Govinda Śarman.<sup>1</sup>

(5) *Sundarban grant*.—This is said to have been discovered in the Sundarbans (Bengal). The late Paṇḍit Ramgaṭi Nyaya-ratna gave a partial reading of it in his *Essays on Bengali Language and Literature*. It is now lost.<sup>2</sup>

(6) *Govindapur grant*.—Discovered in the village of Govindapur in the 24-Parganas district, Bengal. It consists of 47 lines and is incised on both sides of a single plate. The first 7 verses and the seal are the same as in No. 3 above. It was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* at Vikramapura, and records grant of the village of Viddāraśāsana in Beṭaddacaturaka in

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first noticed by P. N Chaudhuri in the now defunct *Atiḥāṣkā Citra*, 1st year, p 92, edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in *JASB*, 1909, Vol V (N. S.), pp. 467-76. Re edited in *IB*, pp. 106-115 Now in the Asiatic Society of Bengal

<sup>2</sup> For an abstract of the text and references, see *IB*, pp. 168-72. Mr. K C Sinha published a version of the text in *Bhāratī*, Vol. IV, ~

Pāścimakhāṭikā of the Vardhamāna-*Bhukti* to Vyāsadeva Śarman by *P.-Parama-nārasimha-Pb.-M.-Śrimal-Lakṣmaṇasena* in the 2nd year of his reign. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta.<sup>1</sup>

(7) *Tipperah grant*—said to be in the possession of the widow of the late Gangāmohan Laskar; not yet edited.<sup>2</sup>

I have already referred to the statement of the Musalman historian, supported by epigraphic evidence, that the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena continued to rule in Bang or Eastern Bengal. We have several grants of the sons of Lakṣmaṇasena. One of these is the (1) *Madanpara grant* of Viśvarūpāsena. It was discovered in the village of Madanpara, post office Pinjāri, Pargana Kotālpara, Farīdpur district. It is a single plate, and its seal at the top has the usual ten-handed image of Sadāśiva. The characters belong to the 12th or 13th century. It contains 60 lines, of which 30 are in verse, and begins with *Om namo Nārāyaṇāya* and an invocation to the same god. Then the moon is praised, and next comes the genealogy of the donor, traced from Vijayasena. The mother of Viśvarūpa was the *Mahīṣī rājñī* Tandṛā or Tāḍādevī. The inscription was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāṇa* situated at Phalgugrāma. It records the grant of Piñjokāsthī-grāma in the Vikramapura-bhāga of Vaṅga in the Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* to the *Śrutipāthaka* Viśvarūpadeva Śarman by *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-trayādhipati Senakula-kamala-vikāsa-bhāskara-Somavamśapradīpa-P.-Pb.-Paramasaura-M.-Arirāja-Vṛṣabhāṅka-Śankara-Gauḍeśvara* Viśvarūpasenadeva, son of Lakṣmaṇasenadeva.<sup>3</sup> The *Dūtaka* was the *Gauḍa-Mahāsandhivigrahika* Kapiviṣṇu. It is dated in the 14th.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by N. G. Majumdar, *IB*, pp. 92-98. First edited by A. C. Vidyābhushan in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratavarṣa*, 1232 B S, pp. 441-45. He read the year as 8.

<sup>2</sup> See *JASB*, 1909, Vol V (N.S.), p. 467.

<sup>3</sup> I have already noticed the titles of Lakṣmaṇasena in this plate; see *supra*, p. 337.

year of the donor.<sup>1</sup> Another inscription of this king recently edited is the (2) *Sāhitya Pariṣat grant*.—This copper-plate was found in the possession of a blacksmith of Susang, in Mymensing (Bengal).<sup>2</sup> As a portion of the copper-plate has been cut away and melted some words on both sides are missing. The inscription consists of 70 lines of writing, of which 34 are on the obverse and 36 on the reverse. It opens with the usual *Om namo Nārāyanāya*. It does not differ materially from the former grant so far as its historical portion is concerned. The editors however read the name of the queen of Lakṣmanasena as Tattānadevī or Tyastānadevī. In the donatory portion of the inscription two names—Sadāsena and Puruṣottamasena—are given. Their relationship to the donor is not specified; but as they are called *Kumāra*, Paṇḍit H P Śāstrī suggests that they were “most probably” his sons. The grant records the gift of some land to the Brahman Halāyudha Śarman in the Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka in Vanga, in *Paundravardhana-Bhukti*; some land appears to have been given also in Vikramapura-bhāga (line 17 reverse side). The grant contains two dates, viz., 13th and the 14th regnal years of Viśvarūpasena. It was sealed by the *Sadāśiva-mudrā*. The name of the *Dātaka* is lost.<sup>3</sup>

Besides these two inscriptions we have the *Edilpur grant* of Keśavasena, another son of Lakṣmanasena. It was discovered in a *chari*-land in the pargana Edilpur, Bakerganj district. The seal and the historical portion of the inscription are exactly the

<sup>1</sup> The contents of the plate were noticed by N N Vasu in the *Viśvaśaṅka*, Vol. IV, under the article *Keśarāsena*. Then edited by the same in *JISB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 6-15. His suggestion of the name of the queen of Lakṣmanasena was *Sitalādevī*, shown to be wrong. See *JISB*, 1914, p. 98. The inscription has actually *Tāndrādevī* (?) or *Tādādevī* (?) The inscription has been re-edited in *IB*, pp. 132-39. ‘The letters Viśvarūpa are engraved in a different hand and smaller size.’

<sup>2</sup> According to some originally discovered somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dacca, see *IB*, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by H P. Śāstrī under the name *Mymensing grant*, in *IHQ*, 1926, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 76-86. Re-edited by N. G. Majumdar under the name *Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣat copper-plate*, in *IB*, pp. 140-48. There are considerable differences in the reading of the names of persons and places between the two editors. The name Sadāsena is read by Majumdar as ‘Sūryasena,’ while the name Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka has been read by Śāstrī as Sāmasiddhi-pāṭaka.



same as in the Madanapara grant of his brother. The inscription, which is incised on a single plate, contains 65 lines—31 on the front and 34 on the back. It begins exactly as his brother's inscription (No. 1). It was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* situated at Jambugrāma, and records the gift of Talapaḍāpātaka in *Paundriardhana-Bhuktyantahpāti-Vange-Vikramapurabhāga-pradeśa* to the Brahman *Īśvaradeva Śarman* by *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati - rājatrayādhipati - Senakula - kamala - vikāśa - bhāskara-Somavamśapradīpa .Dāna-karna-Satya-vrata P -Pb. - Paramasaura-Rājādhirāja-Ari-rāja-Asahya-Śankara-Gaudeśvara* Keśava-sena, son of Lakṣmanasena.<sup>1</sup> The occasion for the grant was the king's birthday. At the end occur the words *Saciva... Dattodbhava-Gauda-mahāmahantakah khyātaḥ Mahāsā (?) Karanani Śrī mahāmahantaka Karanani Śrīmat- Karanani*, and finally the date, year 3, Jyāiṣṭha-dine. The grant was sealed by the *Sadāśiva-mudrā*.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear from these two records that at least two sons of Lakṣmanasena ruled after him. As both granted land in the same area, it seems likely that one succeeded the other. I have already said that the two grants found at Madanapara and Edilpur are almost identical. But as the Edilpur grant contains some additional verses which are not found in the other grant, and as there is some evidence that in the former a name consisting of three or more syllables has been erased to put in the name of the donor, it has been assumed that Viśvarūpa preceded Keśava.<sup>3</sup> Nothing definite is known about these two rulers beyond the fact that they granted land in the Vikramapura area of Vaṅga

<sup>1</sup> The father of the donor as well as the other members have the same titles as in the Madanapara grant, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> First edited by Prinsep in *JASB*, 1838, Vol. VII, pp 40-51. Some remarks and suggestions on it were made by N. N. Vasu in *JASB*, Vol. LXV, 1896, pp. 6 ff. He was however wrong in reading the name of the donor as Viśvarūpa; Kielhorn repeated this mistake in *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, fn. 1, p. 88. Re-edited from Prinsep's lithograph by R. D. Banerji in *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), pp 97-104. 'The name of the donor seems to have been incised in the place of another name, which has been scratched off.' Finally re-edited by N. G. Majumdar in *IB*, pp 118-31. He reads the name of the mother of Keśavasena as *Mahārājñī Cāndrādevī* (V 14).

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1838, Vol. VII, Part 1, p. 42, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), p. 98.

(Eastern Bengal) included in the *Bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana,<sup>1</sup> and that they reigned for at least 14 and 3 years respectively. But from the large number of their titles and the fact that Viśvarūpa in his Madanapara grant is described as *Garga-Yavanānvaya-palaya-kāla-rudra-nrpah* (V. 17), it is reasonable to assume that they succeeded in repulsing some invasions of Musalmans. Besides these two, in the opinion of some scholars, Lakṣmanasena had another son Mr. N. N. Vasu has referred to a copper-plate grant of Mādhavasena dated in Śaka 1145 (A D. 1223) found in an Almora (in Kumaon) temple of Yogeśvara, in which the words *Vangaja-Brāhmaṇa* occur.<sup>2</sup> This prince is identified by him with Mādhū Sen, who according to Abu'l-Faḍl succeeded Lakhan Sen and ruled for ten years.<sup>3</sup> The existence of a Mādhavasena in about this period is proved by the fact that the *Sadukti-harnāmṛta* quotes a verse by an author of that name.<sup>4</sup> It has been assumed by Mr. Vasu that this prince did not reign in Bengal, but went on a pilgrimage to Kedāranātha after the Musalman invasion. In the present state of our knowledge, there is no means of testing the truth of this assertion or to find out his exact relationship to Lakṣmanasena, or Viśvarūpa-sena, or Keśavasena. It would be too risky to place him before the last two on the sole authority of Abu'l-Faḍl. The recently discovered Sāhitya Pariṣat grant of Viśvarūpa has revealed the names of two *Kumāras*, Sadāsena and Puruṣottama. It is not unlikely that the former is to be identified with the Sadā Sena of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, who is placed after Kesū Sena and assigned a reign of 18 years. In that case he may have been a son of either of the two brothers.

<sup>1</sup> *Vaṅga*, which is generally taken as East Bengal, is here included in the *Bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana, generally taken to be North Bengal. Thus at this time the *Bhukti* must have been an extensive tract extending from Northern to Eastern Bengal.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1896, Vol LXV, p. 27. He gives a reference for the plate in E Atkinson's *Kumayun*, p. 516, which I have not yet been able to verify.

<sup>3</sup> *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1906, Vol II (N.S.), p. 172.

The next ruler according to Abul-Faẓl, was Rājā Nāujah, who ruled for three years. Could he be the same as Danūj Rāi who according to the *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* ruled in c. 1280 A.D. at 'Sunār-gānw' and made an agreement with Sultān Balban that he should guard against the escape of the rebel Tughril by water? <sup>1</sup> In any case the Musalman conquest of Bengal appears to have been complete about that year. The first Musalman coins which were struck by Mughīth ud-Dīn Tughril from 'Laknautī' with the revenue (الخراج) of 'Badan and Nudia' are dated in H.E. 653 (A.D. 1255). <sup>2</sup>

In conclusion I would refer to some dynasties which appear to have ruled in the 13th century in two corners of the lower Ganges valley. One of these were the Senas of Pīṭhī (Magadha). The Janbigha inscription of Jayasena of this line is dated *Lakṣmanasenasya atītārājye sam.* 83. The father of this prince was Buddhasena, probably the same person whose name occurs with that of Aśokacalla in an inscription published in plate xxviii, No. c, in Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*. There are two other Bodhgaya inscriptions of the time of Aśokacalla dated in *Lakṣmanasenasya atītārājye* years 51 and 74. As the date of Aśokacalla is fixed by his Gaya inscription dated in the Nirvāna year 1813 (c. 1269-1270 A.D.), it is certain that the years referred to as *atīta* from Lakṣmanasena must be counted from his defeat or death. Thus these Senas who probably succeeded the Chikkoras, appear to have been local feudatory princes near Gaya, possibly acknowledging the hegemony of the Musalmans. <sup>3</sup> The *Tippera plates* of Harikāladeva Ranavankamalla (?) dated in *Śaka* 1141 (c. A.D. 1219) and the *Chittagong plate* of

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol. III, p. 116. This Danūj Rāi is possibly the same as Arirāja Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva whose copper-plate grant was recently discovered at Adāvāḍī in Vikramapur, Dacca. See *IB*, pp. 181-82; *Bengali Journal Bhāratvarṇa*, 1922 B.S., pp. 78-81.

<sup>2</sup> Write, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. II, Oxford, p. 146.

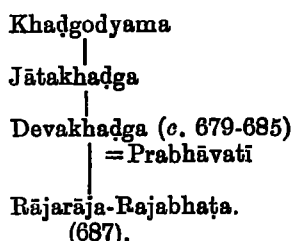
<sup>3</sup> See *IA*, 1881, Vol. X, pp. 341-43; 1915, Vol. 44, pp. 215-18; 1919, Vol. 48, pp. 43-48; *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 27-30; *JBORS*, Vol. IV, pp. 266-72. For the interpretation of the dates of these inscriptions see *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII, pp. 8 ff.

Damodara dated in *Śaka* 1165 (c. A.D. 1243) reveal the existence of some chiefs in the extreme south-east.<sup>1</sup> Their history requires further investigation.<sup>2</sup>

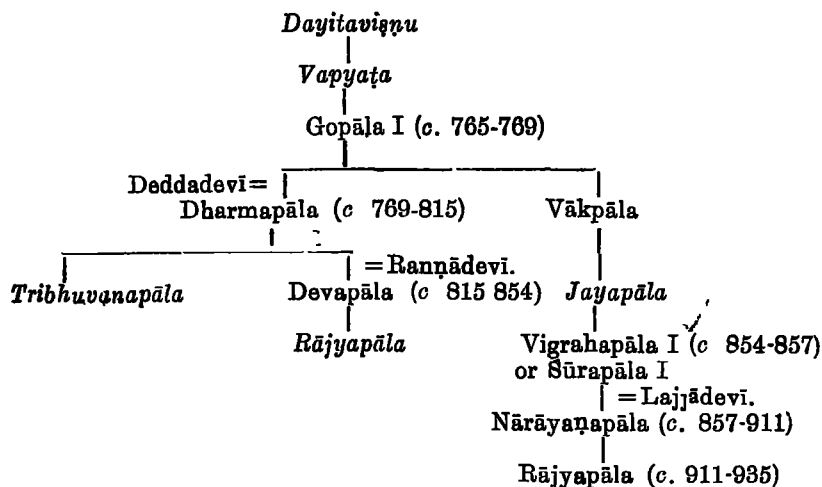
### <sup>3</sup> GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(Dates Approximate.)

#### I. *The Khadgas* (c. 650-700 A.D.):



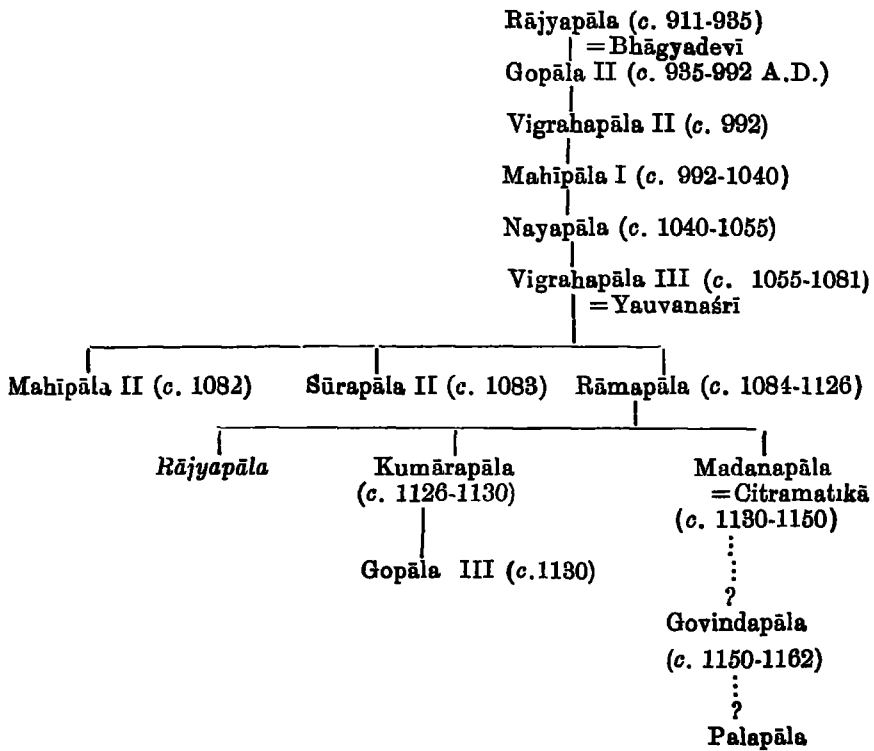
#### II. *The Pālas* (c. 765 to 1162 A.D.):



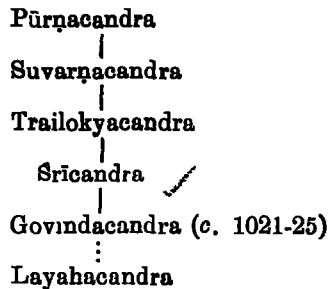
<sup>1</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, 1807, Vol. IX, pp. 401-406; *HI*, Vol V, Appendix, No 865; *JASB*, 1874, Vol. XLIII, pp. 818-24; *IB*, pp. 158-63.

<sup>2</sup> For the *Karṇāṭaka* dynasty of Tirhut and Nepal see *supra*, my chapter on Nepal, pp 203 ff

<sup>3</sup> Princes whose names are in *italics* did not reign. Uncertain relationship is indicated by vertical dots.

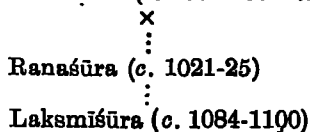


III. *The Candras (c. 950-1050 A.D.):*



IV. *The Kāmboja Princes (c. 911-92 A.D.):*

V. *The Śūras (c. 950-1100 A.D.):*

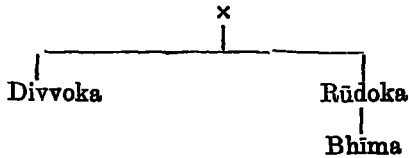




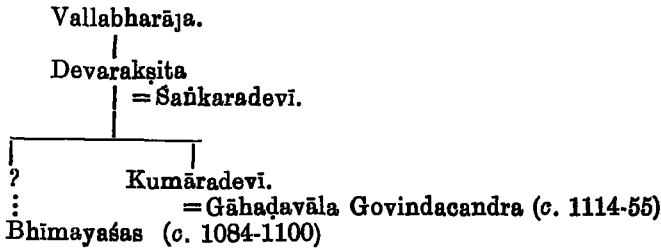
IX. *The Mānas (c. 1100 A.D.):*

Varṇamāna  
⋮  
Rudramāna

X. *The Kaivartas (c. 1080-1100 A.D.):*



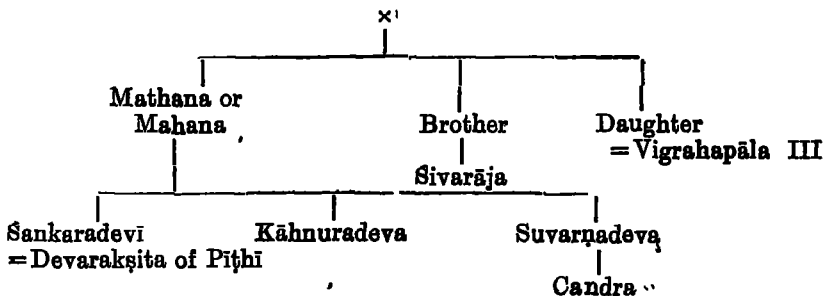
XI. *The Chikkoras of Pithi (c. 1050-1150 A.D.):*



XII. *The Senas of Piṭhi (c. 1200-70 A.D.):*

Buddhasena  
|  
Jayasena

XIII *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Akga (c. 1050-1150 A.D.):*



## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

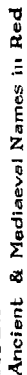
1. *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, by A. K. Maitreya, Rajshahi, 1319 B.S.
2. *Gaudarājamālā*, by R. P. Chanda, Rajshahi, 1349 B.S.
3. *Pālas of Bengal*, by R. D. Banerji, 1915. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3.
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23. *Contributions to the History of Smṛiti in Bengal and Mithilā*, by the same *JASB*, 1915, pp. 311-406.
24. *Mithilā during the Pre-Mughul Period*, by the same. *JASB*, 1915, pp. 406-32.
25. *On Pāla and Sena Chronology*; see *supra*, footnote 1, p. 282, and fn. 1, p. 354, specially *JASB*, 1921, pp. 1-6, and 6-16.
26. *On Lakṣmanasena Era*. See *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, *Orientalia*, pp. 1-5, and *supra*, footnote 1 on p. 354
27. *The Gurjara-Pratihāras*, by R. C. Majumdar. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, 1923, Vol. X.
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30. For references to extracts and notices from the *Dāna-sāgara*, *Adbhuta-sāgara*, and *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, see *supra*, footnotes 1 and 2 on p. 365.

31. *Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vols. III and XI.
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## CHAPTER VII

### DYNASTIES OF ORISSA

The region now known as Orissa, approximately extends from the river Subarnarekha to the Chilka Lake and from the Bay of Bengal to the borders of the Chhattisgarh division of the C.P. It lies between Lat.  $19^{\circ} 28'$  and  $22^{\circ} 4'$  N. and Long  $82^{\circ} 38'$  and  $87^{\circ} 31'$  E. This area which is bigger in size than Ireland (32,531 sq. miles) contains no less than 17 Tributary States covering an area of 28,046 sq. miles, which is more than double the area (13,770 sq. miles) under the direct administration of the British Government. The modern distribution of the territories of the feudatory and the sovereign rulers throw interesting light on the period of Orissan history under survey. It would appear that in the pre-Muslim period also the sovereign powers often held only "the narrow alluvial tract between the sea and the Chota Nagpur plateau and the Sambalpur tract lying in the valley of Mahanadi" while the region in between seems to have been, as now, governed by feudatory rulers. Another interesting characteristic of the history of Orissa is its intimate connection with the history of the Chhattisgarh division of the C.P. and with that portion of the Madras Presidency which lies to the north of the Godavari. The district of Sambalpur and five of the feudatory states of Orissa formed a part of the C.P. as late as 1905, while the problem of uniting the Oriya-speaking Ganjam district with Orissa is still exercising the minds of Indian administrators. During the period under survey, some of the most important dynasties that ruled in Orissa appear to have

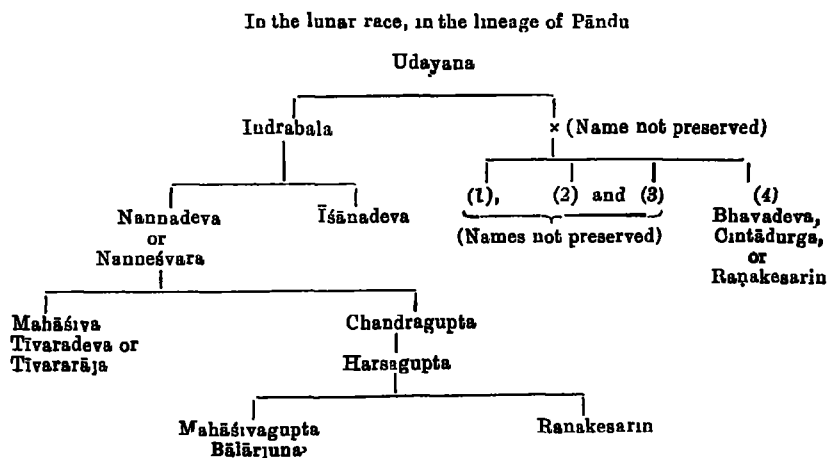
come into the country from these tracts, or ruled it from their head-quarters situated in those areas. There is some reason to believe that Kalinga, in its wider sense, included not only the area now known as Orissa but also considerable portions of the C.P. and northern Madras.<sup>1</sup> This probably explains the assumption of the title 'lord of Trikalīṅga,' by the dynasties which ruled in northern Madras, C.P., and Orissa. The history of Orissa, therefore, in one sense, is included in the wider history of Kalinga. Looked at from this point of view the dynastic history of Orissa assumes some amount of homogeneity. But there is another difficulty. I have already indicated that Orissa has been always ruled by a number of dynasties simultaneously. Of these, one or more at various periods assumed sovereign authority over the others, but at no time did the superior power completely destroy the tributary princes. These latter continued to enjoy a large measure of autonomy and generally did not mention the names of their sovereigns in their records. It is therefore often difficult to find out to which particular power they owed allegiance. The confusion is further increased by the fact that most of the Orissan records before the advent of the Gangas of Kaluganagara do not contain any date, or only contain dates whose epochs have not yet been settled. Palaeographic tests, though extremely helpful where long periods are concerned, are of comparatively little use when shorter periods are involved. In the present state of our knowledge of the palaeography of Orissan records, it would be rather risky to dogmatise, for instance, that a particular

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, chapter on the Hathayas. Though in its narrow sense *Kalinga* was always distinguished from *Odra*, *Utkala* and *Mahākosala*, yet the fact that the *Purāṇas* definitely state that the Narmadā drained *Amarakanṭaka*, situated in the western half of *Kalinga* (*Kalingadeśe paścārdhe parvate'marakanṭake*) seems to support our contention. See *Matsya* (Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara), Chap. 184, V. 12. Note also the three *Kalugas* mentioned by Pliny, viz., *Calingae*, *Macco-Calingae* and *Gangarides-Calingae*, *AGI*, p. 594. *Macco* may signify *Mekala* or the Dravidian *Muka* meaning *three*. In the latter case *Macco Calingae* may be *Muk-Kalingam* (= *Mukha-Lungam*) = *Trikalīṅgam*. See *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 539-47; *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 635-42.

grant must belong to the 9th century and cannot belong to the 10th century A.D. The confusion is still further increased by the occurrence in certain groups of grants of common names and the inevitable tendency towards identification, often disregarding vital differences.<sup>1</sup> In the following survey therefore I shall take up the dynasties separately, indicating as far as possible, in each case, their special characteristics, their time, and the area under their rule, and leaving it for some future occasion to attempt a synthetic and more ambitious outline of their history.

(1) *The Somavamśīs of Kosala.*

In connection with the account of the Kalacuris of Tripurī, I have elsewhere referred to the so-called 'Śrīpura kings' and their alleged connection with the Somavamśī rulers of Orissa.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions of the former, all of which have been found near the Raipur district in the C.P., give us the following list of kings.—



<sup>1</sup> Cf. the attempt of Hiratal to include all the Bhāṇḍja rulers in one family-tree, disregarding the differences of seal, provenance, and stories of origin; see *HI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282 ff. See Hirananda Śāstri's note, *ibid.*, p. 285, fn. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas.

<sup>3</sup> For their inscriptions see *ibid.*



The inscription of these princes are all issued from Śrīpura (modern Sīrpur, Raipur district, C.P.). Their seal bears the figure of a *Garuda* and the epithet 'lord of Kosala' (*Kosalādhipati*). The inscriptions contain no dates, but Fleet agreed with Kielhorn that on palaeographic evidence they must be referred to about the 8th or the 9th centuries A.D.<sup>1</sup> It was Cunningham who first suggested that Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna the last prince of this line should be identified with Śivagupta, the first prince of a dynasty of rulers whose inscriptions were discovered in the Sambalpur tract of Orissa.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions of these kings give use the following list of princes :—

In the lunar race  
 Śivagupta.  
 |  
 Mahābhavagupta—Janamejaya  
 |  
 Mahāśivagupta—Yayāti  
 |  
 Mahābhavagupta—Bhīmaratha

The identification of the two Śivaguptas was rejected by Fleet on palaeographic considerations. He found after a careful examination of the letters in the inscriptions of the Somavamśis of Orissa that they could not possibly be placed before A.D. 900, and should on the whole be placed somewhere between A.D. 1000 and 1100.<sup>3</sup> The recorded reign-period of the last three princes extends over more than 70 years. At least another 100 years must be assigned to account for the palaeographic differences between the two sets of inscriptions. As the name of the grandson and the grandfather appears to have been the same in the Somavamśi dynasty of Orissa<sup>4</sup> we must have at least a Bhavagupta,

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. III, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> *ASR*, Vol. XVII, pp. 17, 85 and 87.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. III, pp 323-34

<sup>4</sup> Hirralal has pointed out that this practice prevails even now in some of the States of Orissa. Thus the "Raja of Bamra is either a Sudhuladeva or a Tribhuvanadeva." See *Inscriptions in C P and Berar*, p. 91.

his son Śivagupta and his son Bhavagupta, 3 generations, to fill up the gap between the last king of the Śrīpura and the first king of the Orissa branch. The position may be illustrated by the following table ·

Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna (last of the Śrīpura line, c. 850 A.D.)
↓
Mahābhavagupta ?
↓
Mahāśivagupta ?
↓
Mahābhavagupta ?
↓
[Mahā?]śivagupta (first of the Orissan line, c. 950 A.D.)

Rai Bahadur Hiralal suggested that the sons of Bālārjuna being driven out from the Śrīpura kingdom by the dynasty which is usually designated as the 'Śarabhapura kings,' gradually carved out a new kingdom in that portion of the Mahanadi valley which is now known as the Sambalpur tract in Orissa.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be the value of this suggestion it appears certain that the memory of their sovereignty in Śrīpura did not prevent the Orissan Somavamśīs from changing some of the more important features of their administration. For though the Orissan kings had similar names and were also known as 'lord of Kosala' (*Kosalendia*), yet we miss the well-known *Garuda* of the Śrīpura kings on their seals. Their seals, like those of the Kalacuris of Tripurī and Turimāna, bear the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. But this difference of the seal need not necessarily indicate a separate lineage, as branches of the same tribe are sometimes found to have different seals. Thus while the seals of the Kalacuris of Tripurī and Turimāna contained the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī*, those of the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur and Kalyāṇa bore the figure of a bull. The difference of the emblems on the seals however shows that the founder of the new branch must have been separated from his relatives of the old branch by a comparatively

<sup>1</sup> *EE*, Vol. XI, p. 186.

long interval. It is not unlikely that he may have been influenced by his neighbours the Haihaya and the Śarabhapur princes to adopt a new seal.

The name of the first king of the Orissan branch of the Somavāmśis so far available is Sivagupta. No inscription of this prince has yet been discovered. But in the grants of his successors he is given imperial titles (*Pb.-M.-P.*). On palaeographic considerations I have approximately referred him to c 950 A.D. If this guess is correct, he is probably to be identified with the *Kosalendra* from whom the Tripurī Kalacurī Mugdhatunga is said to have taken a place named Pālī.<sup>1</sup> I have elsewhere suggested the identification of Pālī with the modern village of that name, situated about 12 miles N.E. of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur district (C.P.). The acceptance of these identifications would reveal one of the stages of that struggle between the Kalacuris and the Somavāmśis which gradually ousted the latter from their possessions in Chhattisgarh and restricted their power within the present limits of Orissa.

Sivagupta was succeeded by his son Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya. The following grants have so far been discovered for his reign :—

(1) *Sonpur grant*.—This was found in the State of Sonpur. The inscription contains 39 lines, and is incised on three plates. These are strung together on a ring, the ends of which are secured by a circular seal bearing in relief the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī*, 'squatting apparently on a lotus,' and the legend *Śrī-Janamejaya-deva* (?). The grant opens with *Om svasti*; then come the name and residence of the donor as follows : *Suvarṇapura* <sup>2</sup> *saṁāvāsita-Śrīmato Vijaya-skandhāvārāt Pb.-M.-*

<sup>1</sup> Bilhari stone inscription, see *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas. Note that the Orissan Somavāmśis had the title *Kosalendra* while the Śrīpura branch bore that of *Kosalādhipati*.

<sup>2</sup> Modern town of Sonpur

*P.-Śrī-Sivagupta-deva-pādānudhyāta-Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-M.-P.-Soma-kula-tilaka-Trikalīṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahābhavagupta-rāja-deva*. It then records the gift of the village of Vakratentalī<sup>1</sup> belonging to the Lupattarā-Khaṇḍa<sup>2</sup> to the Bhattaputra Jātarūpa, who was a resident of Merandā<sup>3</sup> and an immigrant from Rādāphamvālikandara.<sup>4</sup> The grant is dated in lines 36-37 in the 3rd year of the victorious reign of *Pb.-M.-P.-Janamejaya-deva*. It was written by *Mahāsandhivigraha-prati-baddha-Kāyastha*-Koighoṣa son of Valla(bha?)ghoṣa, and engraved by Saṁgrāma, son of Rayana Ojjhā.<sup>5</sup>

(2) *Patna grant* (i).—This is reported to have been found buried in an earthen vessel somewhere in the State of Patna in Orissa. The inscription consists of 45 lines incised on three plates. The ends of the ring, on which the plates are strung, are secured by a circular seal containing the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* in relief. The grant begins with: *Om svasti*, and then come the name and residence of the donor as follows: *Mūrasīma<sup>6</sup>-Samāvāsīlah-Śrīmato Vijaya-kaṭakāt<sup>7</sup>* *Pb.-M.-P.-Śrī-Sivagupta-deva-pādānudhyāta-Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-M.-P.-Soma-kula-tilaka-Trikalīṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahābhavagupta-rāja-deva*. It next records the grant

<sup>1</sup> Modern Bantentuli, 16 miles West of Sonpur town.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Lepta, 6 miles S. E. of Bolangir (Patna State).

<sup>3</sup> Modern Mendā, 17 miles West of Sonpur town.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Modern State of Rairakhol.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by B. C. Mazumdar in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95. The editor calls the grant 'Vakratentalī charter'. For the identifications and the place names in this and the following grants, see *ibid*, pp. 101 ff. and 211, also *OM*, pp. 163 ff. In most cases, the identifications proposed should only be accepted as tentative.

<sup>6</sup> Identified with present Mursinga, in the Patna State, situated about 11 miles from Binka in Sonpur: *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 102 and 198, see also Hultzsch's remarks, *ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 139.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet was the first to take *Kaṭaka* of this word as a place-name (Outtack); see *EI*, Vol. III, p. 341, fn. 1. Hultzsch and then Hirai Lal have pointed out that the word must be accepted in its usual meaning of *camp*. In the Sonpur grant of this king the word *Kaṭakāt* is replaced by *Skandhāvārāt*. It is to be noticed that whenever the word *Vijaya-kaṭaka* occurs, the name of the camp is invariably given, except when they are issued from Vinīṭa-pura or Yayātinagara: *EI*, VIII, p. 139, and fn. 2; Vol. XI, p. 186.

of the village of Vakaveddā in the Oṅgā-tata-Viṣaya<sup>1</sup> to the following four Brahmans :

- (1) Dāmāka, an immigrant from Pampāsarasī and a resident of  
Leisṛṅgā.
- (2) (Unnamed) son of Nārapagaṇḍa, an immigrant from Oḍayaśṛṅgā  
and a resident of Khaṇḍakṣetra.
- (3) Vāsudeva, an immigrant from Konkaledḍa and a resident of  
Lipatuṅgā.
- (4) Koṇḍadeva, an immigrant from Kaḷiṅga and a resident of  
Pampāsarasī.<sup>2</sup>

In lines 39-42 we are told that the charter was written by the *Kāyastha* Koṅghoṣa, son of Vallabhaghoṣa, who belonged to (the office of) *Mahāsamdhivigrahin* Mallā(datta ?), son of Dhāradatta in the 6th year of the victorious reign of the *Pb.-M.-P.-Janamejaya-deva*. The grant ends with a verse in praise of king Janamejaya of the lunar race (*Somavansī*).<sup>3</sup>

(3) *Patna grant (u)*.—It was found in the State of Patna. The inscription contains 46 lines written on three plates joined together by a ring, the ends of which are secured by the usual circular seal bearing the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* in relief. The grant opens with *Om svasti*, and then gives the name of the camp and the titles of the donor and his father as in No. 2

<sup>1</sup> Oṅga is a small river which joins the Mahanadi in the State of Sonpur. *Oṅgā-tata-Viṣaya* is therefore 'the district on the bank of the river Oṅgā'. Hiralal suggests that Vakaveddā is probably Baktī, 15 miles north of Bolangir and 4 miles to the south of the Oṅga river. *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 198. But B. C. Mazumdar identified it with Bakebira, close to Salebhata Police Station, on the river Oṅga. see *ibid*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Hiralal and B. C. Mazumdar have suggested (*EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 101 ff. and 198) the following identifications of some of the places mentioned here

(1) *Leisṛṅgā*—Loisinga, the headquarters of a Zamindari of the same name, in the Patna State, 11 miles north of Bolangir.

(2) *Lipatuṅgā*—Probably Lepta (?), 6 miles south east of Bolangir.

(3) *Oḍayaśṛṅgā*—Oḍasinga in the native state of Athmallik (Mozumdar).

(4) *Konkaledḍa*—Probably Koknara in the Bora Sambhar Zamindari of Sambalpur district, 4 miles from Narsinghnāth.

<sup>3</sup> The grant was first noticed in 1877 by P. C. Ghosh in *JASB*, Vol. XLVI, Part I, pp. 173 ff., then edited by Fleet, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 340-44. On the name Mallā (datta ?) see *ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 140.

above. It records the gift of the village of Pāsitalā<sup>1</sup> in the Potā, (?)-Viṣaya to the *Bhātṭaputras* Keśava and Apya. It is dated, as in No. 2 above, in the 6th year of Janamejaya. The record was also written by the *Kāyastha* Koighosa, attached to the office of *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Malladatta [the same as in No. 2]<sup>2</sup>

(4) *Nagpur Museum grant*.—It was found in Satalma (or Satlama) in the Zamindari of Barpalī, Sambalpur district. The inscription contains 44 lines, incised on three plates. The ends of the ring which holds the plates is secured by a circular seal which bears the usual figure of *Gaṇa-Lakṣmī* in relief. The inscription opens with “*Oṃ svastī!* From the fortunate *Mura-sīma*, where flights of merry pigeons rise up at the sound of the anklets of many beautiful maidens (and) whose fame is spread by bards coming from all quarters.” Then follows the same verse which occurs at the end of No. 2 above. In the preamble of the grant which follows next (line 6 ff) the donor and his father are mentioned with the same titles as in Nos. 1 and 2. The inscription then records the grant of the village of Satalamā<sup>3</sup> attached to the *Kaśaloda-Viṣaya*<sup>4</sup> to the *Bhātṭaputra* Sānthakara, who was a resident of the village of Murujunga, and had immigrated from the village of Puruṣamaṇḍapa in the *Odra-deśa*. Lines 38-41 give the 8th year in the victorious reign of *Pb.-M.-P.-Soma-kula-tīlaka-Trikalīngādhipati* Janamejaya-deva as the date of the grant. The *śāśana* was written by the *Kāyastha* Āllava, son of Kailāsa, who was attached to the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Rānaka Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta. It was engraved by the same as in (1) above.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Modern Pointala, 2 miles east of Bolangir

<sup>2</sup> Edited by G. M. Laskar, *JASB*, 1905, Vol. (N.S.) I, pp. 4-6 and 12-13. Hiralal has suggested that *Potā(?)Viṣaya* may be *Povā-Viṣaya* of the Cuttack grant. He has identified the latter with Pow in Sonpur State, 19 miles south of Binka: See *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 199-200; also *infra*, p. 400, fn. 4

<sup>3</sup> Modern Satalmā.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Kusarda, 10 miles N. W. of Satalma.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-48. For the identifications of the localities see *ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 101 ff. and 201.

(5-7) *The 3 Cuttack grants (i-iii).*—These were found in ploughing a field at Chaudwar, “on the opposite side of the river to Cuttack” They form what is called in these grants (lines 46 of *i*, 48 of *ii* and 50 of *iii*) a *triphalī-tāmra-śāsana* or set of 3 connected charters. They are each written on 3 plates, which are strung together by sealed rings as in Nos. 1 to 4. The name and titles of the donor and his father are also the same as in the other charters. They are all issued from the *Śrīmad-ārāma-Samāvāṣitaḥ śrīmato vijaya-kataka*, and record grants of the following villages to the *Bhatta*, the *Mahattama Sādhāraṇa*.<sup>1</sup>

(i) *Randā*<sup>2</sup> and *Alāndalā*<sup>3</sup> in *Povā-Vīṣaya*<sup>4</sup> in the  
Kosala-deśa.

(ii) *Arkigrāmā* in *Tulumva-Khanda*.<sup>5</sup>

(iii) *Tūlendā* (*Trūlendā?*)<sup>6</sup> in *Sandānā-Vīṣaya*.<sup>7</sup>

The charters were all written by the same person, the *Kāyastha* *Māhūka* who belonged to the office of *Mahāsandhivigrahin Rānaka* Malladatta in the 31st year of the reign of *Mahābhavagupta*. They end with “delivered by the *Kosalendra* and intended to give information to the *Mahattama*, it was received by *Pundarikākṣa*; it was engraved by *Mādhava*, son of *Vasu*.”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned as *mantri* in (i), line 37

<sup>2</sup> Mod. Renda, 6 miles from Bolangir

<sup>3</sup> Mod. Alanda, 3 miles E. of Bolangir

<sup>4</sup> Mod. Pow, 8 miles N.E. of Bolangir.

<sup>5</sup> Mod. Turun on the Mahanadi, 27 miles S. of Sambalpur.

<sup>6</sup> Probably mod. Tulunda, near Pow.

<sup>7</sup> Probably mod. Sonda, 11 miles E. of Sonpur.

<sup>8</sup> Edited by Fleet, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 345-51. For previous notices of the inscriptions Nos 5 and 7 see *IA*, Vol. V, p. 55 ff. and *JASB*, Vol. 41, Part I, *Proceedings*, p. 9 ff. For the identification of the localities see *EI*, Vol. II, p. 199, and *OM*, p. 166 ff. B. C. Mazumdar has suggested that the *ārāma* or “pleasure garden” from which these records were issued is the same as the *Vihārārāma*, situated near Sonpur of the *Marājya-Mura* grant of *Mahāśivagupta*. As the localities so far identified have no connection with Cuttack, and are distinctly stated to be situated in Kosala, Mr. Mazumdar may be right. In that case the find-spot of the grant seems to have no connection with the extent of Janamejaya's dominions. The grant uses *Kosala* for *Kasala*.

From the grants mentioned above we get very little information about the political incidents of the reign of Mahābhavagupta. He is of course given imperial titles and called the lord of Trikalīṅga and Kosala. But most of his inscriptions appear to have been issued from places situated in the states of Sonpur and Patna. The villages granted in the records, including those which were found near Cuttack, so far as they have been identified, are all situated within the area now occupied by the States of Patna, Sonpur and Athmalik and the district of Sambalpur. Until further discoveries are made, we must tentatively conclude that in spite of his high-sounding titles he was the ruler of Western Orissa only.<sup>1</sup> As his grants are issued both from Suvarṇapura (Sonpur) and Muraśima (Mursinga in Patna State), it is difficult to decide on the name of his capital. But it has been suggested by some scholars that it may have been the city of Vinītapura, which occur in his son's grants, and which has been identified with modern Binka on the Mahanadi, in Sonpur state.<sup>2</sup> As we have dated records of his reign up to his 31st year we can approximately assign him to the period 975-1010 A.D. If this period for him is correct, he may have been the *Kosala-nātha* who was defeated by the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmanaiāja.<sup>3</sup> We have seen that Pāli, near Ratanpur, was captured by Mugdhataṅga, presumably from his father Śivagupta. As the former was the great-grandfather of Lakṣmaṇarāja, the latter was possibly a very junior contemporary of Mahābhavagupta I.

Mahābhavagupta was succeeded by his son Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. The following grants are known for his reign :

(1) *Sonpur grant* (i).—This was unearthed by a cultivator almost at the boundary of the villages of Jate Singa and Dungri, in the Sonpur State, some 14 miles N. E. of the town of

<sup>1</sup> Note that the Bilhari inscription of the Tripurī Kalacuris seems to refer to an *Oḍra-nṛpati* contemporaneous with a *Kosala-nātha*; see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas.



Sonpur. The inscription contains 46 lines, engraved in three plates. Ring and seal as in the grants of his father. The inscriptions opens with a praise of the confluence of the Mahanadi and the Tela, and then eulogises the king, who resides at Patana-Suvarṇapura as follows :—

*Karnāṭa-Lāṭa-Gurjareśvara (Gurjareśvara?)-Dādajvari (Dravidajayī ?) Kāñci - kalāpābharana-lampatah Kalinga - Kongad-Otkalaka-Kośalā-Svayambarah prasiddha-Gauda-Rādhāmbara-prakarsanotghāta<sup>1</sup>-mānuta-śītāṅga-Vanga-vimalāmbara-pūṣa-candra-svabhujopārṇita-Trīkalingādhipati-Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-Śrī-Mahābhavagupta - pādānudhyāta - P -pranamita-rājanoprasevita-<sup>2</sup> pādāravinda-yugalah-Śrī-Mahāśivagupta-Śrī-Yayāti-devaḥ.* The inscription was issued from the victorious camp (*viṣaya-kaṭaka*) situated at Suvarṇapura, and records the grant of two villages, Mārāṇja and Miorā belonging to Santovardā-*Khaṇḍa* of Samvaravādī-*Maṇḍala* and within the Bhranda-*Viṣaya*, which is attached to Kosala, to the Brahman Yaśaskara. The grant is dated in the 3rd year of Yayāti. It was written by the *Rāṇaka* Rudradatta.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Patna grant (i).*—This was found in the Patna State. The inscription which contains 50 lines is written on three plates, and has the usual seal with the figure of the *Gaja-Laksmī*. It was issued from the camp (*kaṭaka*) at Vinītapura (mod. Binka in Sonpur State). The inscription contains the usual titles of the donor and his father, and records the grant of some land on the northern bank of the Dāsānariya-nadī (or the river of the Dāsārṇa country ?) <sup>4</sup> belonging to the village of Talakajja <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -odghāta?

<sup>2</sup> -vājanoprasevita.

<sup>3</sup> The grant has been edited by B. C. Mazumdar in the *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 45-59, under the name *Maranjan-Mura Charter*. In view of the importance of the inscription it deserves to be re edited in the *EI*. Before its re-edition it would be risky to form any theory on the origin of the dynasty on the basis of the word *Vangānvaya* which according to the editor describes the lineage of Yayāti. For his theory see *OM*, pp. 174 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Hirralal identifies this river with the Nimuruti river, which flows between Jalajodo and Talagaja, *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> Modern Talagaja, 10 miles S.E. of Bolangir.

in Sanūlā (or Sanṛtā)-*Viṣaya*,<sup>1</sup> in the Kośala-deśa, to a Brahman named Kāmadeva, a resident of Jalajadda<sup>2</sup> in Kosala. The inscription was written by the order of the *Rānaka* Dhāradatta, the *Mahāsandhivigrahin*, in the 8th year of Yayāti.<sup>3</sup>

(3) *Cuttack grant*.—This was found among the official records at Cuttack. The original find-spot is not known. The inscription contains 66 lines, and is as usual incised on three plates. Ring and seal lost. The record opens with four verses describing the beauties of Vinītapura, on the Mahanadī, from which it was issued. Then in three verses it mentions a king named Janamejaya and his son Yayāti. Then follows the names of the donor and his father, with the usual titles,<sup>4</sup> after which is recorded the grant of the village of Cāndagrāma in the Marada-*Viṣaya* in the *Daksina*-Kosalā to the Brahman Śaṅkha-pāni, an immigrant from Śrīvallagrāma in the Madhyadeśa and a resident of the Śilābhañja-pāṭi in the Odra-deśa. In lines 63-65 it is dated in the 9th year of Yayāti's reign. It ends with the name of the engraver, the *Vyñāni* Mādhava.<sup>5</sup>

(4) *Sonpur grant (u)*.—This was found in the Sonpur State. The inscription contains 53 lines, and, as usual, is incised on three plates, strung together by a sealed ring; the figure on the seal is not clear. This grant, like No. (3), is also issued from Vinītapura, and contains the same titles for the donor and his father. It records a grant of the village of Nibiṇḍā (l. 5) or Nibinnā (l. 17) in the Ganuṭapāta-*Mandala* in

<sup>1</sup> Hirralal accepts the reading as Sanūlā, and identified it with Sonnula, in the Patna State, 22 miles S W of Talagaja, *ibid*.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Jalajodo, near Talagaja.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by G. M. Laskar in *J I S B*, 1905, Vol. I (N S), pp 6-7.

<sup>4</sup> It is perhaps important that the father of the donor, Mahābhavagupta I, is here given in addition to the usual *Pb<sub>5</sub>-M.-P.*, the epithets *Parama-māheśvara*, *Somakula-tilaka*, and *Trikalāṅgādhipati*, which are wanting in the records of Mahābhavagupta I before the name of his father Sivagupta I.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Fleet, *EI*, Vol. III, pp 351-54. For the identifications see *ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 199. Has Śilābhañja-pāṭi of this inscription any connection with the Bhañja ruler Śilābhañja, the father of Vidyādharaḥhañja? If the names are accepted as identical, this may throw some light on the relationship of the Bhañjas and the Somavamsīs.

Kosala-deśa to the *Dikṣita* Puṇḍarika Śarman, who was a resident of the village Maramenlā in the Kosala country and an immigrant from Bhataparoli. The writer of the grant was *Mahākṣapaṭalaka* Uchava Nāga, son of Allava Nāga, who was known to the *Mahāsandhivigrahika Rānaka* Cārudatta. The engraver was *Ṭhakura* Panāka. It is dated in lines 14-47 in the 15th year of Yayāti.<sup>1</sup>

(5) *Patna grant (ii)*.—Found in the Patna State. The grant consists of 64 lines, and was issued from Yayātinagara.<sup>2</sup> It grants the village of *Ḍelādelī* (or *Helāheli* ?) in the *Telā-taṭṭa-Viṣaya*<sup>3</sup> in Kosala-deśa, to the *Bhaṭṭa* Mahodadhī, a resident of *Antaradī* in the *Lāvaḍā-Viṣaya*.<sup>4</sup> It is dated in the 24th year of Yayāti. The charter was written by the *Kāyastha* Tathāgata, belonging to the office of *Mahāsandhivigrahin-Rānaka*-Dhāradatta, and engraved by *Vijñānī* Vāsuka [everything as usual in the other grants].<sup>5</sup>

(6) *Patna grant (iii)* —Found in the Patna State. It contains 75 lines, and was issued from Yayātinagara on the *Mahanadī*. The object of the record is to grant the village *Luttarumā* of *Telā-taṭṭa-Viṣaya* to the donee of the grant No. 5, who was an immigrant from *Srāvastī-Mandala*. It was dated in the 28th year of Yayāti. The charter was written by the *Kāyastha* Sūryasena, belonging to office of the *Sandhivigrahin* of the *Kosala-deśa* [everything as usual in other grants].<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by B C Mazumdar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 93 and 95-98, under the name *Nibinnā Charter*. The editor has identified the village granted with the village of the same name (*Nibinnā*) where the inscription was found. He has also suggested that the *Viṣaya* may be *Ghatapara*, in the same neighbourhood.

<sup>2</sup> Identified by Hirālāl with *Binka* on the *Mahanadī*. According to him the old capital *Vinītapura* was named *Yayātinagara* after the name of *Yayāti*. See *ibid.*, p. 189. Fleet pointed out that as *Yayātinagara* was situated on the *Mahanadī*, it could not be identified with *Jajpur*, which is on the *Baitarani* (Lat. 21° 28' N and Long. 85° 33' E), some 60 miles north of the *Mahanadī*; see *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 355. *Yayātinagara* is mentioned in *Dhoyi's Pavanadūta*.

<sup>3</sup> Country on the bank on the mod. *Tel.*, a tributary of the *Mahanadī*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably modern *Lebda* 48 miles south-west of *Bolangir*, *Patna State*.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by G. M. Laskar, *JASB*, 1905, Vol. I (N.S.), pp. 7-8 and 16-18. For identification, see *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 189 and 201.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by G. M. Laskar, *JASB*, 1905, Vol. I (N.S.), pp. 8-12 and 19-23.

The records mentioned above were issued from places on the bank of the Mahanadi, which if the identifications proposed are accepted, were all located in the Sonpur State. The villages granted by these inscriptions were mostly included in Kosala or Dakṣiṇa-Kosala, and, so far as they have been identified seems to have been all situated in the States of Patna and Sonpur. On this evidence therefore we are led to conclude that the power of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti continued to centre round the same region over which his father had held sway<sup>1</sup>. But there is some evidence to show that Yayāti was a more powerful sovereign than his father, and he appears to have had some amount of military success. Unlike his father's grants, his inscriptions in their introductory parts sometimes contain references to conflicts with his neighbours. Thus one of his Sonpur grants (i) seem to tell us that he 'conquered the lords of Kaināṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara (?) and Drāviḍa; denuded Kāñci of its glory, became the elected (*svayambhara*) lord of Kalinga, Kongada, Utkala and Kośala; was cooled by the wind of the famous countries of Gauḍa and Rādha, became as it were the full-moon in the pure sky of Vaṅga and became the lord of Tīr-Kalinga after having conquered it with his own hands.' A Patna grant (No 6) adds the information that he defeated Ajapāla in battle and captured 32 big elephants. It is difficult to determine how far these statements were founded on fact. As his grants record his 28th year, he may have flourished during the period c. 1010-1050 A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Rajendra Coḷa, and must have witnessed the latter's northern expedition, which was undertaken some time between 1021 and 1025 A.D. As the Tirumalai rock inscription of the latter refers to *Kosalai-nāḍu* as one of the countries through which the Coḷa conqueror passed on his way to the north but significantly enough, fails to record any military

<sup>1</sup>This area is sometimes described as the 'Sambalpur tract.'

success of Rajendra Coḷa there,<sup>1</sup> we may possibly be allowed to conclude that Yayāti met with some amount of success against the Drāvida king. But at present it would be risky to accept the theory of Mr. B. C. Mazumdar that Yayāti personally went to Bengal to help its king in repelling the attacks from 'Gurjara, Lāta, Karnāta, and Kāñci invaders.'<sup>2</sup> Without accepting all that the *prastikāna* claimed we may perhaps be right in concluding that Yayāti was an ambitious ruler who won military fame by raiding the territories of his neighbours. But the fact that he was a contemporary of the powerful Tripurī Kalacurī kings Gāṅgeyadeva and Lakṣmī Karna, the Pāla king Mahipāla and the Coḷa Rajendra shows that his success must have been limited.

Mahāśivagupta I was succeeded by his son Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha. The following inscriptions are so far known for his reign :

(1) *Cuttack giant*.—This is reported to have been found "at Cuttack or closely in its neighbourhood," but there is no precise information about its find-spot. It contains 73 lines which are incised as usual on three plates. The figures on the seal is damaged and nothing can be distinguished now. The inscription opens with a description of the charms of the city of Yayātinagara on the Mahanadī. Then in five verses it praises king Janamejaya, his son Yayāti, and his grandson Bhīmaratha. Then we are told that from Yayātinagara Mahābhavagupta (titles and epithets as usual for him and his father), on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted the village of Gaudasiminnilligrāma in the Kosala-sākhangadyanhā-*Viṣaya* to the Rānaka Rāccho, an immigrant from the Śrāvastī-Maṇḍala and a

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 293. The passage runs as follows : '... .. *Oḍḍa viṣaya* which was difficult to approach (and which he subdued in) close fights. The good *Kośala-nādu*, where Brāhmaṇas assembled, *Tandla-bhutti*, in whose gardens bees abounded, and which he acquired after destroying Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle .. .. .'

<sup>2</sup> *ON*, pp 174-75 and 183-85. Note that in his Patna grant No. 6 his *Sandhuivigraha* is described as of *Kosala-deśa*.

resident of Siṅgoṅgrāma <sup>1</sup> in the Devibhoga-*Viṣaya* <sup>2</sup> in Kosala. Lines 66-69 are devoted to the praise of the *Sandhivigraha* Siṅgadatta. Lines 69-70 state that the *Śāsana* was written by the *Kāyastha* Mangaladatta. The grant is dated in lines 70-73 in the 3rd year of Bhīmaratha. It ends with the name of the engraver, the *viññānin* Madhumatta.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Kudopali grant*.—This was found buried in the ground at the village of Kudopali in the Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur district. It contains 36 lines, and is as usual incised on three plates strung together by a ring. The ends of the ring are soldered into a seal which “bears in high relief a sitting *hamsa* facing the proper left and surmounted by a crescent, and, below the *hamsa*, the legend *Rānaka-Śrī-[Pu]m[ja]*.” The top of the first side of the first plate contains the following line, the significance of which has not yet been understood :

*Pemttā (?) pamhālātalikatamvolabholichatrasatau.*

The inscription proper begins with the date, the 13th year of the reign of Mahābhavagupta-rāja II, at Yayātinagara. (The titles and epithets of this prince and his father are as usual.) Then follow the name and residence of his feudatory : *Parama-māheśvara-Maṭhara-vamśodbhava-kulatilaka-Kāleśvarīvara-labdha-prasāda-Pañcadaśa-pallikādhpati-Samadhigatapañcamahāśabda-Māṇḍalika-Rānaka Śrī-Puñja*, the son of Voḍā (?) The latter from his residence at Vā(?)maṇḍāpātī <sup>4</sup> granted the village of Loisarā <sup>5</sup> in the Gīdāndā-*Maṇḍala* <sup>6</sup> to the *Bhaṭṭaputra*

<sup>1</sup> Probably Singar in the Khariar Zamindari, in the extreme south of the Raipur district (C. P.), *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Identified with Deobhog in the Bindra Nawagarh Zamindari in the extreme south of Raipur district (C.P.), *ibid*

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Fleet, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 355-59.

<sup>4</sup> Identified with Bamra, a feudatory state in Orissa, called by the Oriyas Bāmaṇḍā. Bamragarh, the old capital of Bamra, is 60 miles N. E. of Binka, *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> Identified with a village of the same name in Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur district, 16 miles S. W. of Sambalpur; *ibid*

<sup>6</sup> Hirālal suggested the reading Sīdāndā and identified it with Sarāṇḍā, in Bargarh tahsil, 11 miles S. W. of Sambalpur town.

Nārāyaṇa, an immigrant from Hastipada. In the last two lines is given the name of the writer of the copper-plate, Pūrṇadatta, the son of the *Śiṣṭhin* Kirana of Lenapura.<sup>1</sup>

The two grants mentioned above do not supply us with any record of the political incidents of the reign of Mahābhavagupta II. If however the suggested identifications of the place-names are accepted we may conclude that his dominions extended from the south of the Rāpur district in the C. P. to Bamra in Orissa. His inscriptions show that he ruled for at least 13 years. On palaeographic evidence we may refer him approximately to the period 1050 to 1075 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Hitherto Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha has been considered to be the last prince of the Somavamśīs of Kosala. The discovery of the *Sonpur grant* of Kumāra Someśvara-deva however seems to add some new names to the dynasty. This inscription was found buried in a field in the village of Kelga in the Uttara-tīra division of the Sonpur State, about 18 miles to the north of Sonpur town. It contains 70 lines, incised on four plates. The seal attached to the ring is fashioned in imitation of a lotus bearing a 'seated figure with the right arm outstretched to the knee,' which may possibly be a representation of Lakṣmī. The inscription then opens as follows :

*Om Svasti Śrī-Suvarṇapurāt Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-M.-P.-Soma-kula-tīlaka-Trikalīṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahābhavagupta-rāja-deva pādānudhyāta-Śrīmad-Ud[d]yota Kesari-rāja-deva-prasādīkṛta-Kosala-rājyābhīśikṣita-Śrī-Abhimanyudevasya-atīta-rājye Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-Kumārādhirāja-P.-Pāścīmalankādhipati-<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 254-59.

<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn referred his Kudopali grant to about the first half of the 12th century; *ibid*, p. 256. But see Fleet's view on his Cuttack grant, which with the other grants of the family is referred to 1000-1100 A.D., *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. Mazumdar, identified the Sonpur tract with *Pāścīma-Lankā*. He points out that according to popular tradition Sonpur was once known by that name. A small rock in the bed of the Mahanadi, within a stone's throw from the palace of the Maharaja, is still called Lankeśvarī, see *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 239.

*Soma-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāsa-bhāsvara-Kumāra-Śrī-Someśvara-deva-pādah-kuśalinaḥ.*

The inscription, in the formal part, records the grant of the village of Attendā,<sup>1</sup> in the Uttaravallī-*Viśaya*,<sup>2</sup> of the Kosala rājya-*Khaṇḍa*, to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Udayakara Śarman, an immigrant from Mahūvalī in Sāvattī (Śrāvastī ?)-*Mandala* and a resident of Kamalapura.<sup>3</sup> The inscription is dated in lines 14-15 in the 'increasing victorious reign, year 1.'<sup>4</sup>

The first name in the grant is that of Mahābhavagupta-deva. "But from the manner in which this mention is made" the editor of the grant found it "difficult to say which Mahābhavagupta is referred to". From palaeographic considerations however it seems likely that this prince is not the first of that name and that he may possibly be either the Mahābhavagupta of the Kudopali grant mentioned above, or a later prince bearing the same name. The letters of the Sonpur grant of Someśvara, though agreeing in the main with the characters of the plates of the Kosala Guptas contain many modern Oriya and Bengali forms, which show that they are of a later time. The next difficulty is about the relationship between this Mahābhavagupta and Uddyotakesarin who is said to have granted (*prasādikṛta*) the Kosala country to Abhimanyu. The word *pādānudhyāta* however may possibly signify that Uddyotakesarin immediately succeeded Mahābhavagupta and that the former was possibly a lineal or at least a collateral descendant of the latter. If this is accepted it would afford an interesting instance of the reappearance of *Kesari* names in the family tree after more than 300 years. We have already shown that the name Ranakesarin occurs twice in the genealogical list of the Śrīpura branch of this family. The occurrence of names ending in *Kesarin* and of

<sup>1</sup> Identified by the editor with the village of Achenda, 7 miles from Kelgā.

<sup>2</sup> The editor points out that Achenda is in the Uttara-tīra division of Sonpur. Thus it is likely that Uttaravallī-*Viśaya* may be identified with the Uttara-tīra division.

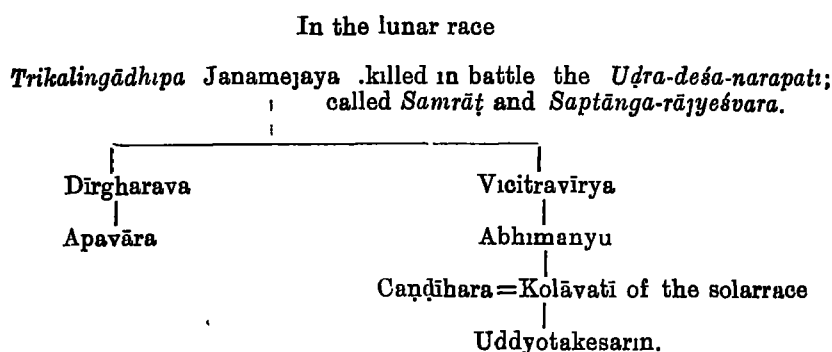
<sup>3</sup> Sten Konow suggested that this name may be a Sanskritisation of Kelgā, see *ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 238, fn. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The grant was edited by B. C. Mazumdar, *BJ*, Vol. XII pp. 237-42.



'Janamejaya' and 'Yayāti' in the Orissan branch of the family makes its identification with the *Kesari-varṇśa* of the *Mādlā-Pāṇḍi* seem probable.<sup>1</sup>

Uddyotakesarin of the Sonpur grant has been identified with the prince of the same name whose *Bhuvanesvar inscription*,<sup>2</sup> dated in his 18th year, was edited by Prinsep as early as 1838.<sup>3</sup> This record is damaged but the published text of the inscription gives the following genealogy of Uddyotakesarin : --



Some scholars have further identified the Uddyotakesarin of the Bhuvanesvar epigraph with the prince of that name whose inscriptions of his 5th and 18th years were discovered in Orissa in the Lalatendu Kesari and Navamuni caves respectively.<sup>4</sup> Thus according to the proposed identifications all these princes bearing the name Uddyotakesarin were identical. As an illustration

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of this part of the chronicle, see *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 335 ff. Fleet, who first proposed the identification of Janamejaya and Yayāti of the inscriptions with the Janamejaya Kesari and Yayāti Kesari of the chronicles, showed the utter unreliability of the chronological system of the *Pāṇḍi*, and remarked that 'everything relating to ancient times, which had been written on the unsupported authority of these annals, has to be expunged bodily from the pages of history', *ibid*, pp. 325-26 and 337-40. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar however thinks that the Kesari kings of the *Pāṇḍi* must be identified with the Coḷa kings who invaded Orissa and 'who bore the title Kesari', see *OM*, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 557-62 and plate XXIV; *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 90, No. 668.

<sup>4</sup> Inscriptions in Udayagiri and Khandagiri, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 165-166, Nos. XIV and XV.

however of the uncertainties of the history of this period of Orissa the interesting fact may be mentioned that the scholar who admits the identity of the two Uddyotakesarins of the Sonpur and Bhuvanesvar inscriptions refers the latter epigraph to the 12th century,<sup>1</sup> while the scholar who identifies the two Uddyotakesarins of the Bhuvanesvar and the Navamuni cave inscriptions refers the latter record to 'about the 10th century.'<sup>2</sup>

The identifications proposed have to face other difficulties. If the Janamejaya who appears at the head of the table in the Bhuvanesvar epigraph was the same person as Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, and if the Mahābhavagupta of the Sonpur grant is accepted as Mahābhavagupta II, then in one case Uddyotakesarin becomes the 3rd reigning king from Janamejaya and in another case the 6th. The difficulty is partly solved if we suppose that the Mahābhavagupta of the Sonpur grant was later than the prince of that name in the Kudopali grant. For this would make Uddyotakesarin of the Sonpur grant the 5th reigning prince from Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, with a possible Mahāśivagupta in between the two Mahābhavaguptas of the Kudopali and the Sonpur grants. This would tend to lessen the distance between the two Uddyotakesarins. The position may be illustrated by the following table :

- |    |  |            |                   |
|----|--|------------|-------------------|
| 1  | Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya  |            |                   |
|    | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">             ↓<br/>             2. Mahāśivagupta II Yayāti           </div> <div style="text-align: center;">             ↓<br/>             2. Dīrgharava           </div> </div> |            |                   |
| 3. | Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha   | 3. Apavāra | 4. Vicitravīrya   |
| 4  | Mahāśivagupta III (?)  |            | 5. Abhimanyu      |
| 5. | Mahābhavagupta III   |            | 6. Candīhara      |
| 6. | Uddyotakesarin   |            | 7. Uddyotakesarin |

<sup>1</sup> Mr B. C. Mazumdar, *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 239; see also his *OM*, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. R. D. Banerji, *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 165.

Under this scheme Dīrgharava is accepted as a son of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, and Uddyotakesarin a collateral descendant of the Mahābhavagupta (III ?) of the Sonpur grant. As I have already suggested, it is possible that Uddyotakesarin succeeded Mahābhavagupta (III ?) who possibly died childless.

The discovery of most of the inscriptions of Uddyotakesarin near Bhuvanesvar<sup>1</sup> may indicate the transference of the seat of the Somavamśis' kingdom from the Sambalpur tract to the seaboard of Orissa. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the Sonpur grant of Someśvara distinctly states that Kosala was granted by Uddyotakesarin to Abhimanyu, who apparently founded a feudatory dynasty in the Sonpur tract. The *Kumārādhirāja* Someśvara was possibly a son of Abhimanyu, and apparently succeeded the latter at Suvarṇapura.

Nothing is known about the history of the successors of Uddyotakesarin. According to the *Mādila-Pāñji* Suvarṇa Kesarī who ruled in c. 1123-32 A.D. was the last king of the Kesarī dynasty. We are told by this chronicle that Orissa was conquered by a king from the south named Codagaṅga (1132-52 A.D.) who established the 'Gangā-vamśa'.<sup>2</sup> Fleet rightly identified this Codaganga with Anantavarmā Codaganga of the later Gaṅga dynasty, for whom we have dates ranging from Śaka 998 to Śaka 1069 (c. 1076-1147 A.D.). Though Suvarṇa Kesarī is utterly unknown to epigraphic evidence, and may possibly be fictitious, yet it is not unlikely that the Orissan chronicles may have retained a reminiscence of the real facts when they make the later Gaṅgas the successors of the Kesarīs in Orissa. There is

<sup>1</sup> As another illustration of the uncertainties of Orissan history may be mentioned the fact that nobody yet knows who founded the magnificent Lingarāja temple at Bhuvanesvar. According to the *Mādila-Pāñji*, Lalatendu Kesarī built the temple in Śaka 588 (A.D. 666). Recent studies however tend to show that it was probably erected by one of the ancestors of Uddyotakesarin in c. 1000 A.D. See R. P. Chanda, *ASI*, 1923-24, pp. 119-22; also B. C. Mazumdar, *OM*, pp. 196-99; N. Tripathi, in *JBORS*, 1928, June, p. 303; *AO*, Vol. II, pp. 56-58.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 836 ff.

no inherent improbability in the proposition that the Somavamśī Kesarīs were destroyed during the vigorous reign of Anantavarmā Coḍaganga sometime before c. 1148 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

## (2) *The Karas of Tosālī.*

The Karas appeared to have ruled in Orissa from about the 8th century down to the 11th century A.D. Most of their inscriptions were discovered in the districts of Cuttack, Puri, and Ganjam; and it seems likely that they ruled, for some time at least, over portions of these districts synchronously with the Somavamśīs of Kosala. Most of their charters were issued from Guheśvara-pāṭaka,<sup>2</sup> and record grants either in *Uttara* or *Dakṣiṇa* Tosālī. Some of these grants include Kuṅgada-*Maṇḍala* in the latter division. Tosālī has been rightly identified with Tosālī mentioned in the Orissan edicts of the Maurya emperor Aśoka.<sup>3</sup> *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosālī is mentioned in the Patiakella grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja dated in (Gupta) *Samvat* 283.<sup>4</sup> Kuṅgada<sup>5</sup> is apparently the *Kung-yü-t'ō* of Yuan Chwang,<sup>6</sup> which was situated 1,200 li to the South-West of *Wu-t'u* (Udra)<sup>7</sup> and 1,400 or 1,500 li to the North-East of *Ka-leng-ka* (Kaluṅga).<sup>8</sup> Cunningham and Fergusson identified *Kung-yü-t'ō* with the region about the Chilka Lake, now included within the districts of Puri and Ganjam.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the subsequent history of Kosala see the Patna Museum plates of Someśvara, who belonged to the *Colānaya* and claimed to be lord of Kosala. The characters of this record belong to the 11th century. See *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 97-99.

<sup>2</sup> In some of their grants the name seems to be *Subheśvara-pāṭaka*; see *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 419 ff.; 1928, June, p. 282 ff.; or *Subhadeta pāṭaka*, *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Hultzsch, *CII*, Vol. I, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 92 ff. Also fn. 1 on p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 287.

<sup>5</sup> Also spelt Kōṅgōda, see *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 141; *JBORS*, Vol. V, pp. 564 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Or *Kung-gu-t'ō* or *Kung-ya-t'ō*; see *YC*, Vol. II, pp. 198-98.

<sup>7</sup> Or *Ota* (Odra), *YC*, Vol. II, p. 198.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 198.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p. 197. Fergusson thought that its capital "was situated to the northward of the Chilka Lake and somewhere between Cuttack and Aska, where one of Aśoka's great edict tablets still exists."

The Kara grants, like most Orissa inscriptions are undated, or are dated in eras of uncertain epoch. Recently however Prof. Sylvain Lévi has greatly assisted the attempts of scholars to find the period of the Karas in Orissa by suggesting the identification of one of its earlier kings named Subhakara with 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion,' 'king of the realm of Wu-Cha' who sent an autograph MS. to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong in 795 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The Ganjam plates of the Śailodbhava feudatory Mādhavarāja Sainyabhita show that the Orissan coast-districts, including portions of Ganjam, were under the Gauḍa king Śaśānka up to year 619-20 A.D.<sup>2</sup> After the defeat of Śaśānka these dominions of the latter may have passed under the control of Harṣa for some time.<sup>3</sup> It was probably during the confusion that followed the death of Harṣa that the Karas succeeded in establishing their power in Orissa. In their earlier inscriptions the Karas claim descent from the *Bhaumānvaya* or *Bhauma-kula*,<sup>4</sup> while in the later records they are said to have sprung from the *Vamśa* of the Kara kings. Sometimes their dynasty is simply referred to as *Kara-kula*.

The earliest inscription of the family appears to be the *Neulpur grant* of Subhakara. It was found among the old records of a Zamindar of Darppan, in the Cuttack District. It contains 34 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The circular seal which is attached to a projection on one side of the plate bears in its upper part the figure of a bull couchant. Its lower part contains the legend *Śrī-Subhakaradevasya*. The inscription is undated, but on palaeographic grounds can be referred to the 8th century A.D. It opens with *Om Svasti-*

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 363-64.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46

<sup>3</sup> *Life*, p. 154. It refers to the assignment of 'the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa' by Śīlāditya to the learned Jayasena.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Genealogies of the dynasties of Assam, see *supra*, pp. 237 ff

*Jaya-skandhāvārāt Śubhadevapāṭakāt*, and then gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the *Bhaumānvaya*

*Paramopāsaka-Nr(?)gatāpha(?)nāmā Ksemankara-deva*

*Parama-tathāgata Svadharmāropita-varṇāśrama-Bharasaha-Sivakaradeva.*

*Parama-saugata Mātā-pitr-pādānudhyāta Mahārāja Subhakaradeva.*

It then records the grants of the villages of *parvata-droṇī*-Komparāka and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka, situated in the *Viṣayas* of Pāñcāla and Vubhyudaya in *Uttara-Tosalī*, to one hundred Brahmins (names given). The date *Samvat* 8 occurs in line 30. The *Dātaka* of the grant was the *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikarādhikṛta* Samudradatta. It was written by the *Mahākṣapaṭalika Bhogika* Brahmadatta, heated (*tāpitam*) by *Pettāpāla* Nārāyaṇa, and engraved by *Tatṭhakāra* Edadatta.<sup>1</sup>

From the titles of the kings it is clear that the kings were Buddhists. But, like the Pālas of Bihār and Bengal, they did not find it conflicting with their tenets to pose at the same time as guardians of the *Varnāśramas*. The figure of the bull on their seal shows the curious blending of later Buddhism and Śaivism. Prof. Sylvain Lévi has identified the donor of the grant with the Mahāyāna Buddhist king of Wu-ch'a (Uḍra) who sent an autograph MS to the Chinese emperor Te-tsung in A.D. 795.<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent of the name of the king given in Chinese as 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion' is Śubhakarā *Kesarin* or *Siṃha*.

Sivakara, the father of Śubhakarā of the Neulpur grant, has been identified by some scholars with Śivaṅkara, the first prince mentioned in the *Chaurasi* grant of Śivakara.<sup>3</sup> This grant

<sup>1</sup> Edited by R. D. Bannerji, *EI*, Vol XV, pp. 1-8. The editor reads the name of the donor as Śubhākara; but I have accepted the correction suggested by Prof. Lévi and accepted by Prof. F. W. Thomas; *ibid*, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 363-64.

<sup>3</sup> *JBORS*, 1928, June, p. 304.

was found in the village of Chaurasi, in the pargana Antarodh, thana Nimapara, in the Sadar division of the Puri district. It contains 29 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. On a projection of the plate on its left side is the circular seal formed like an expanded lotus flower bearing the figure of a bull. The inscription on the seal is illegible. The letters of the grant are not later than the 9th or 10th century A.D. It opens with *Om siddhih*, and then follows (lines 2-3) the name of the residence of the donor—*Guha* (Subha ?) *devīpāṭikār-vāsinah vijaya-skandhāvāt*. Then follows the genealogy :

In the mighty *kula* of Bhaunia.

|  
Śivankara

| = *Mahādevī Jayābalī-devī*.

Pb.-M.-P. Subhakara. . . *Utkalendra*

| = *Mahādevī Mādhava-devī*

Pb.-M.-P Śivakara

The inscription then records the grant of the village of Vuvradā in the Anarudra-*Viśaya* of *Dakṣiṇa-Tosālī* to the Brahman Jālu-bhaṭṭa. It is dated in line 10 in *Samvat* 13. It was written by the *Taṣṭākāra* Harivardhana <sup>1</sup>

If we accept the identification proposed above, we may have to reject the suggestion of Mr. R. D. Banerji that *Mahārāja* Subhakara was a feudatory ruler.<sup>2</sup> For in this grant his family is given all the imperial titles that sovereign rulers assumed during this period. Unfortunately we do not know the names of the immediate successors of Śivakara II. The grants of Daṇḍimahādevī, which undoubtedly belong to a later period contain the names of a number of her predecessors. But the name of Śivakara (II) does not occur amongst them. In the present state of our knowledge we must remain contented with the suggestion that Śivakara (II) and his ancestors preceded

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Narayana Tripathi, *JBORS*, 1928, June, pp 293-306 This editor also gives the name of the father of the donor as Subhākara Tosālī is probably a mistake for *Tosālī*.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 2

Lolabhāra or Loṇabhāra, the first prince in the direct line from Daṇḍi-mahādevī.<sup>1</sup> The following grants of this queen are known :

(1) *Ganjam grant* (i).—It was found in the office of the Collector of Ganjam ; find-spot unknown. The inscription contains 43 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. On its proper right is soldered a seal resting on an expanded lotus-flower, bearing the figure of a couchant bull, and below it is the legend *Śrīmad-Daṇḍi-mahādevī*. The characters of the inscription may be classed together with those of the Nadagam (in Ganjam) plates of Vajrahasta of *Śaka Samvat* 979 (A. D. 1058), and with those of some other inscriptions belonging to about the 12th or 13th centuries A. D.<sup>2</sup> The grant opens as usual with *Om svas-ti*, and then comes in the 3rd line the name of the donor's place of residence : *Śrīmad Guheśvara-pāṭaka-nivāsi vijaya-skandha-vārāt*. Next comes the following genealogy of the donor :

A king named Unmatta-simha<sup>3</sup>

From his family (*Tad-vamśād*)

Maṅgapāḍa (?) and others.

In their family (*Tad-vamśe*)

(1) King Loṇabhāra

(2) Kusumabhāra

(3) Lalitabhāra

(4) Sāntikara

(5) Subhākara

= (6) Gaurī (?)

*Parama-māheśvari-Mātā-pitr-pīḍānūdhya-tā-Pb.-M.-P.*

(7) Daṇḍi-mahādevī

<sup>1</sup> JBORS, 1923, June, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 153-54, Nos. 568, 655, 659-60, 664, 665, 672-73 and 711-14 of Kielhorn's list of Northern Inscriptions in *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix. Kielhorn though not venturing to express any definite opinion on the age of the inscription, remarked that it 'could hardly be older than the 13th century.' But I think the date of the grant must be placed sometime before the middle of the 12th century, for there could hardly be any place for a sovereign ruler in the Ganjam area during the reign of Coṭagaṅga (c. 1076-1147 A.D.). In fact it seems likely that either Daṇḍi-mahādevī or her immediate successors were destroyed by that powerful ruler of Kalinganagara.

<sup>3</sup> The name is sometimes given as Unmaṭṭa-kesarin ; see *infra*, p. 421.



The inscription then grants the village of Villa, belonging to the eastern division of the Varadā-khaṇḍa-*Viṣaya* of the Kōṅgōda-*Māṇḍala*, to the *Pratihāra* Dhavala, on the occasion of a *Samkrānti* in *Samvat* 180. Line 41 adds that a quarter (?) of this village again was given by Dhabala to the Brahmans on the occasion of a *Samkrānti*. The grant ends with the name of the engraver, Sambhaka.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Ganjam grant (vi)*.—This was found with (1). The inscription contains 39 lines. It records the grant of the village of Garasāmbhā in the Arttani-*Viṣaya* in Kōṅgōda-*Māṇḍalaka* in *Dakṣiṇa-Kōśalā*<sup>2</sup> to the *Bhattaputra* Puruṣottama by the donor of No. 1. Lines 38-39 record that half of this village was given by the donee to *Bhattaputra* Ravika. It was written by the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* Bhogada, and engraved by the *Tāmrakāra* (Kanthā?)kaka. The inscription is not dated. [Seal, genealogy, place of residence, titles, etc., as in No. 1.]<sup>3</sup>

(3) *Banpur grant*.—This was found in the possession of a Brahman family of Kumurang Sasan, a village near Banpur in the Puri district, some 5 miles from the Balugan Station of the B. N. Ry. It is reported to have been discovered in the deserted village of Mansinghapur, about 7 miles from Kumurang. The inscription consists of 45 lines, incised on a single plate. It records the grant of Kantsarānagarī-*grāma* in the Khidiṅga-hāra-*Viṣaya* in the Kuṅgāda-*Māṇḍala* of *Dakṣiṇa-Tosalā* to some Brahmans by the donor of No. 1. It is dated in the 18th year of an unspecified era. At the end of the inscription occurs the name of the *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta Rānaka* Bhūṣana Nāga and *Mahākṣapaṭalika Bhogī* Padmasena. Genealogy of the donor nearly the same as in No. 1, with the following exceptions: *Śrīmad-Gayāda* and others is substituted for 'Mangapāda and others,' Lolabhāra is substituted for Loṇabhāra and Unmaṭṭa-simha

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 135-40

<sup>2</sup> Could it be a mistake for *Tosalā* (i.e., *Tosalā*=*Tosalā*)?

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 140-42.

is said here to have been born in the family of Kara kings. Everything else as in No. 1.<sup>1</sup>

Of the princes mentioned in the genealogy of Danḍi-mahādevī Gayāda is identified by some scholars<sup>2</sup> with Gayādatuṅga-deva, for whom we have the two following inscriptions :

(1) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant* —The find-spot of this is unknown. It contains 40 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal is elliptical, and bears the figure of a bull and the legend Śrī-Gayādatuṅga-devasya. The characters are similar to those of the plate of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, and may be referred to the 10th or 11th century A. D. The inscription opens with the praise of a mountain called *Mahāparvata*, whose body was marked by the kings of the Tuṅga dynasty. Then occurs the name of Yamagartta-*Maṇḍala*. Next comes the genealogy of the donor, as follows :

In the Tuṅga-*vaṃśa*, Sāṇḍilya *gotra* Rājā-Jagattuṅga, who came from Rohitāgiri (mod. Rohtasgarh in Shahabad district, Bihar?).

In his line Salāṇatuṅga  
|  
Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda-  
Gayādatuṅga-deva.

The inscription then records the grant of some land in the village of Toro in the Veṇḍuṅga-*Viśaya*, in the Yamagartta-*Maṇḍala*, to a number of Brahmans settled at the village of Kuruvābhata in the Oḍra-*Viśaya*.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Talcher grant*.—This belongs to the Talcher State of Orissa ; find-spot not known. The inscription contains 36 lines.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by H. Pandey, *JBORS*, Vol. V, pp. 564-78.

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. V, p. 568, fn. 2 ; *ibid.*, 1928, June, pp. 295-96.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti, *JASB*, 1909, Vol. V (N.S.), pp. 347-50. The editor thinks that the word Vānāryaśātru occurring in line 11 may be a surname of Jagattuṅga or of a predecessor of the latter. The Candras of Bengal also claimed to have come from Rohitāgiri ; see *EI*, Vol. XXII, pp. 116 ff., also *supra*, p. 322.

It records the grant of the *Vāmātālo-grāma* in the *Tuṅkerā-Visaya* in the *Yamagartta-Mandala* to 3 Brahmins who were settled in the *Odra-Visaya*. One of the donees came from the *Varendra-Mandala*, while another came from *Sāvathī*. (= *Śrāvastī*). [Everything else as in No. 1.] <sup>1</sup>

These grants seem to indicate that *Gayādatunga* was a worshipper of *Śiva*, and possibly a feudatory. The find-spot of his second grant shows that his territory was not far-removed from the centre of power of the *Kara* rulers. The seals of his inscriptions also bear the figure of a bull like those of the *Karas*. The designation of the family name as *Tunga-vamśa* should be no insuperable bar to the acceptance of these rulers as members of the *Kara* family. Family names in Indian dynasties sometimes start from an accidental similarity of the ending of the names of some of its members, and I think the occurrence of 3 successive names ending in *Tunga* may have led the *praśastikāra* of the 3rd prince to call his dynasty *Tunga-vamśa*. On the evidence available we cannot be sure on the point but on the whole it seems more reasonable to accept tentatively the identification proposed. But we must at the same time conclude that the period between *Śivakara II* and *Loṇabhāra* was a period of disruption in the family history of the *Karas*. It is not unlikely that during this period a more powerful neighbour, possibly the *Somavamśis* of *Kosala* completely destroyed their sovereignty. *Unmaṭṭa*, *Mangapāḍa* and *Gayāda* were probably representatives of the family who held a precarious power as feudatories in different parts of the seaboard of *Orissa*.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by R. D. Banerji, *JASB*, 1916, Vol. XII (N S.), pp. 291-95. Previously edited by N. Vasu in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhaṇja*, Vol. I, p. 152 ff. For another inscription of the *Tunga* family see the *Bona grant of Mahārāja Rānaka Paramamahēśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Aṣṭādāśa-Gondamādhupati-Vinītatuṅga II*, son of *Khaḍgatunga* and grandson of *Vinītatuṅga I*, who came from *Rohitāsī* (*Rohtasgarh*?). The seal is circular, and bears in relief 'a couchant deer with trees in front, symbols for the sun and moon, a lotus,' and the legend *Śrī-Vinītatuṅga-deva*. It was edited by H. P. Śāstrī in *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 236-40.

Lonabhāra was descended from one of these branches, and appears to have succeeded in reviving the lost prosperity of his family.

No records have yet been discovered of Lonabhāra and his two sons Kusumabhāra and Lalitabhāra. But the *Dhenkanal grant* of Tribhuvana-mahādevī, the queen of the last prince, throws important light on his reign and the period immediately following. This inscription was discovered in the State of Dhenkanal in Orissa. It contains 42 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal has the figure of a bull couchant and the legend *Śrīmat Tribhuana(vana?)-mahādevī*. It was issued from the *Viṣaya-shandhārā* at Śubheśvara-*pāṭaka* and is dated in year 35 of an unspecified era. It records the grant of the village of Kontaspārā in the Tosala-*Viṣaya* to *Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara* for the object of 'bringing down rain,' by the queen Tribhuvana-mahādevī. The genealogy of the donor is given as follows :

When the *Mahārājas* Unmatta-kesarī<sup>1</sup> and Gayāḍa  
had gone to the city of Indra :

In the *Kara-kula* (line 16)

*M.-P.-Lalitabhāra* = *M.-P.-Pb.-Paiama-vaisṇavi-Mātāpitṛ-pādānudyātā*  
Tribhuvana-mahādevī.

We are told by this inscription that the donor of the grant was the daughter of *Rājā Malladeva* the ornament of the southern regions. This Malladeva appears to have helped the Karas to uphold their power after the death of a prince who was possibly his own son-in-law. We are then told that Tribhuvana-mahādevī, though at first unwilling to take up the reins of the government, was at last prevailed upon by a very pious lady named *Pūrāyidevī*. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was

<sup>1</sup> Same as Unmaṭṭa-siṃha of the Ganjam grant of Daṇḍi-mahādevī; see *supra*, p. 417.

the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* Balabhadra, and the writer *Mahākṣapaṭalika Bhogī Nāgadadeva*.<sup>1</sup>

In the genealogy given in the Ganjām grant (i) of Daṇḍi-mahādevī we have 7 rulers of the line of Loṇabhāra. The inscription noticed above gives us the name of an additional member and the total number of princes from Loṇabhāra to Daṇḍi-mahādevī now stands at 8. The only other member of this family for whom we have epigraphic records is Sāntikara, the son of Lalitabhāra. One of his inscriptions was discovered in a small cave near Aśoka's rock-edict at Dhauli in Puri district.<sup>2</sup> Another short inscription of 5 lines belonging to this prince was discovered in the Gaṇeśagumpha at Khandagiri, in Puri district<sup>3</sup> which appears to record some dedication made by Bhīmaṭa, a physician (*bhiṣak*).

We do not know the name of any other ruler of this family after Daṇḍi-mahādevī. As the characters of the grants of this queen belong to the period c. 1058-1200 A. D., it is not unlikely that the dynasty was destroyed during her reign or in that of one of her immediate successors by the growing power of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. It seems almost certain that the Karas must have been swept away before the advance of Avantavarman Codagaṅga (c. 1076-1147 A. D.) who conquered the ruler of Utkala and apparently extended the frontiers of his kingdom from Godavari valley to the Ganges.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by H. P. Śāstri, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp 419-27. The editor takes Unmaṭṭa, Kesarin and Gayāda as members of different dynasties each of which was distinct from the Karas. But see above, p 417, the Ganjam grant (i) of Daṇḍi-mahādevī where the line of Loṇabhāra is said to be descended from the line of Unmaṭṭa-simha and Maṅgapāda.

<sup>2</sup> Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XV, p 3

<sup>3</sup> Edited by R. D. Banerji, *EI*, Vol. XIII, p 167, No XVII. A difficulty in the way of accepting the identification of this Sāntikara with the son of Loṇabhāra is the period of the script of this inscription. According to the editor it belongs to about the first half of the 9th century A. D., which, considering the nature of the script of the Ganjam grant of Daṇḍi-mahādevī, is much too early for her uncle

*The Bhañjas.*

Princes bearing names which end in *bhañja* appear to have ruled in Orissa and the northern portion of Ganjam district for about three or four hundred years. Their grants, most of which are undated or dated in eras whose epochs have not yet been fixed, have been referred by various authorities to periods ranging from about the 10th or 11th to the 14th or the 15th centuries. These inscriptions were mostly discovered in the states of Mayurbhanj, Sonpur, Baudh, Despalla and the northern portion of the Ganjam district. The proposed identification of the localities mentioned in these grants, if accepted, would show that with a few exceptions most of them were situated in the area indicated above. It is evident that there were at least two main branches and more than one minor branch of these princes. Some of the inscriptions actually say that like the Rudras, the Bhañja princes were many thousands in number. The seals and the stories of the origin of the different branches also often vary considerably from one another. In many of the grants the princes are designated 'lords of Kññjahi', while some of the oldest records seem to give Kññjunga as one of the capitals of the Bhañjas. If the identifications of Kññjahi-Mandala and Kññjunga with Keonjhar and Kññching in Mayurbhanj are accepted,<sup>1</sup> it is possible that one of the two main branches ruled in the region now occupied by those two states. The other important branch appears to have held sway in the valley of the Rushikulya river in the north of Ganjam district. From the fact that none of these princes had any imperial titles it seems certain that none of these Bhañja princes ever attained sovereign rank, and it appears that they were feudatories of their

<sup>1</sup> Accepted by Hiralal; but see R. D. Banerji, *JBORS*, March-June, 1929, pp. 88-84. He proposes its identification with "the country on both banks of the Mahanadi near and about the modern states of Sonpur and Baudh,"

more powerful neighbours. But unfortunately their charters never mention the names of their overlords. Thus though in different localities and periods they may have acknowledged the authority of the Somavamśīs of Kosala, the Karas of Tosali, or the Eastern Gangas of Kaliṅganagara, yet there is little definite evidence to conclusively prove this suggestion. The absence of the names of their overlords in their grants may however indicate a larger degree of autonomy and freedom from control than usually falls to the lot of subordinate rulers.

Attempts have been made from time to time to reduce the genealogical data found in the introductory portion of the Bhañjas' grants to one family tree.<sup>1</sup> But in spite of these attempts "Bhañja chronology still remains a subject of great controversy." In the present state of our knowledge it would perhaps be too risky to attempt any synthetic study of all these Bhañjas. In the following pages therefore I shall simply give a description of their epigraphic records and their contents, indicating wherever possible their age and the identifications of the localities mentioned therein. To avoid confusion and facilitate reference, I have, following Hiralal, given the letters A to P to the records included in his list.<sup>2</sup> The letters after P will mark those inscriptions which are not noticed in his list.

(1) A. *Baudh grant of Ranabhañja*.—This was found in the Baudh State. The inscription contains 49 lines, incised on three plates held together by a ring. The seal soldered to the ring is round in shape. 'The impression of the seal consists of a crescent above, the name of the king *Śrī-Ranabhañja-devasya* in the middle and a seated bull facing the proper left below. The characters of the inscription, according to the editor, are more archaic in form than those of the Bamanghati grant of

<sup>1</sup> The most recent attempt is that by Hiralal in the *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282-303. But see R. D. Banerji in *JBORS*, Vol. III, pp. 319-23; also B. C. Mazumdar in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 90-99; the same author in *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 359-67; *ibid.* Vol. VI, pp. 267-68, and fn. 6 on p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 283-84 and 291.

the same king or the Sonpur grant of his father Satrubhañja. They are more akin to the characters of the Gumsur grant of Netṛbhañja and the Orissa plates of Vidyādharaḥbhañja.' The inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor :—

In the line of Bhañja rulers

Nṛpa Gandhaṭa

Andaja-vamśa-prabhavaḥ Parama-māheśvara-Mātā-pitr-pādānudyāto  
Bhañjāmala-kula-tilako Mahārāja Ranabhañja-devaḥ.

The inscription was issued from Dhṛtipura, and granted the village of Konatinthi,<sup>1</sup> in the Khātiyā-Viṣaya of the Kṣiṇjālī-Mandala,<sup>2</sup> to a Bhāṭa(Bhaṭṭa?)-putra, the son of Vasudeva, an inhabitant of Amvāsara-carāṇa. The grant was written in the 54th year of the king in the dark half of Bhādrapada by the Sāndhivigrahiya(hika?) Himadatta, and incised by the Arkaśālī Gonaka. It ends with lāmchitan Mahārājakiya-mudreṇa.<sup>3</sup>

(2) B. Baudh grant of Ranabhañja.—This was also found in the Baudh State. It comprises 59 lines, incised on three plates strung together by a ring. The seal is oval in shape and 'bears in high relief, a couchant bull facing the proper left, and above it the crescent and the sun.' Below the bull is the legend Śrī-Ranabhañja-devasya. Below this is an expanded lotus-flower with stem. The introductory portion of the record gives the following genealogy of the donor :—

<sup>1</sup> Hirālal suggests Kontinṭhi (Kontinvi)=Kontuani, about 2 miles south of Baudh; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Identified by Hirālal with Keonjhar State, *ibid*, pp 288-89 and 292. According to T. C. Rath it was the name of a tract of country which is now known as Baudh Desapalla, and Gumsur; *ibid*, Vol. XIX, p. 42. According to him *Kṣiṇjālīya-gaḍa-Viṣaya* signifies the former name of Gumsur and *Kṣiṇjālīya-gaḍa* corresponds to the present name of "Gaḍamuṭha," a subdivision of the old Gumsur State. According to B. C. Mazumdar it is identical with modern Kīmēdi in the N. W. of the Ganjam district; but see Hirālal above.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 321-35. First noticed by N. N. Vasu, in *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, Vol I, pp 129 ff.



In the *Bhañja-kula*

Satrubhañja

*Andaja-vamśa-prabhavaḥ Parama-vaiṣṇava-Mātā-pitr-pādānudhyāto Bhañjā-mala-kula-tilaka-Ubhaya-Khiñjaly-adhipatīk<sup>1</sup> Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabdo Mahāsāmanta-vandita-Stambheśvari-labdha-vara-prasādo<sup>2</sup> Rāṇa-kah-Ranabhañja-deva.*

This inscription was also issued from Dhrtipura, and records the grant of the village of Vāllāśrīṅgā,<sup>3</sup> in the Khātīā-*Viṣaya* to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Dāmodara, in the 26th year of the *Rāṇaka*. The inscription was incised by the *vanik* and *Suvarnakāra* Śivanāga, son of Pāndi, and sealed with the Royal Seal.<sup>4</sup>

(3) *C. Sonpur grant of Satrubhañja*.—This was discovered in the State of Sonpur. The inscription of 14 lines is incised on 3 plates, strung together on a circular ring, the ends of which are secured by an oval seal bearing in relief the legend *Śrī-Satrubhañja-devasya*. Above this there is a crescent, and below the figure of a recumbent bull. The introductory portion of the inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the *Bhañja* line

Śilābhañja-deva

*Andaja-vamśa-prabhava-Parama-vaiṣṇava-Mātā-pitr-pādānudhyāto  
Bhañjāmala-kula-tilakah Satrubhañja.*

The inscription was also issued from Dhrtipura, and grants *Milupādī-khaṇḍaksetra* in the *Royarā-Viṣaya*,<sup>5</sup> in *Ubhaya-Khiñjali-Mandala* to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Kṛṣṇa. It was sealed by Śivanāga, son of Pāndi.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On *Ubhaya-Khiñjalī*, see Hiralal, *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 288-89.

<sup>2</sup> On the origin and cult of this goddess, see *JASB*, 1911, pp. 444-47. The same epithet is also used by the Śūlkī rulers of Orissa, see *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Mod. Balasinga, about 2 miles from Baudh and situated on the confluence of the Mahanadi and Salanki (i.e., Salki) in Baudh State, *ibid*, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by R. D. Banerji, *ibid*, Vol. XII, pp. 325-28.

<sup>5</sup> Mod. Royra on the borders of the Sonpur State ; *ibid*, p. 300 ; Vol. XI, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, *ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 98-101. The Śivanāga of this grant appears to be the same as the Śivanāga of No 2.

(4) D. *Bamanghati grant of Ranabhañja*.—This was found buried in the ground in the Bamanghati subdivision of Mayurbhanj State. The inscription contains 36 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal is shaped like a full-blown lotus, and bears the figure of a bull standing before a trident. Below the bull there is the legend *Śrī-Ranabhañja-devasya*, and above it a crescent moon. The characters belong to the 12th century. The inscription begins by an invocation to Bhava (Śiva) and then gives the following genealogy of the donor :

Virabhadra.....who had pricked the pea-hen's egg (*mayurāṇḍam*  
 ..... *bhittvā*) and who was protected by the sage  
 ..... Vasistha.  
 In the Bhañja-*Vamśa*  
     Koṭṭabhañja  
     |  
     Digbhañja  
     |  
     Ranabhañja-deva.....resident in Kotta and a worshipper  
     of Hara

The inscription was issued from Khijjiṅga<sup>1</sup> and records the grant of the villages of Timaṇḍirā,<sup>2</sup> Konkola, Jambupadraka<sup>3</sup> and Prasannā<sup>4</sup> in the *Viśayas* of Korandiā<sup>5</sup> and Devakuṇḍa<sup>6</sup> in the *Uttara-Khaṇḍa* to Bodhāka Sāmanta. The inscription is dated in *Samvat* 288 (?) of an unknown era.<sup>7</sup>

(5) E. *Bamanghati grant of Rājabhañja*.—Found with No. 4. It contains 34 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal has the legend *Śrī-Rājabhañja-devasya*, and

<sup>1</sup> Mod. Kiching to the west of Baripada, the present capital of the Mayurbhanj State; *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp 289 and 300

<sup>2</sup> Probably Teṇḍrā, S.W. of Bamanghati; *ibid*, p 300

<sup>3</sup> Probably Jamda, 8 miles west of Bamanghati; *ibid*

<sup>4</sup> Mod. Pasauā, 7 miles N. W. of Bamanghati; *ibid*.

<sup>5</sup> Mod. Korinjya, 5 miles from Kiching; *ibid*.

<sup>6</sup> Place of the same name about 8 miles W. of Bamanghati; *ibid*, p. 301.

<sup>7</sup> Edited by P. C. Ghosh, in *JASB*, Vol XL, Part I, 165-67. For the date, see *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix 88, No. 655 and f. notes 6-7. According to B. C. Mazumdar *Samvat* 288 is to be referred to 'Coḷa-Gaṅga' era and is equivalent to A.D. 1060.

bears the same figures as in No. 4 ; genealogy as far as Raṇabhañja same as in No. 4. His son was Rājabhañja. It records the grant of the village of Brāhmaṇavastī<sup>1</sup> in the Viṣaya<sup>2</sup> of the same name in the Uttara-Khanda to Mahāsāmanta Vutṭa, son of Sāmanta Muṇḍi. It is undated.<sup>3</sup>

(6) F. Orissa grant of Vidyādhara**bhañja**.—Find-spot unknown. It contains 38 lines incised on three plates. The seal soldered to the ring bears in relief, on a countersunk surface a couchant lion facing to the proper right, and below this the legend *Śrī-Vidyādhara-bhañja-devasya*. The inscription was issued from Vañjulvaka. The genealogy of the donor is as follows :

Raṇabhañja-deva.  
|  
Dīgbhañja-deva.  
|  
Sīlabhañja-deva.  
|  
*Parama-māheśvaro-Mātā-pitr-pādānudhyāta*    *Bhañjāmala-kula-tīlako*  
*Mahārāja-Vidyādhara**bhañja**-deva Amoghakalaśa.*

It records the grant of the village of Tuṇḍurāva<sup>4</sup> in the Ramalavva<sup>5</sup>-Viṣaya to Bhaṭṭa Dārukhaṇḍi. It was engraved by the *Akṣasālin* Kumāracandra.<sup>6</sup>

(7) G. Ganjam grant of Netṛbhañja (i).—This was found in Gumsur, in Ganjam district, “amongst other effects” of the local *raja*. It contains 36 lines, incised on three plates. The

<sup>1</sup> Mod. Brahmanavas, 6 miles from Bamanghati, *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Bamanghati subdivision of Mayurbhanj, *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by P. C. Ghosh, *JASB*, Vol. XL, Part I, pp. 168-69. Here also the donor is said to be *Koṭṭa-vāsi* and a devotee of Hara.

<sup>4</sup> Mod. village of Tuṇḍura in the Aska taluka of the Ganjam district, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Revulabado in the Aska taluka; *ibid*.

<sup>6</sup> First imperfectly edited by R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. LVI, Part I, pp. 154-60, plate IX. Then edited by Kriehorn in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 271-77. According to this scholar the script of the grant is similar to that of the Buguda plates of Mādhava-varman (c. 10th century A. D.), *ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 101.

characters are referred to the 10th century A.D. The grant was issued from Vañjulvaka and gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the Bhañja line

Satrubhañja-deva.

Ranabhañja-deva.

*Parameśvara-Mātā-pitr-pādānudhyāna-rataḥ* Netibhañja Kalyānakalaśa

It records the grant of the village of Mācchagrāma,<sup>1</sup> belonging to the *Viśaya* of the same name, to a Brahman. The *Dātaka* of the grant was *Bhaṭṭa* Stambhadeva. It was written by *Sāndhivigrahī* Kakka and incised by *Akṣaśālin* Durgadeva.<sup>2</sup>

(8) H. *Ganjam grant of Netṛbhañja* (ii).—Find-spot not known. It was sent to the Government Epigraphist of India by T. C. Rath, the District Munsiff of Aska, Ganjam district. The inscription contains 41 lines incised on three plates. The ring, which held the plates carried 'a fixed seal,' circular in form, the engravings on which are all lost. The characters are similar to those of the Orissa plates of *Vidyādhara*bhañja. The inscription, which was issued from Vañjulvaka, gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the Bhañja line

Śilābhañja.

Satrubhañja.

Ranabhañja.

*Parama-māheśvara-Mātā-pitr-pādānudhyāna-rata*  
Netṛbhañja Kalyānakalaśa.

<sup>1</sup> According to Hiralal Machgaon in the Cuttack district. But I prefer to accept Krishnamachari's identification with Majhgam in Berhampur (Madras); *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 301 and 303.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Priasep, *JASB*, Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 667-71, plate XXXII (copper-plate grant from Gumsur). See corrections by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 272, fn. 2.

The inscription records a grant of the village of Rātanga <sup>1</sup> in the Vāsudebakhanda-*Viśaya* <sup>2</sup> to a number of *Agnihottrins*. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was *Bhaṭṭa* Sumangala. It was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Savarāja, engraved by the *Akṣasālīka* Durgadeva, and sealed by Māmmā. <sup>3</sup>

(9) I. *Ganjam grant of Netrbhañja* (iii).—Find-spot, etc., as in No. 8. It contains 37 lines, incised on 3 plates. The seal is damaged, and nothing remains of its original engravings. Characters as in No. 8. It was issued from Vañjulvaka, and gives the same genealogy of the donor as in No. 8. It records the grant of the village of Macchadagrāma <sup>4</sup> of the Machāḍa-Khanda to the *Bhaṭṭa* Rūdada (Rudraṭa ?). The name of the *Dūtaka* is lost. It was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Kunera (Kubera ?), incised by the *Akṣasālīka* Durgadeva, and sealed by (the lady ?) Jacchikā. <sup>5</sup>

(10) J. *Ganjam grant of Vidyādharaḥaṇja* —Find-spot, etc., as in No. 8. The inscription contains 30 lines, incised on 3 plates. The engravings on the seal are all lost. It was issued from Vañjulvaka, and it gives the same genealogy as in No. 6. It records a grant of the village of Mūla-Māchāḍa (i.e., Māchāḍa proper) in Māchāḍa-khanda-*Viśaya* to *Bhaṭṭa* Purandara, an emigrant from Manmāñā <sup>6</sup> in Tadāsama-*Viśaya* <sup>7</sup> in Varebdhi. <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mod. Rottongo, in Gumsur Taluk, Ganjam district, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301. The name of the village was read by Krishna Sastri as Arātaha, see his *Epigraphic Report for 1917-18*, p. 12, No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Mod. Vāsudevapur, 4 miles from Rottongo, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Hiralal, *ibid.*, pp. 283 and 293-95. First noticed by Krishna Sastri in his *Epigraphic Report for 1917-18*. According to Hiralal Māmmā is a short form of Mahāmāyā (the queen).

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, p. 429, fn. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 283, 285 and 296-98. First noticed by Krishna Sastri in his *Epigraphic Report*, 1917-18.

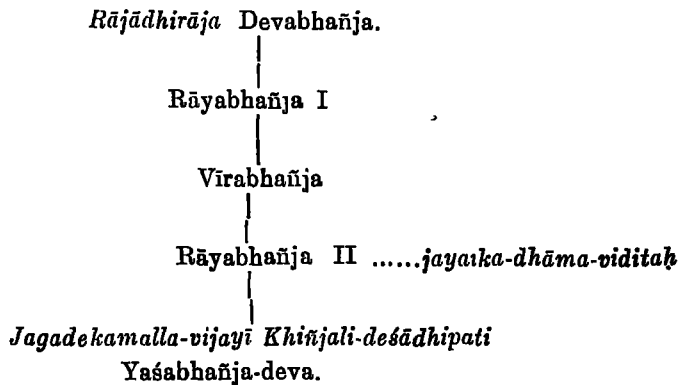
<sup>6</sup> Hiralal suggests its identification with Mandāra (?) in the Gumsur Taluk, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301.

<sup>7</sup> Probably Taḍasinga (?) in the Gumsur Taluk, 20 miles from Mandāra *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Krishna Sastri suggests the reading Varendbi (*EI*, 1917-18, p. 136, para. 13). Could it be a mistake for Varendri?

It was sealed 'by Trikalīṅga-Mahādevī on the record being apparently presented by the prime minister *Bhaṭṭa Keśavadeva*.' <sup>1</sup> It was written by the *Sāndhivīgrahika* Stambha and incised by the *Akṣasālī* Kumāracandra. In line 28 occurs the name of *Vārgulika Cācika*.<sup>2</sup>

(11) *K. Antirigam grant of Yaśabhañja*.—Found in Antirigam in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjam district. It contains 42 lines, incised on three plates strung on a ring which carries a representation 'of the *Kalaśikā* seen on the top of the broad umbrella used in the South Indian temples.' The characters are more modern than in Nos. 8-10 'and exhibit more prominently the Oriyā style of writing.' The grant gives the following genealogy of the donor :



It records the grant of the village of Komyāna<sup>3</sup> of Voḍā<sup>4</sup>-*Viṣaya* to the astrologer Jagaddara Sarman, a resident of Paṭṭavāḍa-

<sup>1</sup> *Lāñchitam Śrī-Trikalīṅga-mahādevyā mantrinā Śrī-bhaṭṭa-Keśavadevena*. I would like to translate it as 'sealed by Bhaṭṭa Keśava-deva the *mantri* of the *Trikalīṅga-mahādevī*' This queen may have been either *Dandī-mahādevī*, her mother (Gaurī ?) or *Tribhuvana Mahādevī*. In that case this is an important piece of evidence to show the subservience of this branch of the Bhañjas to the imperial Karas.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 283, 285 and 296-98. First noticed by Krishna Sastri in his *Epigraphic Report*, 1917-18.

<sup>3</sup> Konomona in the Chatrapur taluk of the Ganjam district, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 302.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Bodda-patti, 3 miles from Konomona, *ibid*.

*pātaka* <sup>1</sup> in the district of Koṇṭarāvaṅga-*Viṣaya*, <sup>2</sup> an emigrant from Vapabhūmi, <sup>3</sup> situated in the middle of Thihāra<sup>4</sup>-*Viṣaya* ..... The grant is dated in line 30 in *Samvat* 3.<sup>5</sup>

(12) L. *Tāsapaikerā grant of Raṇabhañja*.—This was found buried at Binka, in Sonpur state. It contains 51 lines, incised on 3 plates. The seal is damaged, but seems to bear the figure of a bull. The grant contains almost the same text (excepting the names of the donees and donors) as in No. 3. The seal bears the legend: *Rāṇaka Śrī-Raṇabhañja-devasya*. The inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor :

Satrubhañja-deva

|  
*Andaja-vamśa-pr bhava-Parama-vaiṣṇava-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta-Bhañja-*  
*mala-kula-tilaka-Ubhaya-Kṣimjalyādhipati* <sup>6</sup> *Samadhigata-Pañca-*  
*mahāśabda-Mahāsāmanta-vandita-Stambheśvari-labdhā- vara - Rāṇaka-*  
*Raṇabhañja-deva.*

The inscription grants to the Brahman Śrīdhara the village of *Tāsapaikerā* <sup>7</sup> in the Uttara-pallī on the river Mahānadi. It was incised by the same as No. 3. It is dated in the 16th year of the donor.<sup>8</sup>

(13) N. *Baudh grant of Kanakabhañja*.—This was found in the possession of a Khond peasant in Baudh. It contains

<sup>1</sup> May be Patatupuram in the Chatrapur taluk, *ibid*.

<sup>2</sup> May be Kotayagada in the Chatrapur taluk, *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> May be Boppangi in Gumsur taluk, *ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> Identified with Tikkarapada in Gumsur, *ibid*, p. 303.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Hiralal, *ibid*, pp. 284-85 and 298-99. The editor says (*ibid*, p. 302) that it was issued from Vanjulvaka. But I cannot find the name of the place in the grant. The editor also mentions Jaipuri as conquered by this line of kings. Did he derive the name from the epithet given to Rāyabhañja II ?

<sup>6</sup> The editor misread it as *Kṣimjalyādhipati*. See *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 292.

<sup>7</sup> The village of the same name in Binka, to the north of Mahanadi, *ibid*, p. 302.

<sup>8</sup> cited by B. C. Mazumdar, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 167-77. One serious mistake of the editor is his misreading of the word *bodhayati* as *Baudhapati* (line 7, plate II, first side). He has thus been led to identify the prince as ruler of Baudh.

43 lines, incised on three plates. The ring is closed 'in a lump of copper shaped like the bud of a lotus.'<sup>1</sup> The editor has referred the script of the grant to about 1475 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The genealogy of the donor is as follows :—

The Sage Kāśyapa, in his family the  
Bhañja-*vamśa*.

⋮  
Solanabhañja....retired to Benares, having entrusted his kingdom  
| to able ministers.

Durjayabhañja.

|  
Kaṇakabhañja...*Mandaleśānām-cuḍāmanir-iva nrpasattamah*

The inscription grants to the Brahman Harivaṁśa some villages<sup>3</sup> on the southern bank of the Tela-nadī<sup>4</sup> in the 3rd year of the donor.<sup>5</sup>

(14) N. *Kumurukela grant of Satrubhañja*.—This was discovered in the village of Kumurukelā, in the Sonpur State. It contains 45 lines, incised on three plates. The editor refers the inscription to about 1325 A.D. The seal contains the legend *Śrī-Satrubhañja-devasya* and a crescent moon. The genealogy of the donor is given as follows :—

In the Bhañja line

Aṅgati (?)

|  
|  
?

*Anḍaja-Parama-vaisnavo Mātāpitr-pādānudhyāta-Bhañjā mala-kula-tilakah Rāṇaka Satrubhañja-deva.*

<sup>1</sup> See the seal of No. 11 above.

<sup>2</sup> But see *ibid.*, Vol. III, p 323, where R. D. Banerjee 'safely assigns its script to the beginning of the 12th century A. D.'

<sup>3</sup> Names uncertain and they have not yet been identified. The names of the villages appear to be contained in the following line : *Bāhulā-Benḍaki-Jamarāpura-Sīṃhapura-ubhaya-pāṭakau Dharmapurā(?)bhi-Rānaka-śāsitam.*

<sup>4</sup> River Tel, which joins the Mahanadī in the State of Baudh.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by B. C. Mozumdar, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 356ff. According to the editor and Hiralal the charter refers to Baudh State as the kingdom of the donor; see *ibid* p 368 and *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 302.



The inscription grants in the 15th year (of the donor) the village of Kumurukelā<sup>1</sup> together with Jaintāmūrā in the Uttara-palli of Kṣhīñjalī-*Maṇḍala* to the Brahman *Bhaṭṭa* Manoratha. The grant was written by the *Sandhivigrahika* Sarvadatta, and incised by the goldsmith Devala. It was sealed with the royal seal, *mahārājakīyamudrā*.<sup>2</sup>

(15) *O. Khandadeuli grant of Narendrabhaṇja*.—This was found in the village of Khandadeuli in the Bamanghati subdivision of the Mayurbhanj state. It contains 38 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal of the grant contains the figure of a bull and a goddess and a *Svastika*. The genealogy of the donor is as follows :

In the hermitage of Kautsa after breaking the pea-hen's egg

Galadaṇḍo Virabhadra  
 ⋮  
 Koṭṭabhaṇja.  
 |  
 Dīgbhaṇja  
 |  
*Khijjīṃga-Koṭṭa-vāsī* Ranabhaṇja.  
 |  
 Pṛthvībhaṇja.  
 |  
 Narendrabhaṇja-deva

The inscription grants the village of Banula connected with the Sidhāhimbā-*Viśaya* of the Uttara-*Khaṇḍa* to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Rāncho.

<sup>1</sup> The village where the inscription was discovered.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 429-35. Here also the editor in the 8th line of the first side of the 2nd plate wrongly reads the word *bodhayati* as *Baudhapati*; and *Kṣhīñjalī* as *Kṣhīñjaṇī*.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by H. P. Śāstri in the *JBORS*, Vol. IV, pp. 172-77. He referred the grant to Raṣabhaṇja; but see on the point Hiralal, *EI*, XVIII, p. 292. Hiralal takes *Galadaṇḍa* as *Gaṇadaṇḍa*, which according to him has been abbreviated in No. 1 as *Gandhata*. But in No. 15 the letter on the plate after *Ga* appears to be distinctly *la* and not *na*.

(16) *P. Patna Museum grant of Ranabhañja*.—It refers to 'Dhṛtipura as the old capital of Ubhaya-Khiñjala' and records the grant of the village of Vāhiravāda on the Mahanadi in the Dakṣiṇapalli (or the tract to the south of the Mahanadi).<sup>1</sup>

(17) *Q. Antirigam grant of Jayabhañja*.—This was found in the village of Antirigam of Pūrva-khaṇḍa, Chatrapur Taluk, Ganjam district. It contains 37 lines, incised on three plates. The ring from which the plates are suspended bears "a lump of copper of a rather peculiar conical shape, the top of which is marked by a number of circular ridges."<sup>2</sup> At the base of this lump of copper is written, according to the editor, the legend *Śrīmad-sūbha-Jadeva-nṛpatiḥ*.<sup>3</sup> The characters closely resemble the Oriya script.<sup>4</sup> The following genealogy of the donor is given :

In the Bhañja-vamśa  
Virabhañja  
|  
Rāyabhañja  
|  
Nṛpati Jayabhañja-deva.<sup>5</sup>  
|  
Yuvarāja Viravañja-deva

The inscription grants the village of Rengaraḍā, situated in *Khiñjalīya-gaḍa-Viṣaya*, to the Brahman Jagaddhara, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 15th of Jyestha-sukla. The charter was issued from the camp (*kaṭaka*) at Kolāḍa in the 3rd

<sup>1</sup> Awaiting publication in *EI*. Noticed by Hiralal in *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the rings of Nos. 11 and 13.

<sup>3</sup> Hirananda Śāstrī suggests *Śrīmad-Yaśabhañja-deva-nṛpatiḥ*, see *EI*, XIX, p. 41, n 1. The editor of the grant suggests that *Jadeva* is a mistake for *Jayadeva*. But Hirananda seems to be right, because the word after *su* clearly reads *bhañ*.

<sup>4</sup> The editor thinks that this grant is later than Nos. 1, 2, and 7, and that it is 'probably to be assigned to the 12th century.' See *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Hirananda Śāstrī suggests that Jayabhañja was a younger brother of Yaśabhañja and the former issued this charter under the seal of his elder brother the king; *ibid*, p. 43, n 1. But note that Jayabhañja is also called *nṛpati*.

year of the victorious reign. It was written by *Vanig-Ganeśvara*.<sup>1</sup>

(18) *R. Daspalla grant of Raṇabhañja*.—This was found in the course of cultivation in a field in the village of Chakradharpur, in the Daspalla State. It contains 52 lines, incised on 3 plates. The circular seal attached to the ring bears the figure of a couchant bull, a double lotus, the symbol of the sun and the moon, and the legend *Śrī-Raṇabhañja-devasya*. The inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the Bhañja line

Śilābhañja.

|  
Satrubhañja.

|  
*Aṇḍaja-vamśa-prabhava-Parama-vaiṣṇava-Mātāpitṛ-pādānudhyāta-Bhañjā-mala-kula-tilako Ubhaya Kṣhīṇjalyādhipati-Samadhigata-puñca-mahāśabda-Mahāsāmantā-vandita-Slambheśvari-labdhavarā-prasāda-Rānaka Raṇabhañja-deva.*

It records the grant of the village of Hastilendā in the Tullāsidgā-Viṣaya of Kṣhīṇjali-Maṇḍala to the Brahman Padmākara, an immigrant from Varendrī. It was incised by the same as in Nos. 2 and 3. It is dated in year 24.<sup>2</sup>

(19) *S. Daspalla grant of Neṭabhañja*.—Same find-spot as that of No. 18. It contains 53 lines, incised on 3 plates. The circular seal bears in relief a couchant lion and the legend *Śrī-Neṭabhañja-devasya*. The grant was issued from Vañjulvaka, and gives the following genealogy of the donor :

Digbhañja

|  
Śilābhañja.

|  
Vidyādharaḥbhañja.

|  
*Parama-vaiṣṇavo-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta-Bhañjāmala-kula-tilaka-Neṭabhañja.*

The inscription grants a piece of land (*valkā-khaṇḍa-kṣetra*)

<sup>1</sup> Edited by T. C. Rath, in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 41-45

<sup>2</sup> Edited by B. Bhattacharyya, *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 266-73

in the village of Drolladā(?) in the Rāmalavva-*Viṣaya* of Kṛiṇḍjālī-*Maṇḍala*, to the Brahman *Bhatta* Puruṣottama.<sup>1</sup>

(20) *T. Singharā grant of Ranabhañja*.—It was unearthed near the Bhagavatī temple in the town of Sonpur in the Sonpur State. It contains 47 lines, incised on three plates. The seal attached to the ring has the figure of a recumbent bull, a crescent, and the legend *Śrī-Ranabhañja-devaḥ*. The genealogy of the donor is given as follows :

In the Bhañja line

Śilābhañja.

|

Satrubhañja.

|

*Andaja-vamśa-prabhava-Parama-māheśvara-Mātā-pitr-pādānudhyāta-Bhañ-jāmala-kula-tiluka-Samadhiguta-pañca-mahā-śabda-Mahāsāmanta-van-dita-Stambheśvarī-labdhavaraprasāda-Ubhaya-Kṛiṇḍjanyādhipati-Rā-naka Ranabhañja.*

It records the grant of the village of Mahallopi on the banks of the Vyaghra-nadī<sup>2</sup> in the 'Bhogī-Khanda' of Dakṣiṇa-palli in Kṛiṇḍjālī<sup>3</sup>-*Maṇḍala* to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Vohe (?) who was an immigrant from the village of Bhadrupalāśī in Magaha (Magadha?). It is dated in *Viṣaya-rājya-samvatsare* 9. The grant was incised by the *Vanik-Suvannakāra* Padmanābha, the son of Pāṇḍi.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by B. Bhattacharyya, *ibid.*, pp. 274-79

<sup>2</sup> Mod. Bagh River, which forms the boundary between the states of Sonpur and Baudh. *JBORS*, Vol. VI, p. 481.

<sup>3</sup> Is Kṛiṇḍjālī a mistake for Kṛiṇḍjālī? See *supra*, p. 434, fn. 2, and *infra*, p. 440, fn. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 480-86. This Pāṇḍi is probably the same as the Pāṇḍi of the grants Nos. 2 and 3. The *Bona* grant of Udayavarāha is referred by H. P. Śāstri to the Bhañja line, *ibid.*, pp. 241-45. But this seems to be improbable. Apart from the difference of the name which does not end in *bhañja*, the donor distinctly refers himself to the *Mayūra-vamśa*. The seal which bears the figure of a peacock, dagger, and a double lotus, is also different from the known seals of the Bhañjas. The genealogy of Udayavarāha is as follows

In the Mayūra-vamśa

Udayavarāha

|

Tejavarāha

|

*Parama-saugata Samadhiguta-pañcamahāśabda-Mahārāja-Rāṇaka Udayavarāha.*

The inscription grants the village of Kōḍāsamā in the Telai-*Maṇḍala* to two Brahmins.

(4) *The Śūlkīs.*

The Śūlkīs are apparently the same as the Śūlikas mentioned in the Harāhā inscription of the Maukhari Īśānavarman (554 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> We are told by this record that Īśānavarman conquered the *Andhrādhīpati* "who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants," vanquished in battle "the Śūlikas who had an army of countless horses," and caused "the Gaudas, living on the sea-shore, in future to remain within their proper realm." By mentioning the Śūlikas between the Gaudas and the realm of the lord of the Andhras, the writer of the record probably gives us some idea about the location of the Śūlikas. As the records of the Śūlkīs have all been found in Orissa, they can roughly be said to be the rulers of that area which was in the possession of the Śūlikas in the middle of the 6th century A.D. Nothing is definitely known about the origin of these Śūlikas or Śūlkīs, but it is not impossible that their name may be one of the variation of the name *Caḷukya*.<sup>2</sup> Their records are not dated in any era, but are referred on palaeographic grounds to about the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

The first king of the Śūlkī or Śūlika line for whom we have epigraphic records is Raṇastambha *alias* Kulastambha. His Talcher grant supplies us with the names of two of his predecessors, *viz.*,

1. Rājū Kāñcanastambha.....*Śūlki-kāṁśa-vaṁśa-bhūṣaṇa*.
- |
2. *Mahānṛpati* Kalahastambha Vikramāditya.

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 117 and 120, V. 18 In the Talcher grant of Kulastambha, his family is described as *Śūlki-kāṁśa-vaṁśa*, see *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the variations of the name *Caḷukya*, see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 336, fn. 3, and *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 95, fn. 10 See also *JASB*, 1895, Part I, p. 124 Mr. B. C Mazumdar rejects the identification of the Śūlkīs with the *Caḷukyas* and wants to identify them with the modern Śūlkīs of Midnapore; see *ibid.*, 1911, p. 447, and *OM*, pp. 103-06. R. D. Banerji thinks that Śūlkī is the equivalent of *Śolāṅki*, *JASB* 1911, p. 443. Hirananda Śāstri identifies the *Śūlikas* with the *Śaulika* of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, and locates them in the S. E., with Kalīṅga, Viḍarbha, Cedi, etc.; see *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 112.

The following records are known for the reign of Raṇa-stambha *alias* Kulastambha.

(1) *Talcher grant*.—This belongs to the chief of the Talcher State. Exact find-spot not known. It contains 28 lines incised on both sides of a single plate bearing on its left a round seal. The impression of the seal “consists of a plane circle with a row of lotus petals along its circumference.” In the upper part is “a deer couchant with a bough or some foliage in its mouth and a crescent, and a conch over its back.” Below this is the legend *Śrī-Kulastambha-deva*. The space below the legend is “occupied by an expanding lotus flower.” The inscription opens with *Om svasti* and an invocation to Hara (Śiva). It belongs to *Kodālādhivāsī Śrī-Stambheśvari-ladbhavarā-prasādo parama-Māheśvaro-mātā-pitr-pādānudhyāyī Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-sabdo Mahārājādhirājah Śrī-Raṇastambhaḥ parama-nāmadheyaḥ*<sup>1</sup>-Pb.-Kulastambha-rānaka, son of Kalahastambha. It records the grant of the village of Siṅga in the Paścima-khaṇḍa of the Pūrva-Visaya to Bhaṭṭa Viśvarūpa who has come from Maṅgalavilā, on the occasion of the *Dakṣiṇāyana-samkrānti*. The income of the village is given in the last two lines as 44 *rūpya*. It was engraved by Dūrvadāsa.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Puri grant*.—This was preserved in the Rāghava Dāsa maṭh in the town of Puri in Orissa. It contains 43 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. ‘From the middle of the top of both the plates rises a circular piece’ which contains on its face a half-moon; below this is the figure of a boar (or a bull), and below this is the legend *Śrīmān Kulastambha-deva*. “The letters look like the 10th century Kuṭila inscription

<sup>1</sup> This word has been taken by the editor in the sense of *alias*. *Parama* may mean first or chief. But H. P. Śāstri apparently regards Kulastambha as the son of Raṇastambha; see *JBORS*, Vol. II, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by R. D. Banerji, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 156-59. It was originally edited by N. N. Vasu in (1) *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhaṇḍya*, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.; (2) *Baṅger Jātya Itihāsa, Vaiśya Kāṇḍa*, pp. 303-04; (3) *Journal of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 59 ff. Mr. R. D. Banerji refers the script of the grant to the 9th century A.D.

given in Princep's work." It opens with an invocation to Śiva, then follows the praise of Kulastambha-deva—born in the *Sūlkī-kula* by a boon from the goddess Stambheśvarī. In lines 14-15 occurs the name of Kacchadeva, who may have been the governor of Kodāla. In lines 21-22 the donor seems to address the officers of Kalinga (?). It records grants of the village of Kāṅkanira in the Ulā(lo ?)-*Khandā* to *Bhātāputra* Madhusōdana (Madhusūdana ?) by *Parama-māheśvara Mahārāja* Rala(na ?)stambha-deva. The grant was written by the *Kāyastha Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Kanānaya Jaka.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Dhenkanal grant*.—This is reported to have been washed out of a field called Bhīm Nagari Gadh, close to the Brahmani river in the State of Dhenkanal. It contains 44 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The circular seal attached to the top of the inscription contains a crescent, a deer couchant, and the legend *Śrī-Kulastambha-deva*. It gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the Sulkī (Sūlkī ?)-*kula*  
Vikramāditya ... *Stambheśvarī-labdha-vara-prasāda*  
|  
Ranastambha.

It records the grant of the village of Jharabāḍa in the Goyilla-*Khandā* of the Saṅkhajōṭivalaya-*Mandala* by *Parama-māheśvara-Samadhagata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Sakala-Gondamādhinātha*<sup>2</sup>-*Mahārāja* Kulastambha-deva to *Bhatta* Bṛhaspati.<sup>3</sup>

Nothing is known of the political incidents of the reign of Kulastambha. But from his titles we may assume that he was a feudatory of some stronger neighbour. It is not unlikely that he may have acknowledged the sovereignty of either the Somavarṁśīs

<sup>1</sup> Edited by M Chakravarty, *JASB*, 1895, Vol. 64, pp. 125-27. The editor suggested *Kula* in the place of *Rala*. But he probably mistook the cerebral n for l; both the letters are almost alike in the script of the period (*OM*, p. 115). The Talcher grant shows that Kulastambha was also known as Ranastambha. Dr. Barnett suggests that the 'division of names' in Kanānaya Jaka is 'probably wrong'.

<sup>2</sup> According to the editor it means 'lord of all the Gonds.'

<sup>3</sup> Edited by H P. Sāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 395-96 and 403-05. The relation between Ranastambha and Kulastambha is not clearly stated in this record.

of Kosala or the Karas of Tosali. His son was Ranastambha.<sup>1</sup> The following grants may be referred to his reign :

(1) *Dhenkanal grant*.—Found in the State of Dhenkanal; exact find-spot not given by the editor. It contains 35 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The characters belong to the 10th century. The seal attached to the left of this inscription is no longer legible. The record, which was issued from Kodālaka, does not give any genealogical details. It records the grant of the village of Kolamponka, attached to this (Kodāla ?)-*Visaya* to *Bhaṭṭa Sudarśana* by *Parama-māheśvara-Mātā-pit(ā?)-pādānudhyātah Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Samastamahāsāmantādhipati* Ranastambha-deva. The date *Samvat* 33 comes in lines 31-32. It was written by the *Bhogī Kalyāna-deva* and incised by *Mundaka*.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Puri grant*.—Found in the Rāghava Dāsa *math* in the town of Puri. It contains 37 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The circular seal attached to the middle of the top of the plate contains the legend *Śrīmām Rana(?)stambha-deva*<sup>3</sup> and the figure of a boar.<sup>4</sup> The letters belong, according to the editor, to the 10th century A.D. It begins with an invocation to Śiva. It records the grant of the village of Pajara in the *Ulo-Khandā* to *Bhattaputra Veluka*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is known from the Dhenkanal grant of Ranastambha's son Jayastambha; see *ibid*, p 406

<sup>2</sup> Edited by H. P. Śāstri, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp 396-400. The editor refers the grant to 'Ranastambha who is known to us from the grants of his son Kulastambha'. But the word *parama-nāmadheya* which separates the names Ranastambha and Kulastambha in the Talcher grant, if properly interpreted by R. D. Banerji, shows that the former was not the father of the latter. The two names belonged to the same person.

<sup>3</sup> The editor read it as *Ralastambhadeva*, but see Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol V, Appendix, No 666, also B. C. Mazumdar, *OM*, p 115.

<sup>4</sup> As the dynasty appears to have been a Śaiva family, could the editor have mistaken the *Nandi* for a boar? Unfortunately he gives no plates, and we cannot verify our guess.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by M. Chakravarti, *JASB*, 1895, pp 123 ff. He refers the inscription to Kulastambha. It is true that with some differences this grant agrees generally with the Puri grant of Kulastambha. But as in all the grants of Kulastambha, the legend on the



(3) *An incomplete grant.*—Find-spot not stated. It contains 21 lines on one side of a single plate. The seal bears the figure of a bull, a crescent moon, and the legend *Śrī Rana-stambha-devasya*. It was issued from Kodālaka. It records the grant of the village of Jārā in the Jārā-Khaṇḍa in the Rāḍhā-Maṇḍala to Paucuka by the *Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Ranastambha-deva*. Among his ancestors can be read the names of Kaṁ(Kāñ)canastambha and Kulastambha.<sup>1</sup>

Ranastambha was succeeded by his son Jayastambha, for whose reign the following grants are known :

(1) *Dhenkanal grant (i).*—Found in the State of Dhenkanal. Exact find-spot not mentioned. It contains 22 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The circular projection of the plate on the left which usually carries the seal in the grants of this family has been left vacant. The characters belong to the 10th century. It was issued from Kodālaka. After the usual invocation of Śiva, it gives the following genealogy :

In the Solkī (Sūlkī ?)-kula.  
 |  
*Stambheśvarī prāpta-vara-prasāda Kulastambha...Kṣitīpa.*  
 |  
*Ranastambha...Kṣitīndra*  
 |  
*Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda Sakala-*  
*Gondamādhinātha-Mahārājādhirāja Jayastambha-deva.*

The inscription records the grant of the village of Candrapura in the Konkula-Khaṇḍa of the Goilla-Viśaya, attached to this

seal gives the name *Kulastambha* and not *Raḷa(or na)stambha*, I venture to suggest that this grant may belong to his son. But unfortunately for want of plates our guess again cannot be verified.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by H. P. Sāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 168-71. The editor points out the existence of a village named Jara in the Hooghly district and of an influential body of cultivating middlemen who call themselves Sukli and trace their origin to a place called Kedālaka. Note that in a Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha, No. (iii) the family name of the king is given as *Sulkī-vaṃsa*.

(Kodālaka ?)-*Maṇḍala*, to the Brahman Vāvana, who came from Kolañca. It was incised by the *Vanīk Īśvara*.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Dhenkanal grant (ii)*.—Find-spot, etc., as in No. 1. It contains 32 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal attached to the upper portion of the record is damaged. Characters belong to the 10th century. It was issued from *Kodālā-pāṭaka*. It is a joint grant of *Parama-māheśvara-Mahārāja* <sup>2</sup> Jayastambha-deva and his son Nīdayastambha-deva. It records the grant of the village of Līlapura (*sic*?) in the *Kodāla-Maṇḍala* to the Brahman Rīṣivaka.<sup>3</sup>

(3) *Dhenkanal grant (iii)*.—Find-spot, etc., as in No. 1. It contains 31 lines incised on both sides of a single plate, and written 'in a scribbling hand, much effaced and very incorrect.' The circular seal attached to the left of the plate is in the form of a full-blown lotus. It contains the figure of a bull couchant, behind which is a stag; on the top of the seal is a crescent; in the centre is inscribed the legend: *Śrī-Jayastambha-deva*. The genealogy of the donor is as follows :

In the Sukli (Sūlkī)-*vamśa*

Rājā Kāñcanastambha

Mahānrpati Vikramāditya *apara-nāmadheya*-Kaṇḍa-  
stambha (Kalahastambha?)

Alānastambha-deva (Raṇastambha ?)

*Kodālakādhipati-Śrī-Stambheśvari-labdha-vara-prabhāvo (prasādo ?)*  
*Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Pb* -Jayastambha-deva.  
It records the grant of some land (name of village not mentioned) to the Brahman Gobbarahūli Śarmā.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by H. P. Sāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 405-409. The editor points out that Kolañca is mentioned in the genealogical works of Bengal as the place from which Ādisūra is said to have procured his Brahmins.

<sup>2</sup> There are various other empty titles which I have omitted here.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by H. P. Sāstrī, *ibid*, pp. 409-12.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by H. P. Sāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 412-7. This record is so corrupt that it requires to be re-edited. Possibly the writer of the record or the editor may have dropped a name (Kulastambha?) in the genealogy. The editor takes *Kaṇḍa* as a mistake for *Kula* but on the evidence of the Talcher grant I suggest *Kalaha*.

(5) *The Sailodbhavas.*

The Sailodbhavas appear to have been ruling in the S.E. of Orissa and the Ganjam district from about the 7th to the 10th or 11th century A.D. Excepting one inscription, which is dated in G. S. 300 (619-20 A.D.) most of their records are undated, and we have to depend only on palaeographic evidence to fix their age. Their documents are usually dated from *Kōṅgōda-Maṇḍala*, which is generally taken to be the region now occupied by the Ganjam district. There is nothing in their inscriptions to indicate that they ever became a sovereign power. Though with one exception they never mention the names of their overlords, it would seem from their titles that they always occupied a feudatory rank. The following records are known for their reigns.—

(1) *Ganjam grant of Mādhava-rāja*.—This was found in the office of the Collector of Ganjam. Exact find-spot not known. It contains 31 lines, incised on 3 plates. The ends of the ring on which the plates are strung are 'secured in the base of an elliptical seal. In the depression of the seal are, in relief, a couchant bull facing the proper right,' and below this the legend *Śrī-Saṃyabhītasya*. The inscription opens with the date Gupta year 300 (A.D. 619-20) in the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja-Śaśāṅka-rāja*. It was issued 'from the victorious Kōṅgoda, near the bank of the Śālimā river.' The genealogy of the donor is as follows.—

Mahā-rāja-Mahāsāmanta-Mādhava-rāja  
|  
Mahārāja Yaśobhīta  
|  
Svaguna-marīci-nikara-prabodhita-Śilodbhava-kula-kamala-Mahārāja-  
Mahāsāmanta Mādhava-rāja

It records the grant of the village of Chavalakkhaya in the Kṛṣṇagiri-*Viśaya*<sup>1</sup> to the Brahman Charamāpa Svāmin, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hultzsch suggests that this 'might be identical with its synonym Nīlagiri, which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa,' see *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 144, and fn 3.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46.

(2) *Khurda grant of Mādhava-rāja*.—Reported to have been found in Khurda, in the Puri district. It contains 27 lines, incised on 3 plates. The parabolic seal attached to the ring contains in relief the figure of a bull and the legend *Śrī-Sainya-bhīṭasya*. The characters, according to the editor, belong to the latter half of the 7th century. It was issued from the victorious camp at Kōṅgōḍa. It gives the following genealogy:

Sainyabhīṭa  
|  
Yaśobhīṭa  
|  
Mādhava-rāja<sup>1</sup>

The inscription records the grant of some land in the village of Ārhaṇṇa in the Thorana-*Visaya* to the Brahman Prajāpati Svāmin.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *Buguda grant of Mādhavaravarman*.—This was found buried in a field in the village of Buguda, in Gumsur taluk, Ganjam district. It contains 52 lines incised on three plates. The ring which holds the plates has a round seal which is too much worn for the emblems on it to be made out with certainty. The characters according to the editor, are similar to the Nāgarī of about the beginning of the 10th century. The genealogy of the donor is given as follows:

Pulindasena ..famous amongst the peoples of Kalinga.  
He created out of a rock a fit ruler of the land,  
named Sailodbhava, through the favour of Brahman

|  
(In his family)  
Ranabhīṭa  
|  
Sainyabhīṭa I  
|  
(In his family)  
Yaśobhīṭa.<sup>3</sup>

Sainyabhīṭa II Mādhavaravarman, also called Mādhavendra and Śrinivāsa.

<sup>1</sup> *Sailodbharāṇavarāya nata-sakaka-Kalīṅgādhipatyā*..... . . . .

<sup>2</sup> Edited by G. M. Laskar, *JASB*, 1904, pp. 282-86.

<sup>3</sup> Hultzsch considered this prince to be the remote descendant of the Mādhava-rāja of grant No. 1. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 144. He regarded the alphabet of No. 3 as considerably more modern than that of No. 1.

From his residence at Kaingōda (line 29) this last prince granted the village of Puipīṇa, in the Khadira-pāṭṭaka of the Gudda-Viṣaya, to the Bhaṭṭa Vāmana. The record was written by Upendrasīmha, sealed by Jayasīmha, and engraved by Daḍḍi Bhogin. The *Dūṭaka* for the grant was *Pratihārin* Gaṅgabhadra.<sup>1</sup>

(4) *The Parikud grant of Madhyama-rāja*.—Found in the collection of records of the Raja of Parikud, in the Puri district. It contains 59 lines incised on three plates. The seal is so damaged that nothing can be read. It gives the following genealogy of the donor :

Sailodbhava <sup>2</sup>  
|  
(In his family)  
Rañabhīta  
|  
Sainyabhīta  
|  
(In his family)  
Yaśobhīta.  
|  
Sainyabhīta II  
|  
Yaśobhīta II  
|  
Madhyama-rāja.

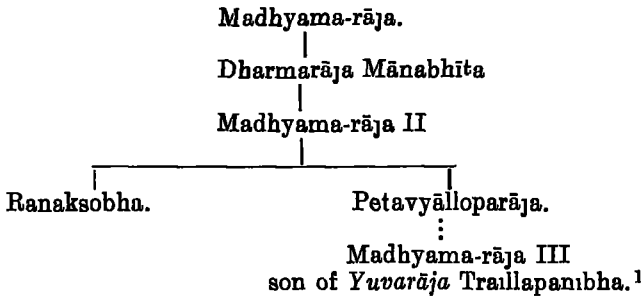
The inscription records the grant of some land (*dvādasa-timmīra-pīamāṇa*) in the Kaṭaka-bhukti-Viṣaya of the Kōṅgōda-Mandala to Śīla Svāmin and 11 other Brahmans (names given) in the 26th year of the victorious increasing reign (*Vijaya-vardhamāna-rājye*) of the donor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol III, pp. 41-46. For corrections see *ibid*, Vol VI, p 144, fn 1, and Vol. VII, pp 100-02. At first Kielhorn took Sainyabhīta II to be the name of the father of the donor.

<sup>2</sup> The story of his origin is given as in No 3 above.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by R D Banerji, *EI*, Vol XI, pp 281-87. The editor read 'Sa[mvat] [88] Kārttika-śukla' at the end of the record. He then referred it to Harṣa era (88 + 606) and found its equivalent in 694 A D. But Venkayya notices that the date is so badly damaged that nothing can be read clearly. 'What is seen is a circle which may denote 20. It is just possible that the regnal year of the king is simply repeated in numerical symbols preceded probably by the word *Saṁvatsare*'; see *ibid*, p 282, fn. 1. Could Kaṭaka-bhukti-Viṣaya be connected with modern Cuttack?

(5) *Tekkali grant of Madhyama-rāja*.—Exact find-spot unknown; seems to have been received from the *Yuvarāja* of Tekkali, Ganjam district. It is only the 2nd of at least 3 plates, which seem to belong to the Śailodbhavas of Kōṅgōda. The editor refers the script to the 11th century, and notices its similarity with the script of the Śūlkī plates. It gives the following genealogy :



#### (6) *The Gangas.*

Kings who traced their descent to the *Ganga-kula* appear to have ruled in the territories round about the Mahendragiri, in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency, from about the 7th century onwards. These princes may be conveniently divided into an earlier and a later group. The names of the rulers of the first group usually end in *Varman*.<sup>2</sup> They all claim to be lords of *Sakala-Kalinga* and devout worshippers of Gokaṛṇeśvara, who resided on the top of mount Mahendra.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by H. P. Śāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol IV, pp. 162-67. It is not unlikely that the *Śailavamsa*, to which Jayavardhana belonged, was a branch of the Śailodbhavas, see for Raghola plates of Jayavardhana, *EI*, Vol IX, pp. 41-47. Hiralal considers the two families to be identical. About the name Traillapanibha Dr. Barnett suggests: *Traillapa* seems to = Kanarese Tailapa; but *nibha*(?) an error for *nṛpa* or its Prakrit equivalent *nṛpa*?

<sup>2</sup> Though all the donors of the land-grants of this family so far known had names ending in *varman*, yet it is to be noted that at least in one case king Indravarman (years 137 and 154) is stated to have been the son of Dānārṇava (*EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 362, and Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.).

With some exceptions,<sup>1</sup> most of their grants are issued from Kalñganagara, which has been identified with Mukhalingam, some 20 miles from Parlakimedī, in the Ganjam district.<sup>2</sup> These grants bear dates ranging from about the year 51 to 351 'of the reign of the Gāngeya race.' But unfortunately the epoch of this era has not yet been determined. It is however clear that they continued to hold sway in the region about the southern portion of Ganjam district for about 300 years. They often assumed imperial titles, and on the whole appear to have been sovereign rulers. From the fact that they occasionally describe themselves as lords of the city of Kolāhala<sup>3</sup> it is clear that they considered themselves to be a branch of the Gangas of Mysore. But the story of their migration and settlement from Kolar to Ganjam and the details of their subsequent history, must in the present state of our knowledge remain shrouded in considerable obscurity.<sup>4</sup> It is however likely that

<sup>1</sup> These are issued from Śvetaka.

<sup>2</sup> Ramamurti, *EI*, Vol IV, pp 187 ff. See also *JBORS*, Vol XV, pp 105-15, for a recent attempt to revive the old identification with Kalñgapatam, see *ibid*, pp 623-34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp 198 ff. The identification of Kolāhala with Kolar in east Mysore, first proposed by Rice is now generally accepted.

<sup>4</sup> The following inscriptions are known for these Ganga princes.

- (i) Dhanantara (in Gumsur) plates of Sāmantavarman, *EI*, Vol XV, pp. 275-78.
- (ii) Ganjam plates of Prthivīvarman, *EI*, Vol IV, pp 198-201.
- (iii) Achyuta-puram (near Mukhalingam) plates of Indravarman, year 87, *EI*, Vol. III, pp 127-30.
- (iv) Parlakimedī plates of Indravarman *alias* Rājāsīmha, year 91, *IA*, Vol XVI, pp. 181-84.
- (v) Godavari grant of Prthvīmūla (of the time of *Adhirāja* Indra), *JBRAS*, Vol XVI, pp 114-20.
- (vi) Chicacole plates of Indravarman, year 128, *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp 119-22.
- (vii) Chicacole plates of Indravarman, year 138 *IA*, Vol XIII, pp 122-24, also *EI*, Vol XVIII, pp 317 ff.
- (viii) Viśhamagiri (in Aska, Ganjam) grant of Indravarman, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 134-37.
- (ix) Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, year 183, *EI*, Vol. III pp. 130-34.
- (x) Vizagapatam grant of Devendravarman, year 254, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp 143-46.
- (xi) Chicacole grant of Devendravarman, year 51 (?), *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 273-76.
- (xii) Alamanda (in Vizagapatam dist.) grant of Anantavarman, year 304, *EI*, Vol. III, pp 17-21.
- (xiii) Chicacole plates of Satyavarman, year 351, *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp 10-12.

they may have suffered a temporary eclipse on account of the encroachments of the Karas of Tosali, some of whose grants were discovered in Ganjam.

In the first half of the 11th century we find another series of kings claiming descent from the same line as the above. Like the first group of Ganga princes, they were also worshippers of Gokarṇeśvara on mount Mahendra. With some exceptions, they also issued most of their grants from Kaliṅganagara. That they also traced their descent from the Gaṅgas of Kolar is proved by the Vizagapatam grant of Anantavarman Codaganga, which clearly mentions Kolāhala, the founder of Kolāhalapura, in the Gaṅgavāḍi-*Viṣaya*, as one of his ancestors.<sup>1</sup> The same inscription distinctly says that Kāmārṇava, a distant descendant of Kolāhala, leaving Kolāhalapura with his brothers, came to the Mahendra mountain, and having conquered Bālāditya through the favour of the god Gokarṇasvāmin, took possession of the Kaliṅga countries.<sup>2</sup> As Vajrahasta (c. A.D. 1038), the earliest Gaṅga prince for whom we have any authentic date, is the 17th prince from Kāmārṇava, we may place the latter approximately somewhere in the 7th or 8th centuries A.D.<sup>3</sup> But unfortunately there are so many discrepancies in the genealogical lists supplied by

(xiv) Siddhantam (near Chicacole) plates of Devendravarman, year 195, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 212-16

(xv) Urlam plate of Hastivarman, year 80, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 330-34.

(xvi) Tekkali (in Ganjam dist.) plates of Indravarman, year 154, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307-11.

(xvii) Tekkali plates of Devendravarman, year 310, *ibid*, pp. 311-13.

(xviii) Durnūla (in Ganjam dist.?) grant of Devendravarman, *JBORS*, June, 1929, pp. 274-77

(xix) Korashanda (in Ganjam district) grant of Viśākhavarman, *ibid*, pp. 282-84.

(xx) Purle (near Palkonda, Vizagapatam district) grant of Indravarman, year 137, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 360-63; Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, lines 43-47.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Vizagapatam grant of Coḍagaṅga the total of the reign-period of the 16 predecessors of Vajrahasta was 301½ years; see *ibid*, p. 171. This would place Kāmārṇava in c. 737 A.D. (1038 - 301½ = 737½).



the different grants that we cannot accept these calculations with absolute certainty. It is however possible that the forefathers of the earlier and later groups of the Gangas, if not identical, had at least migrated to Kaliṅga, about the same time. It is certain that they belonged to the same stock.

The causes that led to the revival of the Gaṅga power in Kaliṅga is at present uncertain. I have already suggested that the power of the earlier Gangas may have been eclipsed by the encroachments of the Karas of Tosali. Though there is at present no direct evidence to support our guess, it is not impossible that the renewal of Gaṅga power may have been connected with the invasions of the Coḷa kings. Rājarāja (c. 985-1016 A. D.) conquered Gaṅgavāḍi, Veṅgināḍu, and Kaliṅga sometime before 1005 A.D., while the armies of his son, Rājendra Coḷa, advanced even up to the Ganges about 1021-25 A.D.<sup>1</sup> From two inscriptions in Sanskrit and Tamil we learn the interesting fact that Rājendra Coḷa, having defeated his brother-in-law, the Eastern Cālukya Vimalāditya (c. A.D. 1015-1022), set up a pillar of victory on the Mahendra mountain.<sup>2</sup> Both these inscriptions with the Tiger crest of the Coḷa kings were found on the top of the Mahendragiri, where still exists the sacred shrine of Gokarṇeśvara, the tutelary deity of the Gaṅgas. As the date of the invasion of Rājendra Coḷa is only removed by about 25 years from *Saka* 960 (A.D. 1033), the earliest known date of the later Gaṅgas, it is not unlikely that the Coḷas may have revived the power of one of the local Gaṅga rulers as their feudatory in Kaliṅga. The period of comparative weakness in Coḷa administration which followed the death of Rājendra about 1044 A.D. possibly helped Vajrahasta in asserting his complete freedom from Coḷa hegemony about 1045 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> *HI*, Vol. IX, p. 280. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, London, 1911, pp. 104 ff

<sup>2</sup> *MER*, pp. 7 and 94, Nos. 396 and 397.

**Ananta (Visṇu):** From his navel

Atri 3

Saśāṅka (the Moon)<sup>4</sup>

Purūravas.

Āyus

Nahusa.

Yayāti.

Turvaśu...Through the favour of Gaṅgā, was born to him

Gāngeya<sup>3</sup>...his descendants were known under the name of the *Gaṅgānvaya*.

**Virocana**

## Samveda...The glory of the *Gaṅgānvaya*

Samvedin.

## Dattasena

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff. With some slight variations this is also found in the Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II (*JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff.), and the Puri plates of Narasimha IV (*ibid*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 128 ff.).

•  $\hat{S} = \hat{S}_{aka}$

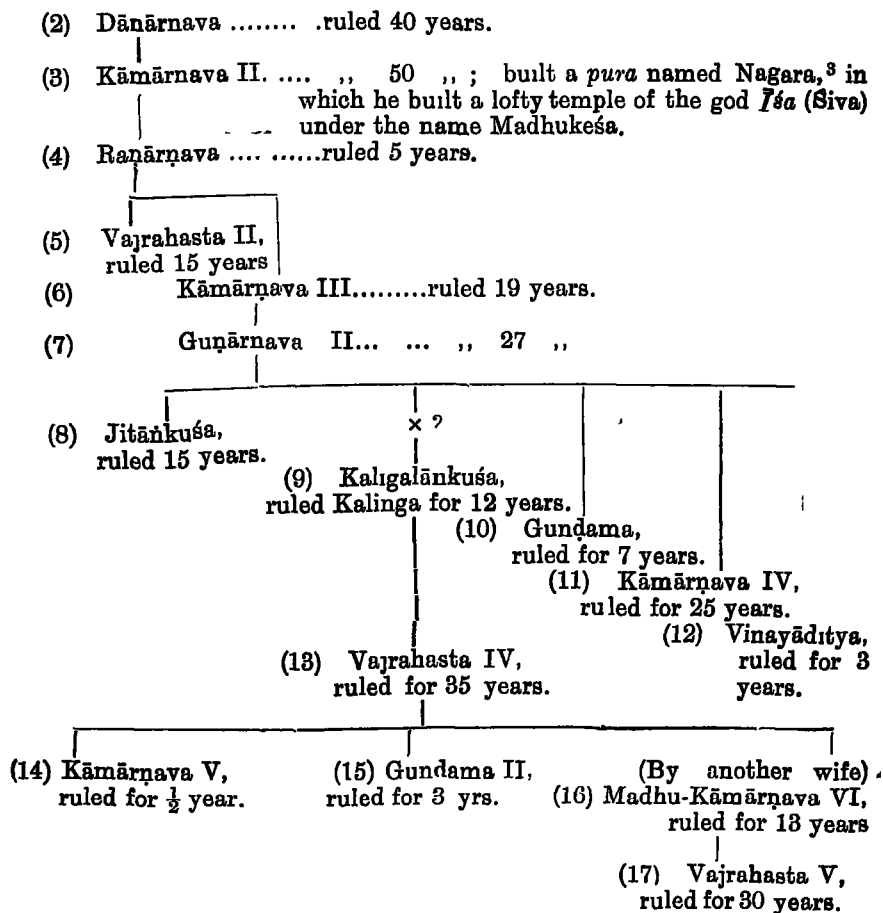
\* From this ancestor the Gaṅgas got their *Gotra* name: *Ātreya-gotra*, see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp 162, 168, 173, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Thus the Gaṅgas belonged to the Somavāṇśa or the Lunar race.

\* Fleet pointed out that the descent here branches off from the Pauranic genealogy. According to *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* Turvaśu's son was Vahnī, his was Gobhānu, see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 170, fn. 45.



capital was the city named Jantāvura.<sup>1</sup> He ruled for 36 years and was succeeded by his younger brother Dānārṇava. To Guṇārṇava, Mārasimha and Vajrahasta the three other younger brothers, he assigned Ambavāḍi-*Viṣaya*, Sodā-*Maṇḍala*, and Kaṇṭaka-vartanī respectively.<sup>2</sup> Then the succession continues as follows :—



<sup>1</sup> Ramamurti suggested that this may be a mistake for Jayantapuram which is mentioned in the *Kṣetramāhātmya*; as one of the names of Kalihānagara, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 167-68 and 170-74.

<sup>3</sup> Was this city Kalihānagara, the capital of the Gaṅgas? Ramamurti pointed out that Mukhalīgam (= Kalihānagara) still contains the temple of Śiva *Madhukeśvara*. *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 188. See *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī (Ed. by C. Chakravarti, Calcutta, 1926), V. 21 where 'Nagari' is described as the capital of Kalihāga (*Nagarīm nāma tāh rājadhānīm*),

A somewhat different *list* of the predecessors of Vajrahasta is given in some other records of the Gangas. The Nadagam grant of Vajrahasta<sup>1</sup> (S. 979) gives us the following list of his predecessors :—

In the *Atreya-gotra* and Ganga family.

- (1) Gunamahārṇava ..acquired the glory of *Sāmraṇya*.  
 |  
 (2) Vajrahasta I ..united the earth which has been formerly divided into five kingdoms; ruled for 44 years.  
 |  
 (3) Guṇḍama I, ruled for 3 years      (4) Kāmārṇava I, ruled for 35 years,      (5) Vinayāditya, ruled for 3 years.  
 |  
 (6) Vajrahasta II *alias* Aniyankabhīma, ruled for 35 years  
 |  
 (1) Kāmārṇava II, ruled for  $\frac{1}{2}$  year = Vinaya-makādevī of the Vaidumba family.      (8) Gundama, ruled for 3 years.      (By another wife) (9) Madhu Kāmārṇava III, ruled for 19 years.  
 |  
 (8) Vajrahasta III (crowned in May 1038 A.D.).

The above list is also found in two Vizagapatam grants of Codagaṅga, dated in Ś. 1003 and 1057.<sup>2</sup> A comparison of the two lists would show that while in the first the *praśastikāra* tries to trace the genealogy of the dynasty from the beginning of things, the second traces it from Guṇamahārṇava, who may have been the real founder of this branch of the Gaṅgas. Possibly the latter is to be identified with Guṇārṇava II, the 7th prince of the first list. There is some amount of agreement in the names of the kings in the two lists who follow this prince. But there are the following discrepancies :—<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 183 ff

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161 ff. and 172 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 187

(i) List II shows that Gunamahārṇava-Gunārṇava of list I had a son named Vajrahasta who reigned for 44 years; but list I omits his name, evidently through an oversight of the officer who drafted the inscription. For the fifth king in the 1st list is called Vajrahasta II and the 13th king Vajrahasta IV. (ii) List I gives the names of two kings, Jitāṅkuśa and Kaliṅga-lāṅkuśa (his brother's son), who are said to have preceded Gundama I and to have reigned for 15 and 12 years respectively, but these names are omitted in list II. (iii) The reigns of Gundama I and that of (his brother) Kāmārṇava IV are stated in list I to be 7 and 25 years, while list II has the figures 3 and 35 instead. (iv) Finally list I makes Vajrahasta V the son of Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI, while the 2nd list states that Vajrahasta was born from Kāmārṇava, the eldest son of Vajrahasta.

In spite of these discrepancies there is on the whole substantial agreement in the total reign-period assigned by the two lists to the predecessors of Vajrahasta from Gunamahārṇava-Gunārṇava onwards. According to the first list, the total is  $146\frac{1}{2}$  years ( $27 + 15 + 7 + 25 + 3 + 12 + 35 + \frac{1}{2} + 3 + 19$ ), while according to the second it is  $142\frac{1}{2}$  years ( $x + 44 + 3 + 35 + 3 + \frac{1}{2} + 3 + 19$ ). Calculating backwards from Ś. 960 (A D. 1040), the date of Vajrahasta's coronation, we arrive at the last decade of the 9th century as the date for Gunamahārṇava-Gunārṇava. There is no inherent improbability in this date. It is possible that after the first Gaṅga dynasty lost power through the encroachment of the Karas of Tosālī the kingdom became dismembered into a number of smaller Gaṅga principalities. Towards the end of the 9th century Gunamahārṇava-Gunārṇava, the chief of one of these principalities, began to grow powerful. His son, Vajrahasta III, who is credited with the conquest of 5 kingdoms, may have by his ambitious policy consolidated his position by incorpor-

<sup>1</sup> Dr Barnett suggests that this name is perhaps a mixture of Dravidian and Sanskrit: *Kaliṅga* + *aṅkuśa*, 'a goad to heroes'?

ating some neighbouring principalities. When the Coḷas came to Kalinga, they probably found the successors of Vajrahasta III willing agents of their ambitious policy on this frontier.<sup>1</sup> I have already suggested that Vajrahasta V may have thrown off the Coḷa yoke by taking advantage of the disasters that fell on the rulers of the South after Rājendra Coḷa's death (c. 1042-43).<sup>2</sup> Though it is stated that Vajrahasta V was crowned in Ś. 960 (A. D. 1038)<sup>3</sup> it is significant that his earliest inscription so far discovered bears the date Ś. 967 (1045 A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Vajrahasta V :

(1) *Narasapatam grant*.—This was 'received from Narasapatam taluka of the Vizagapatam district.' The inscription consists of 74 lines, incised on 5 plates held together by a circular ring. The oval seal attached to the ring is surmounted by a high recumbent bull with various emblems round it which represent 'a conch, an elephant goad, a *triśūla*, a battle axe, a crescent, a mace, a rope and a drum.' The alphabet is Nāgarī, the language Sanskrit. Like other grants of the kings of this dynasty, the inscription 'opens with a panegyric passage describing the virtues and valour of the Gaṅga kings, their royal insignia,' viz., the unique *Ṣaṅkha*, the *bherī*, the *pañcamahāśabḷas*, the white parasol, the golden *caurī*, and the excellent bull-crest, acquired by the favour of Gokarṇasvāmin of mount Mahendra. Then comes the genealogy of the donor, as given in list II above. We are then told that from Dantipura *Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-M.-Trikalīṅgādhipati* Vajrahasta-deva granted the whole of Gorasatta-*Visaya* with its 35 villages outside Tam-

<sup>1</sup> On the strategic importance of this frontier, see *JL*, 1927, Vol. XIV, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. death of Rājādhirāja (c. 1048-53 A. D.) in the battle of Koppam; see *Ancient India*, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> *HI*, Vol. IV, pp. 190-91 and 193, V. 8.

*Ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 147 ff.

pavā-grāma to Irugana Mānāditya Cotta<sup>1</sup> and Vīra Bhūriśrava. Amongst the boundaries of the *Viṣaya* is mentioned 'to the west Kāñcaśilā on the Vamśadharā.' <sup>2</sup> The charter was written by the *Sāsanika-Kāyastha Sandhivigrahin* Dhavala of Tāmpavā (village). The date, Śakābda 967 (A D 1045), is given in line 73. It ends with *Kārakī-Mentōjunāpi likhitam*.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Nadagam grant*.—Discovered in a field at Nadagam, a village in the Narasannapeta taluk of the Ganjam district. It contains 57 lines, incised on 5 plates. The ring which holds the plates has the same circular seal as in No. 1. The inscription opens as in No. 1 and gives the same genealogy. It records the grant of the Erada-*Visaya* containing the 12 villages of Velpūra, Trumumkā, Vappudām,<sup>4</sup> Vallūrama, Arnago ..... (tpe mmimbā, Konūrana, Poduru, Vādām,<sup>5</sup> Mūningām, Kanamarampa, Devaremacikīdamba, and Gudrapī, having been (clubbed together and) named Vepūrā-*Visaya* to one Pāngu-Sāmaya,<sup>6</sup> by Parama-māhesvara-Pb -M.-Trihalingādhipati Vajrahastadeva. It was issued from Kaluganagara,<sup>7</sup> in the Śaka year of Aja (9), the mountains (7) and the treasures (9), i.e., Ś. 979 (A. D. 1058). Verse 9 tells us that the donor was anointed

<sup>1</sup> The editor suggests that the name of this donee may be Śrīmān Āditya Cotta, though 'this reading would imply a serious grammatical slip in line 60' The donee is said to be the son of Śrī Mānāditya (Śrīmān Āditya ?) Cotta, son of Cotta Vādayarāja and Rūpa-devī, 'the son of the Vaidumba family.' This donee was therefore a relative of the donor. See above, list II; the wife of Kāmārava, No 7, and the mother of the donor, Vinayamahādevī also belonged to the Vaidumba family. On the word *Vaidumbāditya* see *EI*, Vol XI, p 158, fn 1

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the river of the same name which flows between the Ganjam and Vijagapatam districts, *EI*, Vol XI, p. 149

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol XI, pp. 147-58 First mentioned in Krishna Sastri's *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1908-09, p 111.

<sup>4</sup> The editor suggests its identification with Boppadam, a village at a distance of about 15 miles from Badam.

<sup>5</sup> The editor suggests its identification with the village of Badam in the Narasannapeta taluka.

<sup>6</sup> The editor suggests Somāya (?). But Dr. Barnett thinks the form given in the grant 'quite good.' *Somāya* to him 'seems almost impossible.'

<sup>7</sup> The editor identified this city with Mukhalingam.



when the aggregate of the *Saka* years was reaching the number of the sky (0), seasons (6) and treasures (9), i. e., Ś. 960 (A. D. 1038). In the last line is further recorded the grant of the village of Nugila in the *Viṣaya* of Kōlu-vartanī.<sup>1</sup> The last line (line 57) is in portions indistinct apparently being written on three lines of partially effaced writing.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *Madras Museum grant*.—Its find-spot is not known. It contains 54 lines, incised on 5 plates. The seal and the introductory portion are nearly the same as in No. 1.<sup>3</sup> It records the grant of the village of Tāmaraceru<sup>4</sup> in Varāha-vartanī, together with Cikhali-vātaka, as an Agrahāra to 500 Brahmans by Anantavarmā Vajrahasta-deva,<sup>5</sup> and also the grant by the same of land with the produce of 200 *Murakas* of grain to the god Koṭīśvara for *baḥi*, *caru*, *naivedya*, *dīpa-pūjā*, etc. It was issued from Kaliṅganagara in the *Saka* year of the dice (4), vasus (8) and treasures (9), i. e., Ś. 984 (A. D. 1061).<sup>6</sup>

(4) *Parlakimedi grant*.—Found in the Parlakimedi Zamindary of Ganjam district. It consists of 29 lines, incised on three plates. According to the editor the script belongs to about the 11th century A. D. The seal bears in relief a bull couchant, a crescent, and the legend *Śrī Dāraparaṇo*. It opens with praise of *Parama-māheśvaro Mātā-pitr-pādānudhyāto Gangāmala-kula-tilaka M.-P. Vajrahasta-deva*, resident of Kaliṅganagara and a devout worshipper of Gokarṇasvāmin

<sup>1</sup> Krishna Sastri wanted to identify this place with Varāha-vartanī, occurring in other grants (*EI*, Vol. IV, p. 185, fn. 5, etc.) on the ground that *Kōla* is a synonym for *Varāha*. See *EI*, Vol. III, p. 127, fn. 5, for references to two other Gāṅga grants, which mention Varāha-vartanī.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Ramamurti, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 133-93. The grant is now in the Madras Museum. More than two lines of the original writing on the second side of the 4th plate can still be read, *ibid*, p. 184 (lines 57-59).

<sup>3</sup> The emblems of the seal are somewhat differently described by Venkayya, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> This village and *Viṣaya* are mentioned in an early Gāṅga grant. see *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 275, lines 11-12.

<sup>5</sup> Titles as in Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 94-98.

installed on the summit of mount Mahendra. Then we are told that in his reign *Parama-māheśvara Gaṅgāmalakula-tilakaḥ Pañca-visayādhipatiḥ* Dāraparāja, son of Cola-Kāmadirāja and a resident of Laṅkākoṇa, gave a village named Hossanḍi to the *Rājputra* Kāmaḍi, the ornament of the Naggari-Saluki family. It is undated. It was written by *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Droṇācārya, and incised by *Sūtradhāra* Naṁkañcyemācari.<sup>1</sup>

According to these records, Vajrahasta V appears to have reigned over Kalīṅga from at least 1038 to 1061 A.D. In the Vizagapatam grants of his grandson Coḍaganga, he is assigned a reign of 30 to 33 years.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to know the real extent of his power but as he assumed imperial titles and in the opening panegyrics of his grants even lays claim to universal sovereignty (*Sāmrājya*) for his family, we may conclude that he at least succeeded in consolidating his rule over portions of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. He was succeeded sometime before 1075-76 A.D. by Rājārāja, his son, through the queen Naṁgamā. The *Dirghasī* stone-inscription is the only record of this reign. It was found among the ruins of a temple near a hill called *Durgā-meṭṭa* in the village of Dirghasī 4 miles north of Kalugapatam in Ganjam district. It contains 23 lines, the first 16 being in Sanskrit verse and the rest in Telugu verse. The alphabet is Telugu. It records that the *Mandalika Mahāpratihāri-mukhya Calamarti-gaṇḍa Bhaṇḍana-vijaya Gaṇḍa-gopāla* Vanapati, son of Gokaṇḍa, of Ātreya-gotra and Brahman caste built a *mandapa* (or *nāṭyaśālā*; see lines 15 and 20) in front of the temple of Durgā, in the town of Dīrgharsī in the reign of Gaṅga king Rājārāja, in the

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol III, pp 220-24. The editor identified the Vajrahasta of this grant with the grandfather of Coḍaganga. But I have a suspicion that this Vajrahasta belongs to the early Gaṅga dynasty. This grant begins like the grants of Indravarman and other early Gaṅga princes and is, like those grants, incised only on 8 plates. Note the connection of Saluki with Śūlika, Śūlki, and Caḷukya.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription at the Bhīmeśvara temple at Mukhalingam is dated in the 32nd year of Anantavarmā Vajrahasta, see *MER*, p. 18, No. 258.

*Saka* year 997 (c. A.D. 1075-76). It also records the grant of a lamp by Padmāvati.<sup>1</sup>

This inscription supplies a list of the victories of Vanapati who appears to have been the Commander-in-chief of Rājārāja. We are told that he became in battle "a conflagration to the great forest (which was) the army of the Coda king" He also completely burnt "the trees which were the commanders of the troops of elephant and horses of the Utkala," and took away the whole property of the Vengi king by frequently defeating him in battle. Daddārṇava was sent by him "to Yama as an envoy to report his conquest of the whole world."<sup>2</sup> In the Telugu portion of the record we are told that he "defeated in battle the kings of the Vengi country, Kimidi Kosala, the Gidrisiṅgi country, and Odda country."<sup>3</sup> The victory of Rājārāja over the Coḷas and the Eastern Cālukyas (Vengi) is also referred to by a Viṣagapatam grant (S.1040) of Coḍaganga. We are told by this grant that Rājārāja "first became the husband of the goddess of victory in battle with the Dramilas, and then wedded Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Coda king, and when Vijayāditya,<sup>4</sup> beginning to grow old, left Vengi, as if he were a sun leaving the sky and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Codas, he, Rājārāja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western regions."<sup>5</sup> The Coḷa king referred to above is probably to be identified with Vīra-Rājendra<sup>6</sup> (c. 1062-72 A.D.), who is reported to have invaded Kaḷṅga, no doubt in an attempt to recover the lost hegemony of his family over that region. Three other grants of Coḍaganga distinctly state that

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Ramamurti, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 314-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 317, Vs. 4-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> This Vijayāditya was the uncle of the Eastern Cālukya Rājendra. The latter was the daughter's son of Rājendra Ganga-koṇḍa (c. 1013-44 A.D.) and son-in-law of the latter's son Rājendra (c. 1052-62 A.D.) He later succeeded in unifying Veṅgi and the Coḷa kingdoms under his authority and assumed the name of Kulottunga (c. 1072-1118 A.D.).

<sup>5</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 169 and 171, lines 83-89.

<sup>6</sup> S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, 1911, p. 145.

3 For a complete list of Codagabga's *brudās* and titles see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 108-10. Among the more important may be mentioned *Gaṅgeśvara*, *Cālukya-Gaṅga* and probably *Yikrama-Gaṅga*.

Reṅgujeḍ. Lines 30-33 give the date of the donor's accession to the throne as the *Śaka* year that is numbered by the Nandas (9), apertures of the body (9), and planets (9), *i.e.*, 999, 'while the sun was standing in the sign of Kumbha (A.D. 1078).<sup>1</sup> The inscription does not give us the names of its writer or engraver.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Korni grant* (i).—This was discovered in a pot while digging for the foundation of a house in the village of Korni, near Kalingapatam, in the Ganjam district. It contains 55 lines, incised on 5 plates. In its introductory portion, script, language, seal, and royal titles, it closely resembles No. 1. It records the grant of the village of Khonna in Varāha-vartanī to 300 Brahmans by Anantavarmā Codagaṅga-deva from Kalinga-nagara in the *Śaka* year 1003 (A.D. 1082). It was written by Dāmodara the son of the *Mahākāyastha Sandhivigrahin* Māvuraya and engraved by *Mahākṣasālī* Vallemoja.<sup>3</sup>

(3-4) *Mukhalingam stone-inscriptions* (i-ii) —Written in the Telugu language and alphabet 'on a slab to the left of the second entrance, west face' in the temple of Mukhalūṅgeśvara at Mukhalingam.<sup>4</sup> Each of them records the gift of a lamp in the 8th year of Anantavarman in Ś.1004.<sup>5</sup>

(5-6) *Ronanki stone-inscriptions*.—Written in the Telugu language and script 'on a stone lying on the bank of the Vamśadharā at Ronanki.' They record the gift of some land in the 19th year of Codaganga in Ś.1015 to the temple of Siddheśvara by queen Lakṣmīdevī.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the date see Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 161-62; also M. Chakravarti, *JASB*, 1003, pp. 107-8.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 461-65. The language of the grant is Sanskrit, the script is a southern variety of Nāgarī.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by G. V. Sitapati, *Quarterly Journal of Andhra Historical Society*, July 1926, pp. 40 ff. The editor has identified the village Khonna with mod. Korni. For this and other suggestions about the localities mentioned in the grant, see *ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> In later references I shall use the abbreviation *MM* to designate this temple.

<sup>5</sup> Noticed in *MER*, p. 18, Nos. 214 and 246. The editor reads the date of (2) as Ś. 1005; but see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Noticed in *MER*, p. 24, Nos. 392 and 393.

(7) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (iii)*.—Written in the Telugu language and alphabet 'on the second pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamandapa*' in the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 23rd year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1020.<sup>1</sup>

(8) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (iv)*.—Written in the Telugu language and alphabet 'on a pillar to the left of the entrance to the central shrine' of the *MM*. It mentions Vira-Coda-deva, and is dated in the 28th year of Anantavarman, in Ś. 1024.<sup>2</sup>

(9) *Korni grant (v)*.—Found with No. 2. It closely resembles No. 10. It records a grant similar to No. 2 of a piece of 'land in the vicinity of Khonna, Tuluvu, and Gara,'<sup>3</sup> by the same king in Ś 1034.<sup>4</sup>

(10) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (v)*.—It is incised on the 3rd pillar on the left row of the *Āsthānamandapa* in the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp by a dancing girl in Ś. 1039 in the reign of Codaganga.<sup>5</sup>

(11) *Vizagapatam grant (vi)*.—Found as No. 1. It contains 117 lines engraved on 5 plates. The seal<sup>6</sup> and language as in No. 1; but the characters 'are ordinary old Kanarese of the regular type of the period.' In the introductory portion, the genealogy of the donor is drawn from Ananta (Viṣṇu).<sup>7</sup> It records the grant of the village of Tāmarakhaṇḍi in the Saṁvā-Viṣaya<sup>8</sup> to a person named Mādhava by Anantavarmā-mahārāja Rājādhirāja-Rāja-Paramaśvaraḥ Pb.-Parama-vaishṇavaḥ Parama-brahmanyah Mātā-pitr-pādānudhyātaḥ Coda-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p 15, No 167.

① <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p 14, No 140

<sup>3</sup> These three places are mentioned in No. 2.

② <sup>4</sup> Noticed by the editor of No. 2 in the same Journal, pp 4) ff Not yet edited

③ <sup>5</sup> *MER*, p. 16 No 214

<sup>6</sup> For slight differences see I 4, Vol. XVIII, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> For this genealogy up to Vajrabasta, see above List No I, on pp. 451-52. From Vajrabasta as in No. 1, only it does not mention the name of the maternal grandfather of the donor

<sup>8</sup> The same as in No. 1.

gaṅga-deva, 'decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala and residing at the town of Sindurapura,' in the *Śaka* year numbered by the sky (0), oceans (4), sky (0), and moon (1), i.e., 1040 (A.D. 1118-19).<sup>1</sup>

(12) *Rayipādu stone-inscription*.—Incised 'on a stone in the bed of a tank at Rayipādu. It records the gift of a lamp in the 44th year of Anantavarma-deva in Ś. year 1040 (A.D. 1118). The language and alphabet are Sanskrit and Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

(13) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (vi)*.—Incised on the 'left of the entrance into the *Āsthānamandapa*' in the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 45th year of Codagaṅga in Ś. 1043. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>3</sup>

(14) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (vii)*.—Incised on the second pillar in the left row of the *Āsthānamandapa* of the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp by a military officer in the 48th year of Codagaṅga in Ś. year 1045. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>4</sup>

(15) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (viii)*.—Found as No. 7. It records the gift of a lamp in the 49th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1045. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

(16) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (ix)*.—Incised on the second pillar in the left row of the *Āsthānamandapa* in the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 49th year of Codagaṅga in Ś. 1045. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>6</sup>

(17) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (x)*.—Found as No. 16. It records the gift of a lamp in the 49th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1046. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>7</sup>

(1) <sup>1</sup> Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-72

(2) <sup>2</sup> Noticed in *MER*, p. 24, No. 390, Hultzsch read the date as *Śaka* 10(7)0, 4th year; for corrections see *JASB*, 1908, pp. 99 ff.

(3) <sup>3</sup> *MER*, p. 19, No. 234.

(4) <sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 221.

(5) <sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 177.

(6) <sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 221.

(7) <sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 222

(18) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xi)*.—Incised on the first pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamandapa* of MM. It records the gift of a lamp in the 50th year of Codagaṅga in Ś. 1047. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>1</sup>

(19) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xii)*.—Found as No. 7. It records the gift of a lamp in the 53rd year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1048. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

(20-21) *Mukhalingam stone-inscriptions (xiii-xiv)*.—Incised on the pillar to the right of the entrance to the central shrine of the MM. They record grants of lamps in the 53rd year of Anantavarman and Codagaṅga in Ś. 1049. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>3</sup>

(22) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xv)*.—Found as No. 7. It records the gift of a lamp in the 54th year of Codagaṅga in Ś. 1050. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>4</sup>

(23) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xvi)*.—Found as No. 18. It records the grant of a lamp in the 55th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1051. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

(24) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xvii)*.—Found as No. 16. It records the gift of a lamp in the 57th year of Codagaṅga in Ś. 1053. It mentions Varāha-vartanī. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>6</sup>

(25) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xviii)*.—Found as No. 18. It records the gift of a lamp by Anantavarman Codagaṅga in his 58th year, in Ś. 1054 (A.D. 1133). Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>7</sup>

(26). *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xix)*.—Found as No. 18. It records the gift of a lamp by the wife of Codagaṅga's

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14, No. 152

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 166.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14, Nos. 143-44

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14, No. 151. The date corresponds to A.D. 1129; see *JASB*, 1908, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, No. 156.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 220.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14, No. 149.



younger brother. It is dated in the 59th year on Anantavarman in Ś. 1055. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>1</sup>

(27) *Mukalingam stone-inscription (xx)*.—Incised on the 3rd pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamandapa* in *MM*. It is dated as in No. 26. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

(28) *Mahendragiri stone-inscription*.—Incised on a slab to the left of the entrance to the Kuntī shrine in the Gokaṇṇeśvara temple on Mahendragiri. It records the gift of a lamp to the temple by an inhabitant of Arasavillī in the 60th year of Anantavarman-Codaganga in Ś. 1055.<sup>3</sup>

(29) *Srikurman stone-inscription*.—This is dated in the reign of Anantavarman in Ś 1055. It is incised on a stone in the Vaisṇava temple at Srikurman near Chicacole, Ganjam district.<sup>4</sup>

(30) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxi)*.—Found as No. 18. It is dated in the 5(?)th year of Anantavarman, in Ś. 1056. The end of the inscription is built into the temple. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

(31) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxii)*.—Found as No. 27. It records the gift of a lamp in the 59th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1056. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>6</sup>

(32) *Vizagapatam grant (iii)*.—Found as No. 1. The introductory portion is exactly like No. 1. The seal, language, script, are also similar. It records the grant of the village of Samuda with the Tittilūṅgi (Trillūṅgi ?)-*vāṭaka* in the *Sammaga-Viṣaya* to a person named Codagaṅga by Anantavarman<sup>7</sup> in the *Śaka* year numbered by the sages (7), arrows (5), sky (0), and moon (1), *i.e.*, 1057 (A.D. 1135-36). In

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, No. 163

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 185.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 24, No. 395.

<sup>4</sup> Noticed by M. Chakravarti, *JASB*, 1903, pp. 99 ff

<sup>5</sup> *MER*, p. 14, No. 154.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 187.

<sup>7</sup> Titles and epithets as in No. 1.

lines 20-23 it gives the same date as in No. 1, for the donor's coronation.<sup>1</sup>

(33) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxii)*.—Incised as No. 18. It records the gift of a lamp in the 59th year of Codaganga, in Ś. 1057. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

(34) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxiii)*.—Incised on the 4th pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamandapa* in *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 61st year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1058. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>3</sup>

(35) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxiv)*.—Incised on the 4th pillar in the left row of the *Āsthānamandapa* in *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 63rd year of Anantavarman, in Ś. 1060. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>4</sup>

(36) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxvi)*.—Found as No. 35. It records the gift of a lamp in Ś. 1060, in the 64th year of Anantavarman. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

(37) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxvi)*.—Incised on the right of the entrance into the *Āsthānamandapa* of *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in Ś. 1061, in the 64th year of a Anantavarman. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>6</sup>

(38) *Arasavilli stone-inscription (i)*.—Incised on a slab built into the wall of the *prākāra* of the Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa temple at Arasavilli. It records the gift of a lamp in the 72nd year of Anantavarman, in Ś. 1068. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>7</sup>

(39) *Arasavilli stone-inscription (ii)*.—Incised on a slab in front of the same temple as in No. 38. It records the gift

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp 172-76. M Chakravarti has suggested for the date 1059. He takes Munz as 9; see *JASB*, 1908, pp 99 ff. I think Fleet is right.

<sup>2</sup> *MER*, p. 17, No 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 16, No. 193.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 16, No. 201.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, No 205

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 236.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 23, No. 387.

of a lamp in the 72nd year of Anantavarman, in Ś. 1069. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>1</sup>

(40) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxvii)*.—Incised on the 3rd pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamandapa* in MM. It records the gift of a lamp in the 73rd year of Anantavarman. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

The above inscriptions contain dates from *Śaka* 999, the year of Coḍagaṅga's coronation to *Śaka* 1069. This gives him a reign of 70 years, which agrees with the total reign-period assigned by the Kendupatna plates (Ś. 1213) of Nara-siṃha II.<sup>3</sup> But the inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga give 73 as his total reign period. The confusion is increased by the fact that the Kendupatna grant mentioned above gives *Śaka* 1064 as the year of the coronation of Coḍagaṅga's son Kāmārṇava while a Telugu inscription of Kāmārṇava gives the year Ś 1070, as his 3rd regnal year. Another element of confusion is added by an examination of the dated records of Coḍagaṅga containing his regnal years, according to some of which his first year would fall in *Śaka* 999, while others seem to give *Śaka* 998, 997 and in one case 996. All these dates cannot be correct and probably there are mistakes in some of these figures.<sup>4</sup> Coḍagaṅga's accession cannot be pushed further back than *Śaka* 998, for we have his father's inscription dated in *Śaka* 997. As we have inscriptions dated in Coḍagaṅga's reign up to *Śaka* 1069 we must conclude that his reign extended from *Śaka* 998 to 1069 (c. 1076-1147 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, No. 388

✓ <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 182 M Chakravarti gives the date of this inscription as Ś. 1069. See *JASB*, 1903, pp 99 ff. As so many of the inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga use the Telugu language and alphabet, it is, I think untenable, to hold with Mr B. C. Mazumdar that the language and script of the Gaṅga rulers of Orissā 'were not Telugu but Tamil.' See his *OM*, p. 205; note also the Dirghasī inscription of Rājārāja above.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff., V. 32. The same figure is also given by the Puri plates; see *ibid*, Vol. XLIV, pp 128 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Barnett suggests 'Perhaps the muddle arises from a confusion of year of inauguration as *Yuvārāja* and year of *Abhiṣeka* as supreme sovereign.'

The coronation of Kāmārṇava in Śaka 1064 may possibly have been as a regent, for in that year his father was very old, probably more than 80, and he may have arranged to transfer the active duties of kingship to his eldest son.<sup>1</sup>

During this long reign of more than 70 years the Gaṅgas reached the height of their greatness. The Kendupatna plates referred to above tell us that Codagaṅga 'exacted tribute from all land between the Gangā and the Gotama-Gaṅgā (Godavari)' <sup>2</sup> In his Vizagapatam grant, dated in Śaka 1040, we are told that he 'first placed the fallen lord of Utkala in his kingdom in the eastern region and then the waning lord of Vengi in the Western region, and propped up their failing fortunes.' The friendship with the *Utkala-pati*, did not last long, for the Kendupatna plates inform us that Gaṅgeśvara (Coḍaganga) by 'defeating the king of Utkala as if churning another sea... ..obtained Lakṣmī like kingdom, thousands of maddened elephants, tens of thousands of horses and gems innumerable.' The evidence of the further extension of Codagaṅga's arms towards the North-east is supplied by some other verses of the same grant, which refer to the destruction of the king of Mandāra's capital by the Ganga king and his struggles on the banks of the Ganges. It is not unlikely that this Mandāra is to be identified with the Sarkār Mandāran of the *Ā'in-ī-Akbarī*, whose headquarters, Garh-Mandāran (now known as Bhitargarh), is about 50 miles from the Ganges. This place was a well-known frontier town from the 14th to the 16th centuries.<sup>3</sup> This extension of the Gaṅgas' power towards the Ganges brought them into

<sup>1</sup> See *JASB*, 1903, p 103. Considerable confusion prevails about the time and years of reign of these Gaṅga kings. M. Chakravarti has discussed these difficulties and suggested solutions, *ibid*, pp. 98-108.

<sup>2</sup> This is also mentioned in the Bhubanesvar inscription of Narasimha II (Śaka 1200); see *BI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 160 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See M. Chakrabarti in *JASB*, 1903, pp. 109,10. See also *supra*, pp. 341-43 and 359-60.

contact with the Senas of Bengal. If the *Ballāla-carita* of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa is to be believed, the Senas maintained friendly relations with their powerful southern neighbours.<sup>1</sup> In the North-west Coḍagaṅga came into conflict with the kings of Turṃmāna. The Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva II (c. 1160-68 A.D.) and the Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva III (c. 1181-82 A.D.) inform us that the Kalacuri prince Ratnadeva II (c. 1120-35 A.D.) defeated Coḍagaṅga.<sup>2</sup> In the South the extension of Coḍagaṅga's power to the Godavari and his conflicts with the Eastern Calukya kings of Vengi must have brought him into touch with Kulottuṅga I (c. 1072-1118 A.D.), who united the Vengi and Coḷa kingdoms under one sceptre. The inscriptions of this king show that he penetrated in the north as far as Wairagarh and Cakrakotṭa in the C. P.<sup>3</sup> The *Kalingattu Parani*, a long Tamil poem by Jayaṅkondān, gives a graphic account of an expedition into North Kalinga conducted by Karuṇākara, the feudatory Pallava king and prime-minister of Kulottuṅga.<sup>4</sup> Canto XII of this poem describes a battle between the Kalinga king and Karuṇākara, in which the former was defeated. Unfortunately Jayaṅkondān does not mention the name of the Kalinga king. But as the expedition seems to have been undertaken some time between 1084 and 1090 A.D. the defeated Gaṅga prince must have been Coḍagaṅga (c. 1076-1147 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> It has been suggested that Kulottuṅga retained his hold at least on a part of Kalinga till his death, about 1118

<sup>1</sup> Ānanda Bhaṭṭa describes Vijayasena as *Coraganga-sakhaḥ*, see *supra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Behar*, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, my chapter on the Haihayas of C. P. Also Ratnapur inscription of Prthivideva III (?), *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 45-52.

<sup>3</sup> Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part II, 1903, Madras, pp. 132-34. Vayiragarh has been rightly identified by Hiralal with Wairagarh in the Chanda district of C. P. Sakkarakotṭam is apparently the Cakrakotṭa of the inscriptions of the Nāga-vaiśiṣṭas (Sindas) of Bastar.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 329 ff. This poem also refers to the conquest of 'Sakkarakotṭam.'

<sup>5</sup> This is the view of Kanakasabhai Pillai, *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 338; see also S. K. Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, pp. 144 ff.

A.D.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be the truth in this guess, it is certain that the Gaṅga king took full advantage of the decline of Coḷa power after Kulottuṅga's death. From 1118-19 A.D., the date of one of his Vizagapatam grants, his authority on the Godavari seems to have been unchallenged.

Coḍagaṅga's success in the domain of peace was perhaps greater than in war. The great temple of Jagannātha at Puri is a standing evidence of the artistic vigour and prosperity of Orissa under his reign.<sup>2</sup> His patronage of religion and charities is also proved by the numerous inscriptions belonging to him, his family and officers. Though no poem of his age has come down to our time, his inscriptions show that Sanskrit and Telugu were well cultivated. Mr. M. Chakravarti drew attention to the astronomical work *Bhāsvatī*, which according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta* was composed by Satānanda of Puruṣottama (Puri) in Śaka 1021 (c. 1099-1100 A.D.). According to commentators, he is said to have based his calculations on the meridian of his native city.<sup>3</sup>

Coḍagaṅga had a large family and had at least one younger brother. One of the Mukhalingam inscriptions, records a gift by the wife of his younger brother in Śaka 1055.<sup>4</sup> Amongst his wives the names of six have been preserved in inscriptions,<sup>5</sup> viz., (1) Kastūrikāmodinī, (2) Indirā, (3) Candralekhā, (4) Somalamahādevī, (5) Lakṣmī-devī, and (6) Pṛthvī-mahādevī. Copper-plates of his successors preserve the names of 4 of his sons.

<sup>1</sup> S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 145. The Teki plates, dated in the 17th year (c. 1087 A.D.) of Kulottunga I, show that his son Vira-Coda was governor of Veṅgi. The boundary of Veṅgi is given as Mahendra (mountain) in the N and Manneru (in the Nellore Dist.) in the S. *BI*, Vol. VI, p. 346. Also *Ancient India*, p. 145.

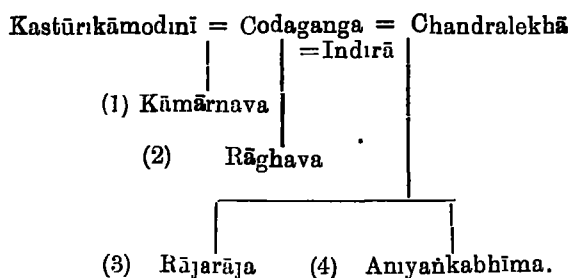
<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff., Vs 27-28; *ibid*, 1898, pp. 328-31; *AO*, Vol. II, pp. 112-42.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 1903, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> *MER*, p. 14, No. 153.

<sup>5</sup> Puri and Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II, *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff.; Vol. XLIV, pp. 128 ff. *MER*, p. 14, No. 146; *ibid*, p. 16, Nos. 210-11; *ibid*, p. 24, Nos. 392-93.

Their births from the queens mentioned above may be shown in a tabular form as follows.<sup>1</sup>



Codaganga was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava VII, who, like his father, was known as Anantavarman, sometimes also as Anantavarma-Madhu-Kāmārṇava, Kumāra and possibly also as Jaṭeśvara. No copper-plates of his reign have yet been discovered. But we have the following stone-inscriptions of his reign at Mukhalingam and Srikurmam.

(1) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (i).*—Incised on the second pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamandapa* in MM. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭeśvara (Kāmārṇava?) in Ś. 1070. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (ii).*—Incised on the 4th pillar in the left row of the *Āsthānamandapa* in MM. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of Anantavarman (Kāmārṇava), in Ś. 1070. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>3</sup>

(3) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (iii).*—Incised on a slab to the left of the second entrance into the central shrine of the Bhīmeśvara temple at Mukhalingam. It records the gift of

<sup>1</sup> A Mukhalingam inscription dated in Ś. 1064 refers to Umāvallabha as the son of the Gaṅga king; see MER, p. 17, No. 239. He may have been the son of some other queen.

<sup>2</sup> MER, p. 15, No. 178. Hultzsch gives the name of the king as Jaṭeśvaradeva; but see M. Chakravarti in JASB, 1903, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> MER, p. 16, No. 204. Hultzsch gives the name of the king as Anantavarmadeva. But see M. Chakravarti in JASB, 1903, p. 111.

a lamp in the 3rd year of Anantavarman (Kāmārṇava) in Ś. 1070. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>1</sup>

(4) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i)*.—Incised on a slab to the right of the south entrance to the *Bhogamandapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam. It records the gift of a lamp in the 4th year of Anantavarman-Madhu-Kāmārṇava in Ś. 1071. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

(5) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ii)*.—Incised on a pillar to the left of the first entrance to the central shrine of the same temple as in No. 4. It records the gift of a lamp in the 7th year of Anantavarman. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>3</sup>

(6) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iii)* —Incised as in No. 4. It records the gift of a lamp in the 9th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 107 (6 ?). Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>4</sup>

(7) *Mukhalīngam stone-inscription (iv)* —It is incised on the same temple as No. 3. It records the gift of a lamp in the 10th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1077. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

[In these records the dates of Kāmārṇava range from *Śaka* 1070 to 1077.] As 1070 is referred to as his 3rd year, his date of accession ought to be *Śaka* 1067. But we have seen that the dates of his father came down up to *Śaka* 1069. The Kendu-patna grant gives *Śaka* 1064 as the date of his *Abhiseka*. I have already suggested that this year probably marks his formal consecration as the regent of his old father. As he is usually assigned a reign of 14 years, and as *Śaka* 1077 is said to be his 10th year, it is likely that his actual reign extended from *Śaka* 1069 to 1077 or 1078.<sup>6</sup> Kāmārṇava was succeeded by his half-brother

<sup>1</sup> *MER*, p. 18, No. 269. Hultzsch gives the name of the king as in No. 2; but see *JASB*, 1903, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *MER*, p. 23, No. 383.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, No. 385.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, No. 382. For the date see *JASB*, 1903, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> *MER*, p. 18, No. 270.

<sup>6</sup> *JASB*, 1903, pp. 112-113.



Rāghava. No inscription of this king have yet been discovered. In the Kendupatna grant he is assigned a reign of 15 years. As we have inscriptions of the 3rd year of his successor dated in Śaka 1093, he probably reigned from Śaka 1078 to 1090.<sup>1</sup> Rāghava was succeeded by his half-brother Anantavarmā Rājārāja II, also known as Rājendra.<sup>2</sup> The following inscriptions are known for his reign.

(1) *Makhalingam stone-inscription (i).*—This Telugu inscription is incised on a slab to the right of the southern entrance into the *Āsthānamandapa* of the Bhīmeśvara temple at Mukhalingam. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of Anantavarman in Ś 1093.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (ii).*—This Telugu inscription is incised on the right door-pillar of the entrance into the *Āsthānamandapa* of MM. It is dated in S. 1097, in the reign of Anantavarman.<sup>4</sup>

(3) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (iii).*—This Telugu inscription is incised on the 2nd pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamandapa*, in MM. It records the gift of some land by the *Maṇḍalika* Puruṣottama in the 22nd year of Anantavarman, in S. 1109.<sup>5</sup>

(4) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (iv).*—This Telugu inscription is incised on a slab to the left of the southern entrance of the Bhīmeśvara temple at Mukhalingam. It records the gift of some land in the 23rd year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1110.<sup>6</sup>

In the above inscriptions the dates of Rājārāja II range from Śaka 1093 to 1110. The latter date marks his 23rd year.

<sup>1</sup> M. Chakravarti takes the regnal years as *anka* years, and tries to establish harmony in the dates. See *ibid.*, pp. 99-109 and 113. He gives Ś 1092 as the last year of Rāghava.

<sup>2</sup> For this name see Cātesvara stone-inscription of Anāṅgabhīma III, *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 317 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *MER*, p. 18, No. 266.

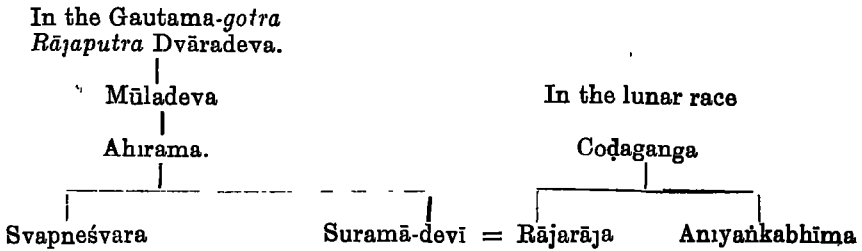
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17, No. 242.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15, No. 180.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18, No. 265.

In the Kendupatna plates he is assigned a reign of 25 years.<sup>1</sup> The Megheśvara temple-inscription of Svapneśvara gives us the name of Suramā as that of one of his queens.<sup>2</sup> The same inscription tells us that when Rājarāja grew old he anointed his younger brother Aniyaṅkabhīma. The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Aniyaṅkabhīma II, also known as Anangabhīma.<sup>3</sup>

(1) *Bhuvaneshvar stone-inscription*.—Incised on a slab of stone which is now in the western wall of the courtyard of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneshvar in Puri district. It contains 36 lines of writing. The whole of the text except the introductory *Om om namah Śivāya*, is in Sanskrit verse. The characters are northern Nāgarī. The first two verses praise the moon and the sage Gautama (Akṣapāda). It then gives the genealogy and connections of one Svapneśvara as follows :—



Verses 18-21 praise Svapneśvara as being in war, 'a divine weapon of the king's of the Gaṅga lineage,' a man more powerful than a complete army. We are next told that this person founded a magnificent temple of god (Śiva) Megheśvara. He gave a number of female attendants to the god, laid out a garden near the temple, built a tank near it, and in connection with the tank erected a *maṇḍapa* or open hall. He also provided

<sup>1</sup> For M. Chakravarti's calculations, see *JASB*, 1903, p. 114. According to him 1093 is his 3rd *aṅka*, year. i.e., 2nd regnal year. So 1092 was his first year. As Śaka 1114 is given as the 4th (*aṅka*) year, i.e., 3rd regnal year of his successor, the latter's first regnal year would be Śaka 1112. This would give him a reign of 21 years or 25 *aṅka* years.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1897, pp. 11 ff.; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 198 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See the Cāṭeśvara stone-inscription; *JASB*, 1898, pp. 317 ff.

wells and tanks on roads and in towns, lights in temples, cloisters for the study of the Vedas ; and to pious Brahmans he gave *Brahmapura* which was superintended by the Saiva teacher Viṣṇu. By the latter's orders this poem was composed by Udayana. It was written by Candradhava and incised by *Sūtradhāra Śivakara*.<sup>1</sup>

❧(2) *Bhuvaneshvar stone-inscription (i)*.—Incised on the south jamb of the porch of the great temple of Kṛtīvāsa at Bhuvaneshvar. It is dated in *Śaka* 1114 (A.D. 1193) in the 4th year of Aniyāṅkabhīma.<sup>2</sup>

❧(3) *Bhuvaneshvar stone-inscription (ii)* —Incised and dated as No. 2 above.<sup>3</sup>

In the Kendupatna plates Aniyāṅkadeva is said to have ruled for 10 years. The lower limit of his reign is fixed by the *Śaka* year 1128, the 11th year of his successor.<sup>4</sup> The Cāteśvara stone-inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III gives us the name of *dvijendra* Govindā as one of his ministers.<sup>5</sup> Anaṅgabhīma was succeeded by Anantavarmā Rājarāja III, his son through his queen, the *pattamahīṣī* Bhāgalla-devī. The only record known for his reign is his *Srikurmam stone-inscription*. This is incised on a slab to the left of the south entrance to the *Bhoja-mandapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam, and records the gift of a lamp in the 11th year of Anantavarman in *Śaka* 1128. Its language and alphabet are Telugu.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> It was first edited by Prinsep in *JASB*, Vol. VI, pp. 278-88, plate XVII. Next N Vasu edited it, *ibid.*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 11-23. Finally edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 198-203.

<sup>2</sup> Noticed by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1903, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> M. Chakravarti, applying his theory of *aṅka* years, accepts 1112 *Śaka* as his first year and *Śaka* 1120 as his successor's first year. This would give him a reign of 9 years. See *JASB*, 1903, pp. 115-16.

<sup>5</sup> *JASB*, 1898, pp. 317 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *MER*, p. 23, No. 381.

Kendupatna plates assign him a reign of 17 years.<sup>1</sup> The only important incident during his reign appears to have been the first Muslim attack on Orissa. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* tells us that when Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār led his troops towards the mountains of Kāmrūd and Tibet, he had dispatched the two Khalj Amīrs Muḥammad-i-Sheran and his brother Ahmad-i-Sheran, “with a portion of his forces towards Lakhaṇ-or and Jāj-nagar.”<sup>2</sup> According to Raverty this expedition took place towards the close of 601 A.H., or about 1205 A.D.<sup>3</sup> We are told that when the news of the death of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār reached Muḥammad-i-Sheran “he came back from that quarter and returned again to Dīw-kot.” The expedition therefore terminated in 602 A.H.

Rājarāja III was succeeded by Anangabhīma III,<sup>4</sup> his son by the Cālukya mahisī Mankuṇa-devī.<sup>5</sup> The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Cāteśvara stone-inscription*.—This is on a stone slab in the temple of (Śiva) Cāteśvara at Kisanpur village, in the Padmapur Pargana of the district of Cuttack. The temple is about 12 miles North-East from Cuttack. The inscription of 25 lines opens with *Om namah Śivāya* and verses in praise of the Ocean, the abode of Viṣṇu and the birthplace of the Moon, who adorns the crest of Mahādeva. It then traces the genealogy of the Ganga rulers from Codagaṅga to Anangabhīma.

<sup>1</sup> As no inscriptions with regnal years have been found for the next 3 rulers, it is difficult to find his last year. M. Chakravarti took his 11th year in Śaka 1028 as an *anka* year, and so fixed upon Śaka 1120 as his first year. By taking the reign-periods of the 3 successors of Rājarāja III as given in the Kendupatna plates as *anka* years and calculating backward from 1200-01 Śaka, the first year of Narasiṃha II, he finds Śaka 1133 just fits in with the 17th (*anka*) year, i.e., the 14th regnal year of Rājarāja III; *JASB*, 1903, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *TN*, Vol. I, p. 573. Orissa was known to Muslim historians under the name of Jājnagar. For the boundaries of Jājnagar, see *TN*, Vol. I, p. 587, fn. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 560, fn. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Also called king Bhīma, see *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Kendupatna plates, *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff., in the Purī plates the name is given as Guṇa or Sadguṇa-devī, *ibid*, XLIV, pp. 128 ff.

We are next told that this last king had a *Saciva* named *Viṣṇu* who united the empire of Trikalīṅga. He defeated a *Yavanāva-nī-vindu* (lines 14-15) and the *Tummāna-prthvīpati* (line 15) and trampled on the heads of the enemies of the *Utkala-pati*. The immediate object of the inscription is to record that this *Viṣṇu* erected a temple for the god *Śiva*.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Bhuvanesvar inscription*.—A Sanskrit inscription, dated in the 4th-year after *abhīṣeka*. This is No. 3 on the south jamb of the porch of the great temple at Bhuvanesvar.<sup>2</sup>

The Kendupatna plates assign him a reign of 34 years.<sup>3</sup> According to the *Mādlā-Pāñji*, he was one of the most powerful princes of the family. We are told by this chronicle that he built or finished the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, surveyed the whole kingdom and made numerous grants. Excepting his liberality, which seems to be supported by the Kendupatna plates, none of these statements are corroborated by epigraphic evidence. It is however likely that the great temple of Jagannātha and the buildings connected with the shrine may have been actually finished during his reign. As to his military achievements, the Cāteśvara inscription shows that he waged successful wars against his Kalacuri neighbours of Chhattisgarh. It was probably after his victory over the rulers of Tummāna that he gave his sister Candrikā in marriage to the Haihaya king Paramardī.<sup>4</sup> The reference in the same inscription to his fight with a Yavana ruler is obscure. But the authenticity of the struggle is established by the Bhuvanesvar inscription of Narasimha II, which also refers to Anaṅgabhīma's victory

<sup>1</sup> Edited by N. Vasu, *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 317-27. First noticed in the *Viśvakoṣa*, Vol. VI, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> This, together with some other minor records, is noticed by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1908, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Calculating as indicated in fn 1, p. 477 above, M. Chakravarti has fixed upon his reign-period as *Śaka* 1183-60, which gives him 28 years = 34 *aṅka* years; see *JASB*, 1903, p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 152, V. 7. *Haihayā-vaṃśa-vataṃśaḥ Paramardī*. Paramardī died fighting for Nṛsiṃha II, see *ibid.*, p. 151 and V. 29.

over a Ja(Ya)vana enemy.<sup>1</sup> It probably contains a hint of his conflict with the Khalj Ghiyāth ud-Dīn 'Iwaz, the fourth Bengal ruler. We are told by the *Ṭabaqat-i-Nāsiri* that "the parts around the state Lakhanavati, such as Jāj-nagar, the countries of Bang, Kāmṛud, and Tīrhut, all sent tribute to him."<sup>2</sup> It is possible that this invasion took place after the accession of 'Iwaz, c 608 A. H., and before the invasion of Bengal by Iltutmish in 622 A. H., i. e., between 1211 and 1224 A. D.<sup>3</sup>

Anaṅgabhīma III was succeeded by Narasimha I,<sup>4</sup> his son by his queen Kastūrā-devī. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription*.—It is incised 'on the 14th pillar in the *Tirucuttamandapa*, east, north, west, and south faces.' It records the gift of some land by a feudatory of Pratāp-vīra-Narasimha-deva, son of Gaṅga Anangabhīma in Śaka 1172. The language is Sanskrit, the alphabet Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

(2) *Bhuvanesvar stone-inscription*.—It was discovered while digging the foundation of a monastery near the Gauri-Kedar temple at Bhuvanesvar in Orissa. It is incised on a stone, on the top of which is figured 'a beautiful image of Gaṇeśa.' It is bilingual inscription in 'Bengali' and Tamil characters, the one being a translation of the other. The 'Bengali' portion contains 30 lines and the Tamil portion 29. The language of the 'Bengali' portion of the inscription is Oriya. The inscription seems to record the gift of some land by Vīra-Narasimha to Taparaja Mahāmuni, the head of the Siddheśvara-mattha on 'Sunday, the 7th lunar mansion of the Black fortnight in the month of Kārika in the 11th year of the donor.'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151, V. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 587-88; *JASB*, 1903, pp. 119-20.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1903, pp. 119-20.

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes written Nṛsimha. He was also known as Vīra-Narasimha and Pratāp-Vīra-Narasimha.

<sup>5</sup> *MER*, p. 20, No. 307.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by Ganapati Sirkar *JASB*, 1924, pp. 41-45. According to the editor the date corresponds to 1268 A. D.

The Kendupatna plates assign him a reign of 33 years.<sup>1</sup> They give him credit for having reached the Ganges after having defeated the Yavanas of Rādhā and Varendrī.<sup>2</sup> This is supported by the following extracts from the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* :

“In the year 641 H., the Rāe of Jāj-nagar commenced molesting the Lakhanavati territory; and in the month of Shawāl 641 H., Malik Tughril Tughān Khān marched towards the Jāj-nagar country, and this servant of the state accompanied him on that holy expedition. On reaching Katāsīn,<sup>3</sup> which was the boundary of Jāj-nagar (on the side of Lakhanavati) on Saturday, the 6th of the month of Zī-Qa’dah, 641 H., Malik Tughril-i-Tughān made his troops mount, and an engagement commenced. The holy warriors of Islam passed over two ditches and the Hindu infidels took to flight. So far as they continued in the author’s sight, except the fodder which was before their elephants, nothing fell into the hands of the footmen of the army of Islam. When the engagement had been kept up until mid-day, the footmen of the Musalmān army,—every one of them returned (to the camp) to eat their food and the Hindus in another direction, stole through the cane *jāngal*, and took five elephants, and about 200 foot and 50 horsemen came upon the rear of a portion of the Musalmān army. The Muhammadans sustained an overthrow, and a great number of those holy warriors attained martyrdom; and Malik Tughril Tughān Khān retired from that place having effected his object and returned to Lakhanavati.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“In the same year likewise (642 H.), the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, in order to avenge the plundering of Katāsīn, which had taken the preceding year, as has been already recorded, having turned

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. M. Chakravarti's calculations this reign-period is equal to 24 regnal years. He has estimated the reign-period of this king as *Saka* 1160-86, by counting back from 1200-01 *Saka*, the first year of Nṛsiṃha II, *JASB*, 1903, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff., V. 84.

<sup>3</sup> More correctly Katāsīnghah, on the left or northern bank of Mahanadi, in about Lat. 20°32', Long 84°50'; see Raverty, *TN*, Vol. I, p. 588 fn.

his face towards the Lakhanavatī territory, on Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawāl, 642 H. the army of the infidels of Jāj-nagar, consisting of elephants, and *pāyiks* (footmen) in great numbers, arrived opposite Lakhanavatī. Malik Ṭuḡhrīl-i-Ṭuḡhān Khān came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of the Jāj-nagar territory, first took Lakhan-or; and Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Karīm ud-Dīn, Lāghrī, who was the feudatory of Lakhan-or, with a body of Musalmāns, they made martyrs of and, after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhanavatī. The second day after that, swift messengers arrived from above (the Do-ābah and Awadh, etc.) and gave information respecting the army of Islām that it was near at hand. Panic now took possession of the infidels, and they decamped.”<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \*

“ After he (Malik Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Ṭuḡhrīl Khān) went to that part of the territory (Lakhanavatī) hostility arose between him and the Rāe of Jāj-nagar. The leader of the forces of Jāj-nagar was a person, by name, Sāban-tar (Sāwan-tara?),<sup>2</sup> the son-in-law of the Rāe, who, during the time of Malik ‘Izzud-Dīn, Ṭuḡhrīl-i-Ṭuḡhān Khān, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhanavatī, and having shown the greatest audacity, had driven the Musalmān forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhanavatī. In Malik Ṭuḡhrīl Khān-i-Yūz-Bak’s time, judging from the past, he (the Jāj-nagar leader) manifested great boldness, and fought, and was defeated. Again another time, Malik Ṭuḡhrīl Khān-i-Yūz-Bak fought an engagement with the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, and again came out victorious.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> TN, Vol. I, pp. 738-40.

<sup>2</sup> Śaṃanta Rāya; see TN, Vol. II, 763, fn. 10; also JASB, 1903, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> TN, Vol. II, pp. 762-63. Narasiṃha’s conflicts with the Muslims (*Hammīra*, *Yavana*, *Saka*) are also referred to in the *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara, a treatise on *Alaṅkāra*, which was composed in his reign; see JASB, 1903, p. 124. See also *Ekāvalī*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, Ed. by K. P. Trivedi, *Introduction*, pp. xxxiii-xxxvii; text, pp. 202, 257, 226, etc.



The above quotations bear eloquent testimony to the military success of Narasimha against the Muslim rulers of Bengal. The Kendupatna plates reveal the interesting fact that his queen Sītādevī was the daughter of the Paramāra king of Mālava.<sup>1</sup> But the achievement which has immortalised his name was neither his victory over the Muslims nor his matrimonial alliance with the Mālava king, but his construction of the great Black Pagoda at Konārak.<sup>2</sup> All the copper-plates of his successors agree in ascribing to him the erection of the Sun-temple at Konā-kona,<sup>3</sup> which place subsequently came to be known as Konārka or Konārak.

Narasimha I was succeeded by Bhānudeva I or Vira-Bhānudeva, his son by the queen Sītādevī. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Srikurman stone-inscription (i)* —Incised on the 42nd pillar in the *Tirucuttumandapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurman. It records a gift of some land by a minister of Bhānudeva in *Śaka* 1193. Language, Sanskrit.<sup>4</sup>

(2) *Srikurman stone-inscription (ii)*.—Incised on the 44th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp by a minister of Vira-Bhānudeva in *Śaka* 1197. Language, Sanskrit.<sup>5</sup>

The Kendupatna plates assign him a reign of 18 years.<sup>6</sup> The only interesting information about his reign is the statement of the Bhuvanesvar inscription which will be next described,

<sup>1</sup> The name was wrongly read by the editor as Mālācandra, but see Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, p. 53, No. 367. This king of Mālava, was probably one of the following Devapāla (c. 1218-36 A. D.), Jastugi (c. 1239-48 A. D.), Jayavarman II (c. A. D. 1256-60), or Jayasimha III (c. 1269 A. D.).

<sup>2</sup> *AO*, Vol. II, pp. 145-63.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff., Vs. 85-86.

<sup>4</sup> *MER*, p. 22, No. 351.

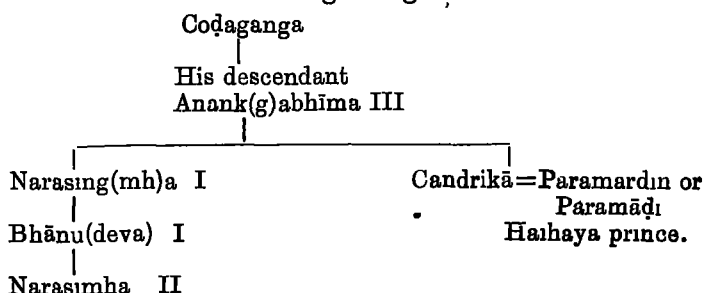
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, No. 353.

<sup>6</sup> According to Mr. M. Chakravarti these are *aṅka* years and equal to 15 regnal years. Calculating backward from *Śaka* 1200-01, the initial year of his successor, he fixed upon *Śaka* 1186 to 1200 as the period of Bhānudeva, see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 124-25.

that his father's sister Candrikā<sup>1</sup> constructed at Ekāmra (mod. Bhuvanesvar) in the Utkala-*Viṣaya*, a temple of Viṣṇu "when there had elapsed from the (epoch of the) Śaka king, years measured by the dimensions " sky (0), sky (0), snake-king's tongues (३), moon (1) [*i.e.*, 1200], when Narasimha-deva's son king Bhānu had long been reigning over this land."<sup>2</sup>

Bhānudeva was succeeded by Narasimha II,<sup>9</sup> his son by the Cālukya queen Jākalla-devī. The following records are known for his reign :—

(1) *Bhuvanesvar stone-inscription*.—This has for many years ‘been standing in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.’ Nothing definitely is known as to its provenance; but its contents show that it was brought from Bhuvanesvar in Orissa. It contains 17 lines incised on a slab of stone. It is ‘imperfect, containing only the first block of the record.’ The record opens with a verse in praise of Sambhu (Śiva) and then introduces the names of the following Ganga rulers :



<sup>1</sup> Described as *Gitañā-laya-tāla-narttana-ka'ā-kausalya-līl-ālayā*; *EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 158. V 19

<sup>2</sup> Dr Barnett took the date to be 1100. But 'snakes being *dvayhva*,' Sten Konow took *phanundra-rasanā* to mean '2.' As the inscription distinctly says that the temple was constructed when Bhānu 'had long been reigning over this land,' it is certain that the event fell in the last years of Bhānu-deva. According to M. Chakravarti's calculation, the first year of Narasimha II was 1200-01 Śaka. It seems therefore certain that the temple was constructed in the last year of Bhānu, and the inscription was written and the temple dedicated in the beginning of the reign of Narasimha II. See *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150-52, V. 16: *ibid.* fn. 1. on p. 151 and *JASB*, 1908, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes written Nraṣimha. He was also known as Anantavarman-Pratāpa-vīra-Naraṣimha, Vīra-Narasimha, Vīra-Narasimha rāuta and Anantavarman Pratāpa vīra-Naraṣimha.

Paramardī, we are told, 'fell in battle against the enemies of Nṛsiṃhadeva' (Narasimha II),<sup>1</sup> The proper object of the inscription is to record that Candrika, as mentioned above, built a Vaiṣṇava temple at Ekāmra in Utkala-Viṣaya in Śaka 1200, in the reign of Bhānu I. She appears to have visited the temple and offered worship to Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa, and Subhadrā early in the reign of Narasimha II.<sup>2</sup> The dedicatory inscription was written by the poet Umāpati.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i)*.—Incised on the 44th pillar in the *Tirucuttumandapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam. It records the gift of some land by a military officer in Ś. 1201, in the 31d year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasimha. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>4</sup>

(3) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ii)*.—Incised on a slab to the right of the north gate of the same temple as No. 2. It is dated in the 7th year of Vīra-Narasimha, in Ś 1204. The record is damaged. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

(4) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iii)*.—Incised on the 10th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of a lamp in the 14th year of Vīra-Narasimha, in Ś. 1211. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>6</sup>

(5) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iv)* —Incised on the 1st pillar from the left in the same *mandapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of some gold by a minister in the 14th year of Vīra-Narasimha, in Ś. 1212. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have accepted Dr. Barnett's suggestion that this prince (V 20) is probably Narasimha II. The date fits in well with the identification; see *EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 151

<sup>2</sup> This is only an inference from the introductory part. The record suddenly breaks off after verse 23.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150-155.

<sup>4</sup> *MER*, p. 22, No. 356.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 23, No. 375.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19, No. 297.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 18, No. 272

(6) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (v)*.—Incised on the 32nd pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 2. It mentions Cikatī, and records the gift of a lamp in the 15th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasimha. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>1</sup>

(7) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (vi)*.—Incised on the 12th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of a lamp in the 17th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasimha, in Ś. 1214. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

(8) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (vii)* — Incised on the 48th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of a lamp by an inhabitant of Nagara<sup>3</sup> in the 18th year of Vīra-Narasimha, in Ś. 1215. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>4</sup>

(9) *Kendupatna grant* — This was found in a stone box 19 or 20 ft under the earth, buried in a heap of broken stones, in the village of Kendupatna, in the Kendrapada subdivision of Cuttack district. It contains 209 lines, incised on 7 plates. The ring which holds the plates has the usual seal of the Gangas with the figure of a bull. In the introductory portion it traces their genealogy from Viṣṇu through the Moon and Gāṅgeya to Narasimha II. It records a grant of 50 *Vāṭikas* of land to Kumāra Mahāpātra Bhīmadeva Sarman by king Vīra-Narasimha in his 21st *anka* year in Śaka 1217 (A.D. 1296) (for 1218),<sup>5</sup> when he was on a conquering expedition on the banks of the Ganges.<sup>6</sup>

(10) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (viii)* — Incised on the 23rd pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of some gold and cows by the minister Garuḍa-nārāyana-deva in

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21, No. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20, No. 304.

<sup>3</sup> No doubt *Kalinga-Nagara*, reasonably identified with Mukhalngam.

<sup>4</sup> *MER*, p. 22, No. 363.

<sup>5</sup> See Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 53, No. 367.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by N. Vasu in *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229-71. Two other Kendupatna grants of the same king dated in Ś. 1217 and 1218 have been noticed by the editor in the *Viśva-koṣa*, Vol. V, pp. 321 ff., under the article *Gāṅgeya*.

the 23rd year of Vīra-Narasimha, in Ś. 1219. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.<sup>1</sup>

(11) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ix)*.—Incised on the 47th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of some land in the 33rd year<sup>2</sup> of Vīra-Narasimha. Language and alphabet, Telugu<sup>3</sup>

(12) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (x)* —Incised on the same pillar as No. 6. It records the gift of some land in the 33rd year of Anantavarman-Pratāpā-vīra-Narasimha in Ś. 1227. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>4</sup>

(13) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (xi)*.—Incised on the 9th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of two *cāmaras* in the 34th year of Vīra-Narasimha. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Puri plates of Narasimha IV, Narasimha II reigned for 34 years.<sup>6</sup> Nothing important is known about the political incidents of his reign. He was succeeded by Bhānudeva II,<sup>7</sup> his son by the queen Coḍadevī. The following two inscriptions are known for his reign.

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i)*.—Incised on the 29th pillar in the *Tirucuttumandapa* of the temple of Kūrmeśvara at Srikurmam. It contains 49 lines of Sanskrit prose in Telugu script. It records some gifts by the (Eastern) Cālukya

<sup>1</sup> *MER*, p. 21, No. 323.

<sup>2</sup> According to M. Chakravarti, *anka* year; see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 125 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *MER*, p. 22, No. 362.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19, No. 273.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 293. Inscription No. 291 records that in Śaka 1215 Naraharītirtha, a pupil of Anandatīrtha, set up images of Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa. This person is also mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 290, 367, and 369, dated in Śaka, 1186, 1203, and 1215. These records have been edited by Krishna Sastri, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 280 ff. This Narasimha was an officer of the Gangas in Kalinga before he became a monk. His guru, Anandatīrtha, was the famous founder of the *dvaita* school of philosophy; see *JASB*, 1903, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> M. Chakravarti takes these as *anka* years and equal to 28 regnal years. By calculating backward from the date of the Puri grant, he assigns him to the period between Śaka 1200-01 and 1227-28, See *JASB*, 1903, p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> With the titles of Vīra and Virādhivīra.

Jagannātha, or Viśvanātha in his 3rd year, in the reign of (his overlord) Vira-Bānudeva [*sic*!] dated in Śaka 1231.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (1)*.—Incised on the 11th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp by a military officer of Virādhivīra-Bānudeva [*sic*!] in Śaka 1243. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

The Puri plates assign him a reign of 24 years.<sup>3</sup> The same inscription describes a war between him and a Muslim prince named Gayāsadīna, who has been identified with Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq. The following account from Zīyā ud-Dīn Baranī seems to corroborate the statement of the inscription :

“ The prince (Ulugh Khān) then marched towards Jāj-nagar, and there took forty elephants with which he returned to Tilang. These he sent on to his father. ’ ”

Baranī tells us that this expedition took place shortly after the capture of Arangal in 1323 A D.<sup>4</sup> The omission of Jājnagar from the list of countries under Muhammad Tughluq given by Baranī shows that the Muslims did not succeed in making any permanent impression on the territory of the Gangas. Inscription No. 1 mentioned above shows that the descendants of the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi were feudatories of Bhānudeva II.

Bhānudeva II was succeeded by Narasiṃha III,<sup>5</sup> his son by the queen Laksmī-devī. The following records are known for his reign :

<sup>1</sup> *MER*, p 21, No 332 Edited by Hultzsch, *ET*, Vol V, pp. 35-36

<sup>2</sup> *MER*, p 20, No 302, for details see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 130-31 B. C Mazumdar in *OM*, pp 201 ff, gives a short account of a new grant of Bhānudeva dated in Śaka 1234 (A D. 1312) It is incised on 6 plates and is going to be edited by N. Bose and V. Misra

<sup>3</sup> M Chakravartī takes the last year of Narasiṃha II (Śaka 1227-28) as his first year and the first year of his successor Narasiṃha III (Śaka 1249-50) as his last year; see *JASB*, 1903, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 234.

<sup>5</sup> *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 131-32.

<sup>6</sup> Sometimes written Nraṣiṃha. He is given the titles Pratāpa-virādhivīra, Pratāpa-vīra and Virādhivīra.

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i)*.—Incised on the 33rd pillar in the *Tirucuttumandapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam. It records a gift of some gold for offerings in the 7th year of Pratāpa-vīrādhivīra-Narasimha. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ii)*.—It is incised on the 27th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp and gold in the 4th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasimha in Ś. 1252. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Hindi.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iii)*.—This Telugu inscription is incised on the 19th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp in the 7th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasimha.<sup>3</sup>

(4) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iv)*.—Incised on the 39th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 1. It records the 'gift of an image holding a lamp by Kommi-devī for the benefit of her daughter, Sītādevī, and a gift of gold by Gangamahādevī.' Language, Sanskrit.<sup>4</sup>

(5) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (v)*.—Incised on the 11th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 1. It records a gift of gold in the 18th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasimha, in Ś. 1263. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

(6) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (vi)*.—Incised on the 14th pillar in the same *mandapa* as above. It records the 'gift of an image carrying a lamp and of ornaments by Gaṅgamahādevī for the merit of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasimhadeva in Śaka 1265. Language and alphabet as in No. 5.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *MER*, p. 21, No. 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, No. 331.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20, No. 314.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 22, No. 345.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20, No. 300.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, No. 308.

(7) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (vii)*.—Incised on the 46th pillar in the same *mandapa*. It mentions Cikaṭī and records the gift of some land in the 22nd year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasimha in Ś. 1267. Language and alphabet Telugu.<sup>1</sup>

(8) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (viii)*.—Incised as No. 4. It records that Gaṅgamahādevī, queen of Narasimha, provided for the blowing of a conch in Ś. 1267. Language Sanskrit.<sup>2</sup>

(9) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ix)*.—Incised on the 21st pillar in the same *mandapa*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 23rd year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasimha in Ś. 1267. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>3</sup>

(10) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (x)*.—Incised on the 14th pillar in the same *mandapa*. It records the 'gift of ornaments, etc., by Gaṅgambā, the wife of king Nṛsimha in Śaka 1271.' Language and alphabet as in No. 5.<sup>4</sup>

(11) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (xi)*.—Inscribed as No. 10. It records some gifts for offerings by Kommi-devamma in the 28th year of Vīrādivīra-Narasimha in Ś. 1271. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

(12) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (xii)*.—Inscribed on the 39th pillar in the same *mandapa*. It 'records that Gaṅgādevī and Sītādevī appointed one dancing-master and two dancing-girls.' Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>6</sup>

(13) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (xiii)*.—Inscribed on the 45th pillar in the same *mandapa*. It records the gift of a lamp by a merchant in the 29th year of Vīrādivīra-Narasimha in Ś. 1272. Language and alphabet, as in No. 5.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p. 22, No. 358

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 22, No. 344.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20, No. 319.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, No. 309. Hultzsch read the date as 12(4)4; but see *JASB*, 1908, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> *MER*, p. 20, No. 310.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21, No. 348.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 22, No. 355.



According to the Puri plates Narasimhā III ruled for 24 years.<sup>1</sup> Nothing definite is known about the political incidents of this reign. He appears to have had at least 3 queens. The inscriptions mentioned above give us the following names : (i) Gangā-devī, Gangāmbā, or Gangāmbikā. (ii) Kommi-devī or Kommi-devamma of inscriptions Nos. 4 and 11, possibly another queen. The Puri plates name as 3rd queen (iii) Kāmala-devī, the mother of his successor Bhānudeva III.<sup>2</sup>

Only three inscriptions of Bhānudeva III have so far been discovered :

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i)*.—Incised on the 19th pillar in the same *mandapa* as above. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of Pratāpa-vīra-Bānudeva *sic*[ ! ] in Ś. 1276. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ii)*.—Incised on the 24th pillar in the same *mandapa*. It ' records that the king gave images of Vīra-Narasimhadeva and of Gangāmbikā, which were holding lamps, and some land, in Eṛada-Viṣaya,' in the 3rd year of Vīra-Bhānudeva, in Ś. 1275. Language, Sanskrit.<sup>4</sup>

(3) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iii)*.—Incised on the 33rd pillar in the same *mandapa*. It records the gift of a lamp by an inhabitant of Koḍūru, in the 3rd year of Vīra-Bānudeva [*sic* !] in Ś. 1275. Language and alphabet, Telugu.<sup>5</sup>

The Puri plates assign to Bhānudeva III a reign of 26 years.<sup>6</sup> Several foreign invasions seem to have taken place during his reign. In c. 1353 A.D., Shams ud-Dīn Ilyās Shāh,

<sup>1</sup> This does not agree with the inscriptions mentioned above, which give him 28 years. M. Chakravarti, following his usual arguments, places him between Śaka 1249-50 and 1274-75; see *JASB*, 1903, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> With the titles of Vīra and Pratāpa-vīra.

<sup>3</sup> *MER.* p. 20, No. 815.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21, No. 824. Hultzsch read the date as 1254; but see *JASB*, 1903, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> *MER.* p. 21, No. 836.

<sup>6</sup> According to M. Chakravarti's calculations, his inscriptions give us Śaka 1274-75 as his first year. From the inscriptions of his successors he fixed upon 1300-01 as his last year. See *JASB*, 1903, pp. 134 ff.

the Sultān of Bengal, is reported to have invaded Jāj-nagar and there to have taken many elephants and much plunder.<sup>1</sup> The chronicle of the Portuguese writer Fernao Nuniz (c. 1535-37 A.D.) records a tradition that Bukka I of Vijayanagara (c. 1343-79 A.D.) 'took the kingdom of Orya, which is very great.'<sup>2</sup> But the most important invasion during Bhānudeva's reign was that undertaken by the Delhi Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, c. 1360 A.D.<sup>3</sup> The following interesting account of Jājnagar and this expedition is supplied by the *Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj.

"The Sultān left his baggage at Karra and proceeding from thence he hastened to Jājnagar which place he reached by making successive marches through Bihār. The country of Jājnagar was very prosperous and happy. The author's father who was in the royal suite, informed the writer that it was in a very flourishing state, and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all the wants of the army and animals, so that they recovered from the hardship of the campaign. Sultān Fīrūz rested at Banārasī,<sup>4</sup> an ancient residence of the arrogant Rāis. At that time the Rāi of Jājnagar by name Adāya,<sup>5</sup> had deemed it expedient to

<sup>1</sup> *CHI*, Vol III, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara)*, London, 1900, pp. 29, 291 and 300.

<sup>3</sup> The Muslim historian gives the date of the expedition as 760-62 H. See *TN*, Vol. I, pp 591-92, fn 4.

<sup>4</sup> This is probably the same as the *Vārānasī-kataka* or *Vārānāsī-kataka* of the Purī grants. See *JASB*, 1895, p 149, plate VI, obverse, lines 11-12, p. 151, plate VI, obverse, line 4. Some have identified it with the present Cuttack. Both Budā'ūnī and Firishta say that Fīrūz crossed the river Mahanadī (مہندری - مندري) before he reached this city. According to Firishta (see Briggs' Translation, Vol I, 452) (Banārasī بنارسى) and Budā'ūnī (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1868, Vol. I, p. 247: بارانسی) Benares was the capital of the Prince of Jājnagar, but the *TN*, in the first half of the 13th century, gives the name of the capital of 'Jāj-nagar' as Ūmurdan (امردن) or Armardan (ارمردن). See Vol II, p. 763; Vol I, p. 588 fn. These may have been capitals of the Ganga kings in Orissa. Their chief capital was doubtless Kalīḡganagara (mod. Mukhalingam). Note the difference of spelling Banārasī and Bārānasī which is also known to Sanskrit records.

<sup>5</sup> The name is given in the Text (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1888, p. 164, as Ādisar, Udīsar, Adāya, or Uddāya (ادایه - ادیسر). There is no doubt that Bhānudeva III was the reigning king. I cannot suggest how this name can be connected with him.

quit Barānāsī,<sup>1</sup> and to take up his residence elsewhere, so Sultān Firūz occupied his place. The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Barānāsī each populated by a large number of people. The Rāīs were Brahmans, and it was held to be a religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of the Rāī at Jājnagar should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large.

“ The cowardly Rāī of Jājnagar, when he heard of the approach of the Sultān’s army, embarked on board a boat in great alarm, and took refuge in the water.<sup>2</sup> All his country was thrown into confusion—some of the inhabitants were made prisoners, others fled to the hills. Their horses (*burda*) and cattle became the spoil of the army. Those who accompanied the Sultān relate that the numbers of animals of every kind were so great that no one cared to take them. Two *pitals* was the price of a horse (*burda*); as for cattle, no one would buy them. Sheep were found in such countless numbers, that at every halt great numbers were slaughtered. If any were not required, they were left behind, because a plentiful supply was sure to be found at the next stage. The author has mentioned these matters to show the prosperity of the country. He has further been informed that the inhabitants had spacious houses and fine gardens, they had even gardens and walks within their houses, and fruit trees, flowers, etc., were cultivated therein.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ The Sultān left Banārasī with the intention of pursuing the Rāī of Jājnagar, who had fled to an island in the river, having let loose a fierce elephant to occupy the attention of his enemies and to divert them from pursuing them. For three days the army was actively engaged in endeavouring to take him

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 491, fn. 4.

<sup>2</sup> According to Firishṭa (Briggs’ Trans., Vol. I, p. 452) and Budā’unī, the Raja fled towards Talang or ‘Tulingana’ (Talingānah), i.e., Tehungana.

alive, but failed. By the Sultān's orders he was then slain, and the Sultān with his army entered the fort.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \*

“ After the hunt was over, the Sultān directed his attention to the Rāi of Jājnagar, and entering the palace where he dwelt he found many fine buildings. It is reported that inside the Rāi's fort there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagan-nāth, and to which they paid their devotions. Sultān Firūz in emulation of Maḥmūd Subuk-tigīn, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently had it placed in an ignominious position. The Sultān then resolved upon pursuing the Rāi into his island; but the Rāi sent some of his Brahman (pātar) to wait upon the Sultān. As Sultāns consult with their clear-sighted ministers, so do *rāis*, *rānas*, and *zamin-dars* take counsel with their *mahtas* on matters of war. In the country of Jājnagar the *mahtas* are called *pātars*, and the Rāi of Jājnagar had twenty *pātars*, otherwise called *mahtas*, under whose advice he conducted the affairs of his State. In great fear, the Rāi sent five of these *pātars* to wait on the Sultān, and make his submission, they represented, with much respect, that the Rāi had long been a dependant and subject of the Sultān, and they desired to ascertain the Sultān's intentions

“ When the Sultān had heard what they had to say, he replied that his intentions had been friendly. He had received certain information that elephants were as numerous as sheep in the *jāngal* round the Rāi's dwelling, and he had proceeded thither for the purpose of hunting. When he approached the Rāi fled in alarm, and took refuge in his islands. What was the cause of this flight? After explanations the Rāi sent twenty mighty elephants as an offering, and agreed to furnish certain elephants yearly in payment of revenue. The Sultān then sent robes and insignia by the *mahtas* to the Rāi, he granted robes to them also, and then returned home. After this the Sultān started on his

<sup>1</sup> Here follows an account of the Sultān's elephant hunt in a neighbouring *jāngal*.

return, taking with him, from the two countries of Lakhnautī and Jājnagar seventy-three elephants, having stayed two years and seven months in those territories.”<sup>1</sup>

One of the factors that helped to save Orissa from spoliation in the hands of the Turks for such a long time is brought out by the account of the retreat of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh. We are told by Shams-i-Sirāj that on his way home the Sultān lost his way and that for six months “the army ascended mountain after mountain, and passed through *jāngals* and hills until they were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the march. No road was to be found, nor any grain. Provisions became very scarce, and the army was reduced to the verge of destruction.”<sup>2</sup>

The account of Jājnagar quoted above bears testimony to the wealth and prosperity of Orissa under the reign of Bhānudeva III. In spite of the claims of the Muslim historian, the invasion of Fīrūz does not seem to have been anything but a plundering raid. There is at least no foundation for the statement that the Jājnagar Rājā ‘had long been a dependant and subject of the Sultān.’ The fact that the Sultān was satisfied with only 20 elephants after his costly expedition may be accepted as an indication of his failure to achieve any permanent success. As the Sultān represented it, it was intended and it probably ended merely in an elephant-hunt.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol. III, pp 312-15 The *CHI*, Vol III, p. 178 says that the king of Jājñagar ‘took ship for port in the coast of Telingāna’ and that Fīrūz reached Purī, occupied the Raja’s palace and sent the great idol to Delhi. These statements are not supported by Shams-i-Sirāj. Firīšta and Budā’ūnī however state that the Raja fled towards Telingānah. But these are very late. The idol of Jagannātha may have belonged to the private chapel of king’s palace at Banārasi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p 315; see on this point my ‘Notes on War,’ *JL*, Vol. XIV, 1927, pp. 15-16. Apparently the Sultān on his return journey tried a shorter route following the Mahanadi valley. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that he proceeded ‘along the banks of a river like the Jihūn.’ Elliot, Vol III, p 315. According to Firīsta, Fīrūz “on his way was met by the Raja of Beerbhoom, who presented him with 37 elephants and other valuable presents in consideration of his not ravaging his territories”—Briggs’ Trans., Vol I, p. 452.

Bhānudeva III was succeeded by Narasimha IV<sup>1</sup> his son by the queen Hīrā-devī, of the Cālukya family. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i)*.—Incised on the 26th pillar in the *Tirucuttūmandapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of Vīra-Narasimha in S. 1301. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ii)*.—Incised on the 27th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa*. It records the gift of an image holding a lamp in the 4th year of Vīra-Narasimha in S. 1302. Language and alphabet as in No. 1.<sup>3</sup>

(3) *Puri grant (i)*.—This was found 'in the *Math* Tirmāli opposite to the northern gate of the temple of Jagannāth' at Puri. The record is incised on 7 plates. 'With the exception of the first and last plates the other plates are covered with writing on both sides and contain 24 lines on each side.' They have ring-holes in the middle of the left side, but the ring is 'not forthcoming.' The grant opens with *Om namaḥ Śivāya*. In its introductory portion the genealogy of the Gaugas is traced from Viṣṇu, as in No. 9 of Narasimhadeva II. Only the names from Bhānudeva II to Narasimhadeva IV are new in this document. It records the grant by the last prince of the village of Kimnari-grāma<sup>4</sup> in the Uttara-*Khaṇḍa* Kalabho, worth 900 *mādhās* of gold, to *Mahāpātra* Naraharidāsa. The grant is dated in the 8th *anka* year of the donor, in *Saka*

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes written Nrsimha; both the forms are found in the same grant; *JASB*, 1896, p. 147, line 12 from the bottom, line 4 from the bottom on p. 148 and line 9 on p. 149 from the top. He also bore the title of Vīra. In his grant he is called *Caturdāta-bhuvanādhipati*.

<sup>2</sup> *MER*, p. 21, No. 326.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, No. 329.

<sup>4</sup> Name changed into Vijaya-Narasimhapura at the time of the grant; *JASB*, 1896, p. 149, plate VI (obverse).

1305 (A.D. 1384) and issued from Vārānasi-kāṭaka. It was inscribed by Durgādāsa.<sup>1</sup>

(4) *Puri grant (ii)*.—This was found 'in the Maṭh Saṅkarānanda, about half a mile to the south of the Jagannāth temple, and close to the old palace of the Puri Rajas.' It was incised on 7 plates, but the 5th is missing. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No 3. It records the grant by the same donor of the village of Sāiso in the Odamolomadana-Khaṇḍa and Rādaso-o in the E-Viṣaya to the Ācārya Devaratha. It was issued from Vārānāsi-kāṭaka in the 22nd and 23rd *anka* years of the donor in Śaka 1316 (for 1317), i.e., A.D. 1395 and was inscribed by Gurudāsa Senāpati.<sup>2</sup>

(5) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iii)*.—Incised on the 11th pillar in the same *mandapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp by a merchant in the 18th year, Vīra-Narasimha in S. 1324 (A.D. 1403). Language and alphabet as in No. 1.<sup>3</sup>

(6) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iv)*.—Incised on the 3rd pillar in the same *mandapa* as above. This is in Telugu and according to M. Chakravarti is dated in S. 1346 (?)<sup>4</sup>

Nothing definite is known about the events of his reign from the inscriptions mentioned above. His inscriptions give dates ranging from Śaka 1301 to 1324 (c. A.D. 1379-1402). If the reading of the inscription No 6 is correct, his reign

<sup>1</sup> Edited by M. Chakravarti, *JASB*, 1895, Vol. LXIV, pp. 128 ff. He identified two villages named Bhākharsāhi and Mukulundā, which are mentioned by the grant in describing the boundaries of the villages granted, with two modern villages of the same name in the Puri district, *ibid*, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1895, Vol. LXIV, pp. 128 ff. He locates the boundary villages of the grant approximately at 85° 56' 45" long by 20° 10' 17" lat. on the left side of the river Bhārgavi and close to the P. W. D. Bungalow at Khirkhia. According to Kielhorn the date of the grant is irregular. He has shown that the various dates in the grant correspond to Christian dates as follows: *Anka* year 22, Śaka 1317 = A.D. 1395; *anka* year 23 = A.D. 1396, same year *Mina-Saṁkrānti* = A.D. 1397. See *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 54, No. 370.

<sup>3</sup> *MER*, p. 20, No. 299.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19, No. 279; *JASB*, 1903, p. 136. Hultzsch read the date as Śaka 1314. The inscription is damaged; it may have belonged to some successor of Narasimha IV.

may have extended up to about A.D. 1424. During this period there is evidence of a number of raids by Muslim rulers on Orissa. Sultān Fīrūz Bahmanī is said to have entered Jājnagar in A.H. 815 (A.D. 1412) and carried off a number of elephants.<sup>1</sup> The *Ā'in-i-Akhbarī* records a romantic account of an invasion of Jājnagar by Ḥusām ud-Dīn Hōshang, the second independent king of Malwa (c. 1405-35 A.D.). We are told that 'on one occasion cunningly disguised as a merchant, he set out for Jājnagar. The ruler of that country, accompanied by a small retinue, visited the caravan. Hōshang took him prisoner and hastened back. While journeying together, Hōshang told him that he had been induced to undertake this expedition in order to procure a supply of elephants and added that if his people attempted a rescue, the prince's life should pay the penalty. The prince therefore, sending for a number of valuable elephants, presented them to him and was set at liberty.'<sup>2</sup> Malik Sarwar, Khwāja Jahān, the first Shārqi king of Jaunpur (c. 1394-1399 A.D.), may have also invaded Jājnagar, for he is reported to have compelled both Lakshana-vatī and Jājnagar to pay him tribute.<sup>3</sup>

The period of about ten years (c. *Śaka* 1346-1356) that follows the reign of Narasimha IV is one of the darkest periods in the history of Orissa. No inscriptions have yet been discovered of any other member of his family. According to the *Mādā-Pāñji*, the last king of the Gaṅga family was Bhānudeva (IV?), surnamed *Akaṭā-Abaṭā*, or according to another version *Matta*. When he died, his minister Kapilendra also called (Kapileśvara) usurped the throne and founded the *Sūrya-vamśa*.<sup>4</sup> The inscriptions of Kapileśvara, the founder of the Solar dynasty, show that his reign commenced from *Śaka* 1356-57, or A.D. 1434-35. The history of Orissa from the foundation of the Solar dynasty till its conquest by the Muslims is comparatively well known. The five kings of this

<sup>1</sup> *TN*, Vol I, p. 592 fn.

<sup>2</sup> *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1903, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*



lineage ruled for more than a century (c. 1434-1542 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> They were then followed by the four kings of the Bhoi dynasty, who reigned for about 17 years (c. 1542-1559 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> The last Bhoi king was murdered by Mukundadeva Haricandra, a Telugu by birth.<sup>3</sup> It was during the reign of this Telugu ruler that Ilahābād Kālāpāhār, the general of Sulṭān Sulaymān Karrānī of Bengal, invaded the country. In the confusion that followed Mukundadeva was killed. The Muslims annexed Orissa about 1568 A.D.

- <sup>1</sup> *Solar Dynasty*
- (i) Kapilendra alias Kapileśvara Bhramaravara (c. 1434-1435 to 1469-70 A.D.)
  - (ii) Purusottama (c. 1469-70 to 1496-97 A.D.)
  - (iii) Pratāparudra (c. 1496-97 to 1539-40 A.D.)
  - (iv) Kālūādeva (c. 1539-40 to 1541-42 A.D.)
  - (v) Kakhāruādeva (c. 1541-42)

For their inscriptions, see *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 390-93; *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 355-56; *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 218-21; *JASB*, 1900, pp. 173 ff., *ibid.*, 1893, pp. 88-104; *MER*, Nos. 248, 274, 313, 317, 318, 346, 347, 365 and 366, Swell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, pp. 48 and 119; Hunter, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, Appendix VIII, p. 193.

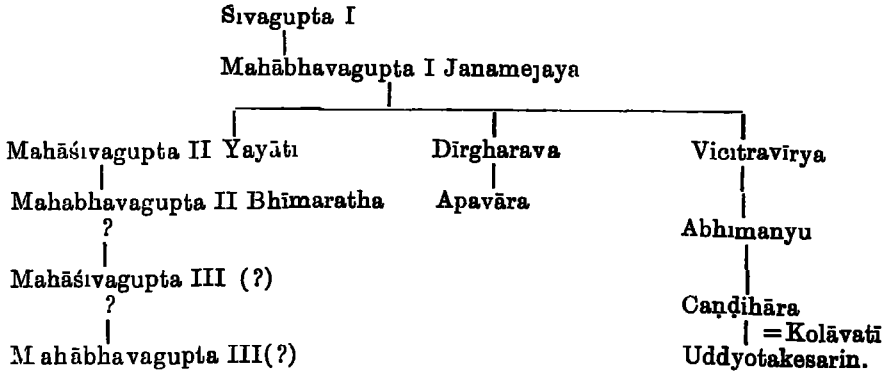
- <sup>2</sup> *Bhoi Dynasty*
- (i) Govindadeva ..minister of (iii) above. (c. 1541-42 to 1549 A.D. ?)
  - (ii) Cāka Pratāpadeva (c. 1549-1557 A.D. ?)
  - (iii) Narasimharāya Jenā (c. 1557 A.D. ?)
  - (iv) Raghurāma Jenā (c. 1557 to 1559-60 A.D. ?)

- <sup>3</sup> *Telugu Dynasty* : Mukundadeva Haricandra (c. 1559-68 A.D.)

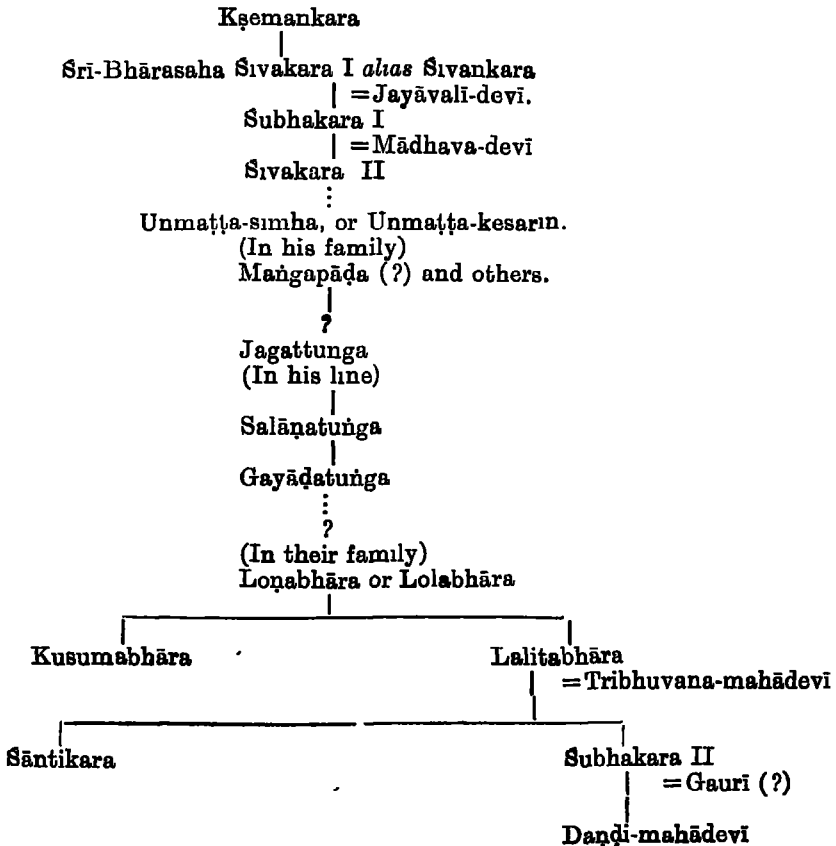
## LISTS OF KINGS AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

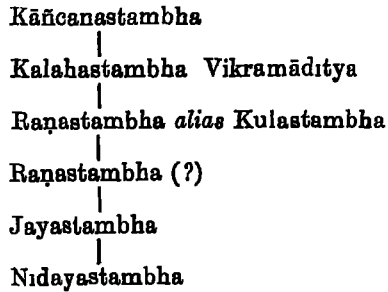
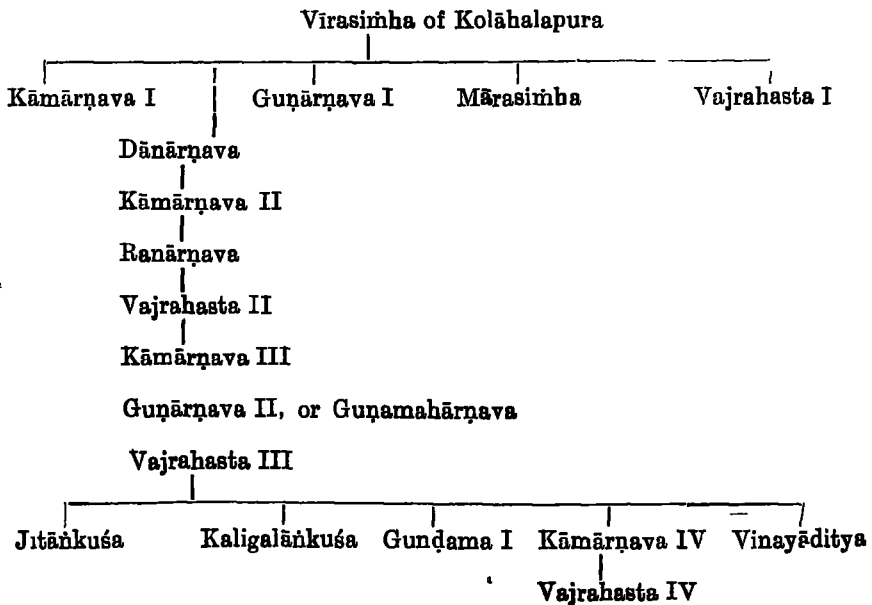
(Dates Approximate.)

## I The Somavamsis of Kosala (c. 950-1125 A.D.):

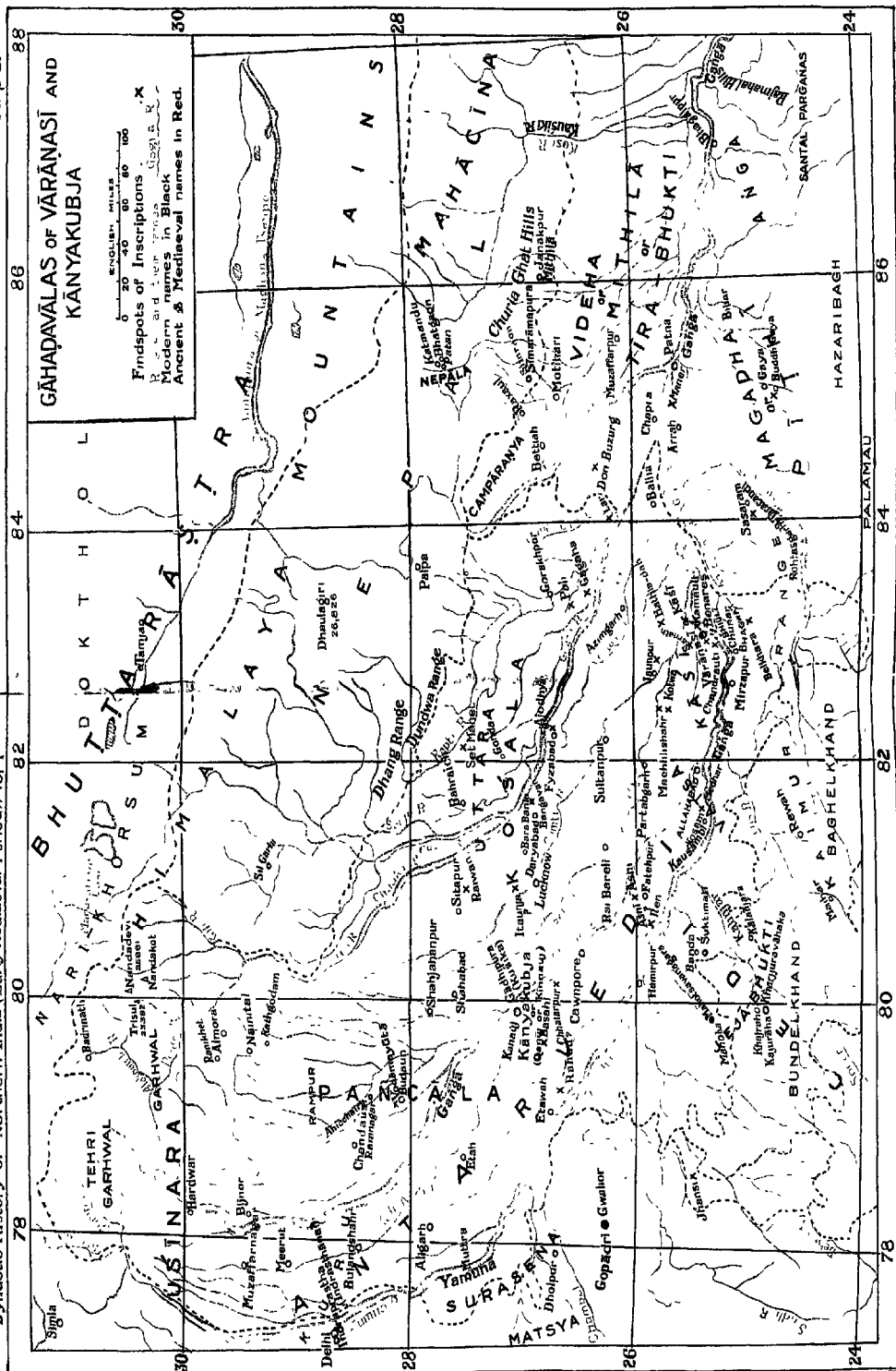


## II. The Karas of Tosali (c. 750-1050 A.D.):



III. *The Bhañjas* (c. 800-1400 A.D.):IV. *The Śūlkis* (c. 850-950 A.D.):V. *The Sailodbhāvas* (c. 600-925 A.D.):VI. *The Gaṅgas* (c. 650-1425 A.D.):







As this inscription is extremely fragmentary, it is at present impossible to say whether the princes named in it were themselves rulers of Kanauj or were feudatories of the rulers of that city. More definite information about the local rulers of Kanauj during this period is supplied by the Set Mahet stone-inscription of Vidyādhara dated in (V)<sup>1</sup> *Samvat* 1176 (A. D. 1119-20) and the Budaun stone-inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Lakhanapāla.<sup>2</sup> The former record refers itself to the time of king Madana, son of Gopāla, the lord of Gādhupura. It is quite likely that Gopāla and Madana are identical with the two princes of the same name in the Badaun inscription.<sup>3</sup> As Madana is the 6th king, and the 5th in lineal descent from Candra, the founder of this line, we can approximately assign the beginnings of the dynasty to the second half of the 11th century A. D. It is probable that, taking advantage of the confusion which prevailed in the Ganges-Jumna valley from the second decade of the 11th century onwards, this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family may have for some time become masters of the territory from Budaun to Kanauj. Whether however its princes at any time exercised the full rights of sovereign rulers, may be questioned. Though there is no definite evidence, yet it is hardly to be doubted that they had to bow before the victorious arms of Lakṣmī-Karna. The death of Lakṣmī-Karna in c. 1070 A. D., also did not grant them any long respite from foreign interference. For within two decades of the death of the Kalacuri prince a new imperial power arose in the Ganges-Jumna valley which by (V) *Samvat* 1148 (A. D. 1090) had already extended itself from Benares to Kanauj.<sup>4</sup> This was the dynasty which came to be known as the Gāhadavālas.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V = *Vikrama*. *JASB*, Vol. LXI, Part I, Extra No., pp. 57-64.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1925, Vol. XXI (N. S.), p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 302-05.

<sup>5</sup> In the Sarnath inscription of Kumāra-devī, the family is described as *Kṣatra-vamśa*; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 324, V 14. On this tribe, see *AR*, Vol. I, p. 139, Vol. II, pp. 930 ff.; also Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, N. W. P.

The origin of the Gāhadavālas, like that of many other dynasties of Northern India, is shrouded in mystery. The genealogical lists in their grants trace their pedigree to one Yaśovigraha, who is said to have come to this earth when the kings of the solar race had gone to heaven.<sup>1</sup> This statement may contain a hint that Yaśovigraha flourished after the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings, who traced their descent from the sun.<sup>2</sup> There is however nothing to indicate that Yaśovigraha was a royal personage. None of the numerous Gāhadavāla grants ever give him any royal titles. We are only told that he was 'a noble (personage) .(who) by his plentiful splendour (was) as it were the sun incarnate.'<sup>3</sup> The next person who is mentioned in the genealogical lists is Mahīcandra.<sup>4</sup> In some grants his name stands at the head of the pedigree with the additional information that he was born in the Gāhadavāla lineage.<sup>5</sup> We are told that he 'defeated the host of his enemies, and by entrusting to his arm the whole burden of the earth, Śeṣa enjoyed permanent comfort.' Though Mahīcandra also is not given any royal titles, the above passage probably indicates that he became a petty chief by dint of his military prowess. But the person who really founded the fortunes of the family was Candradeva,<sup>6</sup> the son of Mahīcandra. In most of the grants of the Gāhadavālas Candradeva is said to have acquired sovereignty over Kānyakubja<sup>7</sup> or Gādhipura 'by the prowess of his own arms' (*niya-bhujopār-*

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, line 1

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 150, fn 1. The Rahan grant of Govindacandra seem to indicate that the Gāhadavālas flourished when the two great regal families, sprung from the Moon and the Sun, had perished, *IA*, 1889, p. 15, line 2. The Lunar family may be the Tripurī Kalacuris see *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 11-12, lines 1-2

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 304, line 2; Vol. IV, p. 100, line 2; Vol. II, p. 361, line 2; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, line 2, etc. Also known as Mahiyala, Mahāla and Mahītala, see *EI*, Vol. II, p. 359, line 2; *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 103, line 2, Vol. XVIII, p. 15, line 2, according to R. L. Mitra also Mahāla, see *JASB*, 1873, p. 321.

<sup>5</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15; Vol. XIV, p. 103, etc

<sup>6</sup> Also known as Candraditya (*EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 194, line 14); sometimes simply as NarapatiCandra (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 324, V. 14)

<sup>7</sup> Sometimes also spelt Kanyakubja or Kanyākubja



*jita*). The Basahi plate of Govindacandra supplies us with some details about Candradeva's rise. It tells us that when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karna, the world became troubled, he 'came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kan'yākubja'.<sup>1</sup> It is generally accepted that the Karna of this passage is the great Kalacuri king Lasmī-Karṇa, who died sometime before 1072 A. D.<sup>2</sup> The earliest known date of Candradeva is V. S. 1148, corresponding to A. D. 1090.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore almost certain that he established himself as a sovereign ruler some time during the period 1072-1090 A. D. The claim that he made Kanauj his capital must however be accepted with some limitations. The Set Mahet inscription of Vidyādhara, dated in A. D. 1119-20, shows that the local rulers of Kanauj on that date and in the years immediately preceding it were not the Gāhaḍavālas but the Rāstrakūṭas Gopāla and Madana.<sup>4</sup> Gopāla is described in this record as *Gādhapurādhīpa*. The fact that Madana is not given this epithet may possibly indicate that he was no longer a sovereign ruler, but a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavālas.<sup>5</sup> But the fact remains that the local rulers of Kanauj from the time of Candradeva onwards were the Rāstrakūṭas. It is therefore likely that, though by reason of its importance Kanauj was regarded as one of the capitals of the Gāhaḍavālas, they habitually resided in some other city. I suggest that this city was Benares.<sup>6</sup> It is significant that a very large number of the Gāhaḍavālas' inscriptions have been discovered near Benares, and these record grants of land near that sacred city. In the Muslim

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, 1885, pp. 102-03, lines 2-5. Bhoja of this passage is taken by some to be the Paramāra Bhoja. But as the Rahau plate of Govindacandra says that the Gāhaḍavālas flourished after the destruction of the Lunar and the Solar royal families, it has been suggested that Bhoja may be the great Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler of that name. See Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15, also *IHQ*, March, 1929, pp. 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, my chapter on the Haihayas.

<sup>3</sup> V. S. = *Vikrama Samvat*. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 804.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1892, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *IHQ*, March, 1920, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> First suggested by V. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

chronicles the Gāhaḍavālas were known as kings of Benares.<sup>1</sup> Candella inscriptions also seem to refer to them as rulers of Kāśī.<sup>2</sup> Under the circumstances, the assumption of the title 'lord of Kānyakubja' may be explained by the fact that the halo of imperialism probably still lingered on the battered turrets of the forts of Kanauj. The person who acquired its sovereignty could therefore flatter himself with the belief that he was the overlord of Northern India. The area under the control of Candradeva is possibly indicated by the claim, uniformly made in many Gāhaḍavāla grants<sup>3</sup> that he protected the holy places (*tīrtha*) of Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttara-Kośala, and Indrasthāna.<sup>4</sup> If the suggestion of Hall, that Indrasthāna is to be identified with Indraprastha or old Delhi, be accepted, this would show that Candradeva became practically the ruler of nearly the whole area now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The expansion of the Gāhaḍavālas' power, at least in the eastern portion of U.P., must have been largely at the expense of the Kalacuris. I have suggested elsewhere that the Kalacuri contemporary of Candradeva was probably Yaśaḥ-Karna (*c.* 1073-1125 A.D.)<sup>5</sup> Candradeva's conflict with the Kalacuris may be indicated by the former's claim to have defeated Narapati, Gajapati, Triśankupati, Giripati, and Pañcāla rulers.<sup>6</sup> The first two titles figure among the epithets assumed by Yaśaḥ-Karna.

The following grants have so far been discovered for his reign:

(1) *Candravati grant* (i).—It 'was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 250 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, my chapter on the Candellas

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 304, line 5; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, lines 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., Benares, Kānyakubja, Ayodhyā, and probably Indraprastha (or ancient Delhi); see Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 13, fn. 33

<sup>5</sup> See *infra*, my chapter on the Haihayas

<sup>6</sup> *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 193, lines 11-12.

the fort at Candrāvati,<sup>1</sup> in the Benares district.' The inscription contains 23 lines, inscribed on one side of a single plate. The ring which passes through a hole in the upper part of the plate carries a circular seal with the figure in relief of a Garuḍa with the body of a man and the head of a bird and facing to the proper right. Across the centre of the seal is the legend : *Śrīvadac-(Śrīmac)-Candradevah*, and at the bottom there is a conch-shell. The grant opens with *Om svasti*, and then in the first verse invokes the goddess Śrī. Next follows the genealogy of the donor from Yaśovigraha. The inscription in its formal part, records the grant of the *Vadagavā-grāma*<sup>2</sup> in the *Vāvana-Pattalā* to the Brahman Varuneśvaya (ra?) Śarman by *Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-niṣa-bhujopāṇṇa-Śrī-Kānyakubjādhipatya-Śrī-Candradeva*. The donor before making the gift bathed in the neighbourhood of Sauri-Nārāyana after worshipping the Sun and Vāsudeva. The occasion of the grant was a lunar eclipse in (V) S 1148 (A D 1090).<sup>3</sup> The inscription was written by *Thakkura Mahanamda*<sup>4</sup>

(2) *Candravati grant (ii)*.—Found as No. 1, enclosed in a strong box of stone. The inscription contains 90 lines, inscribed on one side of 5 plates. The seal and the introductory portion of the grant are as in No. 1. It records the grant of the *Pattalā* of Kathehalī<sup>5</sup> 'with the exception of certain villages formerly given to temples, Brahmans, etc.'<sup>6</sup> to 500

<sup>1</sup> Now pronounced Chandrautī. It is a village on the Ganges in the *Pargana* of Katehr, some 14 miles from the district headquarters; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Chhote Lal identifies it with mod Baragaon, a village 14 miles N W. of Benares; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> On the date see *ibid.*, pp. 303-04.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 302-305. *Turuṣka-daṇḍa* occurs for the first time in this grant. We reserve all discussion on this word and other economic terms for the 3rd volume of the present work.

<sup>5</sup> It was bounded by the rivers Gomatī, Bhāgīrathī and Varāṇā. The *Pattalā* has been identified with mod Katehr, the largest pargana of Benares; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 193.

<sup>6</sup> For the list of these villages see lines 26-30.

Brahmans,<sup>1</sup> in (V) *Samvat* 1150 (A.D. 1093), by the same donor as in No. 1. He further granted the village of Sarisoda in the Brhadrhevamkānaī [*sic*!]-*Pattalā* for the residence of the donees. The grant was made by the donor after bathing at the Svargadvāra-tīrtha<sup>2</sup> at the confluence of the Sarayū and Ghargharā in Ayodhyā, also called Uttara-Kośala. The writer was Hṛdayadhara. The grant ends with the statement: "What should I speak of the king Candra, by the sound produced from whose copper-plate grants given to Brāhmanas and divinities at the time of being engraved with rows of closely written lines, the universe has become deafened."<sup>3</sup>

(3) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant*.—Find-spot unknown. The inscription contains 24 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. Seal as in No. 1. This inscription belongs to Madanapāla but records the grant of the village of Ahuāma in the Dhanesaramaua-*Pattalā* to the Brahman Vāmanasvāmi-Sarman by his father Candradeva in (V) S. 1154 (A.D. 1097). The grant was made by Candradeva 'after having bathed in the Ganges at the *ghāt* of the divine holy Trilocana at Benares.'<sup>4</sup>

(4) *Candriavati grant (vi)*—Found with No. 2. It contains 27 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. Seal as usual. It begins with the remark that 'this grant was made after a munificent gift of gold and other valuables equal to the king's weight (*tulā-purusa*) and a thousand cows before the image of the god Ādi-Keśava.' The introductory portion is as usual. The inscription records the grant of 30 villages in the Brhadrhevaratha [*sic*!]-*Pattalā* and two villages in the Kathahalī-*Pattalā* to the donees of No. 2 above. It also records the dedication of the village of Majauda, situated in

<sup>1</sup> For a list of the donees, their gotras and the localities mentioned in the plate with suggested identifications, see Sahni's chart. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 200-09. Most of the places were situated near Benares and Chandrauti.

<sup>2</sup> One of the *ghāts* of Ayodhya still bear this name; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by E. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 193-96.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 9-14.

the Varṁkānai-*Pattalā*, for the maintenance of the shrine of Candra-mādhava<sup>1</sup> at Candrāvati.<sup>2</sup> The grant is dated in (V) S. 1156 (A.D. 1100). The donor before making the grant bathed at the *ghāt* of Ādi-Keśava at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Varanā. It was engraved by Mādhava.<sup>3</sup>

Candradeva<sup>4</sup> was succeeded by his son Madanapāla,<sup>5</sup> some time before 1104 A.D. The following grants of his time are known.

(1) *Basahi grant*.—It was found in the village of Basahi two miles to the NE. of the headquarters town of the Bidhuna Tahsil (Etawah district, U.P.) > It contains 22 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. The circular seal has the usual figures and emblems. The inscription opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu under the names Vāsudeva and Dāmodara, and then gives the genealogy of the family from Mahāla to Madanapāla. His son was the *Rājaputra* Govindacandra. The inscription then records that *Mahārājaputra* Govindacandra after bathing in the river Yamunā at Āsatikā<sup>6</sup> and having worshipped the Sun, Śiva and Vāsudeva, in (V) *Samvat* 1161 (A. D. 1104), granted the village of Vasabhī<sup>7</sup> in the *Jīvatī-Pattalā* on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana Samkrānti* to the Brahman Ālheka. The charter was written by the *Pandita* Viṣṇuadāsa, with the permission of

<sup>1</sup> A Svetāmbara Jain temple in Candrāvati is still known to the local inhabitants as Candramādho; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Probably founded and named after himself by Candradeva. See *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by D. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 197-200.

<sup>4</sup> On the alleged friendship of Candradeva and the Pāla prince Madanapāla and the former's assistance to the latter against the Sena king Viṣṇayasena (*Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd ed., pp. 312-13), see R. G. Basak, *IHQ*, March 1929, pp. 45-47.

<sup>5</sup> Also known as Madanadeva (*IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 12, line 23) and Madanacandra (*EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 324, V. 14).

<sup>6</sup> Or Āsatikā, not yet identified.

<sup>7</sup> Identified with mod. Basahi, the find-spot of the grant. The village granted was bounded on the east by the villages of Vāndhamaṇa (line 18) (=mod. Bāndhman, 3 miles to the east of Basahi), on the south by the village of Pusauli (=mod. village of the same name 2 miles to the south of Basahi), and on the north by the village of Sāvabhada (=mod. Sabhād, 2½ miles to the north by west of Basahi) · see *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 102.

the *Purohita* Jāguka, the *Mahattaka* Vālhaṇa, and the *Pratihāra* Gautama.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Kamauli grant*.—This was found in a field in the village of (Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barna and the Ganges at Benares.) It contains 24 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The opening verses (2-3) correspond with those of No. 1. Genealogy also the same as above. The inscription records that *Mahārājaputra* Govindacandra from his victorious camp (*vijaya-kataka*) in Viṣṇupura, after having bathed in the Ganges and worshipped the same gods as in No. 1 in (V) *Samvat* 1162 (A. D. 1105), granted the village of Usithā (?) in the *Jīvatī-Pattalā* in the *Pañcāla-deśa* to the Brahman Vilhākāya Dīkṣita. The writer of the grant and those who consented to the grant are the same as in No. 1. The latter group contains an additional name, *viz.*, the queen-mother (*jananī*) Rālha-devī.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *Messrs. Terry & Co.'s grant*.—The find-spot of this is unknown. In the year A. D. 1896, Prof. Bendall found it with Messrs. Terry & Co. of 29 Glasshouse Street, London, W. It was then being offered for sale. It closely resembles grant No. 1 above. The inscription records that the *Mahārājñi* Prthviśrīkā, after bathing in the Ganges at Benares at the Ādi-Keśava-ghatta in (V) *Samvatsara* 1163 (a mistake for 1164), on the occasion of a solar eclipse (A. D. 1107),<sup>3</sup> granted the village of Bahuvārā in the *Bhāilavata-Paṭṭala* (*Pattalā* ?) to the *Purohita* Devavara and other Brahmins.<sup>4</sup>

(4) *Rahan grant*.—It was discovered at a place called (Rahan in the Etawah district, U. P.) It contains 29 lines, incised on

<sup>1</sup> First edited by R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol XLII, part I, pp. 314 ff. Re-edited by Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp 101-04.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by A. Venis, *EI*, Vol II, pp 358-61. The name of the queen-mother is occasionally given as Rālhaṇa-devī, see *JASB*, Vol LV1, part I, pp. 113 ff. ; *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 114 ff. ; also *infra*, pp. 519-20. She is sometimes called *Brhadrājñi* and sometimes *Mahārājñi* in her son's grants.

<sup>3</sup> On the date see Bendall, *JRAS*, 1896, p 787.

<sup>4</sup> Noticed by Bendall, *ibid*, pp. 787-88. Though it is not clearly mentioned in the grant, the editor took the donor as the queen of Maḍanapāla

one side of a single plate. The seal attached to the ring is lost. The inscription opens with 'Om Paramātmāne namaḥ' and an invocation to Lakṣmī and Vaiṣṇava. In the metrical portion, the genealogy is traced from Mahīṭala to Govindacandra. The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Pb -M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara* Madanapāla, whose son the *Mahārājaputra* Govindacandra-deva announces that the *Rānaka* Lavarāpravāha, after bathing in the Yamunā at the *ghāt* of the deity Mūṛātha at Āsatikā, in the (V) *Sam.* 1166, on the occasion of a solar eclipse (A. D. 1109?),<sup>1</sup> gave part of the village of Rāmātha in the *Sigūodha-Pattalā* to the Brahman Gunacandra. The grant was written by Tribhuvanapāla, with the consent of the *Mahattaka* Gāṅgeya.<sup>2</sup>

The inscriptions noticed above are dated from A. D. 1104 to 1109. The reign of Madanapāla must have terminated some time before 1114 A. D., the first known date of his successor.<sup>3</sup> It is rather curious that amongst the records so far discovered of Madanapāla's reign no inscription has been found recording a grant by the king himself. If we add to this the fact that in the grants of his successors he is always given only vague praise,<sup>4</sup> we may perhaps conclude that his reign was dominated by the masterful personality of his son Govindacandra, who was probably already a powerful influence in the administration when his grandfather died, c. 1100 A. D. Not only were 3 out of the four grants practically issued by him, but the credit for all victories during his father's reign, which have the appearance of facts, is given to this prince. Thus in Madanapāla's Rahan grant the victories over the Gauda elephants and Hammīra are said to have been achieved by the valour of his son Govindacandra.<sup>5</sup> "The arrays of irresistible mighty large elephants from Gauda," whose frontal globes were split (or cloven) by him, probably

<sup>1</sup> On the date see Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *ibid.*, pp. 14-19.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 101-03.

<sup>4</sup> See for a specimen, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 324 and 327, V. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 16, lines 8-10.

belonged to Rāmapāla, the last great Pāla king<sup>1</sup> (c. 1084-1126 A. D.). The Muslim king who is reported to have laid aside his enmity on seeing the display of the prince's matchless fighting, certainly belonged to the Yamīnī dynasty of Ghazni and Lahore. These rulers from time to time tried to emulate the victories of Maḥmūd by occasionally invading the Ganges-Jumna valley. We have elsewhere noticed one such invasion in 1034 A. D. by Aḥmad Niyāl-tigīn in the reign of Mas'ūd I (c. 1030-40 A. D.) which penetrated as far east as Benares. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* mentions another such expedition in the reign of Mas'ūd III (c. 1099-1115 A. D.). We are told that the "Ḥājib Ṭughā-tigīn crossed the river Gang, in order to carry on a holy war in Hindustan, and penetrated to a place where except Sulṭān Maḥmūd, no one had reached so far with an army before."<sup>2</sup> Some of the details of this campaign are perhaps recorded in a poem of Mas'ūd ibn Sa'd ibn Salmān, who lived in the court of Mas'ūd III. Salmān describes Kanauj as 'the capital of India, the Ka'aba of the Shamans and the Kibla of the Kāfirs.' We are told that 'all the treasures of India go to this city as the small streams pour into a large river. It has armies, wealth, elephants, and weapons' Its king Malhī (ملهي) or Malhīrā (ملهيرا) was a powerful ruler, and as furious 'as a hyena.' But in spite of all his wealth and bravery, he was defeated by Mas'ūd III and compelled to ransom his person by a large sum of money.<sup>3</sup> There seems little doubt that it was in these conflicts with the Turkish king and his generals that prince Govindacandra distinguished himself. It is however extremely difficult to identify the

<sup>1</sup> Note that this conflict of the Pālas and Gāhaḍavālas was merely a continuation of the struggle between the Pālas and Gurjara-Pratīhāras.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, my chapter on the Hahayas; also Elliot, Vol. II, p. 123

<sup>3</sup> *TN*, Vol. I, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> *Dīwān* of Salmān, Ed by Abu-l' Quāsim Akhvani, Teheran, 1879. I am indebted for the translation of the extracts to Dr. Mirza of the Lucknow University. The edition consulted has no pagination. See for another translation of the poem, *Elliot*, Vol. IV, pp. 526-27. The name of the Kanauj ruler can also be written as Mulhī or Mulhīrā.



reigning prince of Kanauj whom Salmān designates as Malhī or Malhīrā.<sup>1</sup> It seems possible that the text is here corrupt. The name intended may have been that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Madanapāla, the local ruler of Kanauj, of whom a Budaun inscription tells us that 'in consequence of whose distinguished prowess there never was any talk of Hambīra's coming to the bank of the river of the gods'<sup>2</sup>

The rising power of the Gāhaḍavālas in the reign of Maḍana-pāla is probably illustrated by his issue of coins of the 'bull and horsemen type' in billon (or copper) and base silver. On the obverse of these is the figure of a horseman with the legend *Madanapāla-deva*, *Madana*, *Mada*, or sometimes *Śrī-Ma*; on the reverse, a recumbent bull and the legend *Mādhava-Śrī-Sāmanta*, *Mādhava-Śrī-Sām*, *Sāmanta*, or simply *Mādhava*.<sup>3</sup>

Madanapāla had at least two queens, viz., Prthvīśrikā and Rālha or Rālhana-devī. Govindacandra,<sup>4</sup> his son by the latter, succeeded him sometime before 1114 A.D. The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Govindacandra:

(1) *Kamauli grant* (i).—This was found in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barna and Ganges at Benares. It contains 28 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. The inscription begins with an invocation of *Vaīkunṭha* and *Śrī*.<sup>5</sup> The metrical portion traces the genealogy of the donor. It then records that *Pb.-M.-P.-Govindacandra* in (V) *Samvatsara* 1171

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Barnett suggests . ملهیرا - ملهیرا ? for مهیرای = महियल राय (Mahiyala Rāya).

The acceptance of this suggestion would incline us to identify him with Madanacandra's grand-father Mahicandra, also known as Mahiyala. But the date of the latter c 1075-80 A. D. seems too early.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Volavāla I, pp. 62 and 64, line 4. The name intended may also belong to the contemporary Gāhaḍavāla Maḍanapāla.

<sup>3</sup> See *CCIM*, Vol. I, pp. 257 and 260; also *CMI*, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Also known as Govindapāla, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 324 and 327, V. 16.

<sup>5</sup> The editor omits the text of the first 12 lines as it was very similar to the Kamauli grant dated in V. S. 1182, which begins with this invocation.

(A.D. 1114 ?), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Bṛhadvirācamaua in the Kāṭī-Pattalā to the Purohita Jāgu Sarman.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Palī grant* (i).—Found in the village of Palī in the Dhuriapar pargana of Bansgaon Tahsil, Gorakhpur district, U. P. It is dated in V. S. 1171, and records a grant by Govindacandra. In line 13 of the grant we read: *Saruvāṇaṇavala-Pathake Sirasī Pattalāyām Pālī-grāma-Prabhrti-grāmeṣū*.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *Benares grant* (i).—Found by a contractor at Benares near the Bhadaini temple at a depth of about 5 feet from the surface. It contains 21 lines incised on a single plate. The inscription records that in (V) *Samvatsara* 1171 (A. D. 1115), after bathing at Vārāṇasī in the Ganges, *Pb.-M.-P.-Govindacandra* granted a dwelling-place (*āvāsa*) to the *Mahattaka* Dāyīm Sarman at Vārāṇasī. The *tāmaka* was written by the *Karaṇika* Jalhaṇa.<sup>3</sup>

(4) *Kamauli grant* (ii).—Found as in No. 1. It contains 27 lines incised on a single plate. The inscription records that in (V) *Samvat* 1172 (A. D. 1116), *Pb.-M.-P.-Govindacandra*, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī on the occasion of the *Akṣaya-trītyā*, granted the village of Dhūsa in the Brhagrhe-[ye?]varatha-Pattalā with its *pātakas* to the *Mahāpurohita* Jāgu Sarman.<sup>4</sup> The grant was written by the *Kāyastha* Thakkura Jalhaṇa of the Vāstavya family.<sup>5</sup>

✓<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 101-03. The date of the grant is irregular, see *ibid*, p. 102. The Kamauli plates are now in the Lucknow Museum. The seal of the following inscriptions, when unspecified is to be taken either as lost or of the usual type.

<sup>2</sup> Noticed by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. V, p. 114, fn 4 and *ibid*, Vol. VII, pp. 98-99. The first plate of the grant was presented by Dr. Hoey to the Lucknow Museum. He identified Palī with 'Palee' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 102, Long. 83° 25', Lat. 26° 30'; Sirasī with Sirsi, *ibid*, sheet No. 87, S. E., Long. 83° 9' 'Lat. 26° 32'; and Opavala with Unaula, a pargana of Gorakhpur.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 152-53.

<sup>4</sup> Also called Yājñavalkya, see *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 127, line 23 & fn 9.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 103-04. The writer of the grant is the same as in No. 3.

(5) *Kamauli grant (iii)*.—Found as No. 1. 26 lines, incised on single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 while at Devasthāna, in (V) *Samvat* 1174 (A. D. 1117), at the annual Śrāddha performed at the new-moon in honour of his father, granted the village of Sunahī (?) in the Kesāure (?)—*Pattalā* with its *pāṭakas* to the same donee as in No. 4. The grant was written by the *Karaṇika* Vāsudeva <sup>1</sup>

(6) *Basahi grant* —Found in the village of Basahī, Etawah district, U. P. ; incised on a single plate Ring and seal lost. It records the grant of two villages (the names of which are quite illegible) to a Brahman *Thakkura* named Devapāla Śarman by the same donor as in No. 5. The date of the grant is (V) *Samvat* 1174 (A.D. 1116).<sup>2</sup>

(7) *Kamauli grant (iv)* —Found as No. 1 24 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1 after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, granted the village of Acchavalī in the Ughanaterahottara—*Pattalā* to the donee of No. 4, in (V) *Samvatsara* 1176 (A.D. 1118-19 ?). The grant was written by the *Karaṇika* *Thakkura* Sahadeva.<sup>3</sup>

(8) *Kamauli grant (v)* —Found as No. 1. 27 lines, incised on a single plate It records that in (V) *Samvat* 1176 (A.D. 1119), the *Paṭṭamahādevī Mahārājñī* Nayanakeli-devī, the queen of the donor of No. 7, after bathing in the Ganges on the occasion of a solar eclipse, gave the village of Daravalī in the Koṭhotakōṭīāvarahottara (district) to the same donee as in No. 7. At the time of the grant the king was in residence at Khayarā. It was written by the *Thakkura* Gāgūka.<sup>4</sup>

(9) *Kamauli grant (vi)*.—Found as No 1; 25 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that in (V) *Samvat* 1176 (A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 104-06.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 19-20. There is some error in the date of the grant, see *ibid*, p. 20 The inscription was first edited by R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, part I, pp. 324-28.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 106-07. The date is irregular; see *ibid*, p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 107-09.

1118?) the donor of No. 4 after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī granted a village (the name of which is illegible) in the Saru(gā?)ra (district) to the donee of No. 4. The writer is the same as in No. 8.<sup>1</sup>

(10) *Set Mahet stone-inscription*.—Discovered, at the village of Mahet in Gonda district, U. P., under the ruins of a Buddhist building. It contains 18 lines, recording that a certain Vidyādhara, son of Janaka and grandson of Bilvaśiva of the Vāstavya family, established a convent for Buddhist ascetics at the town of Jāvṛṣa (or Ajāvṛṣa), where the inscription was set up. Janaka, we are told, was the *Saciva* of Gopāla, the lord of Gādhīpura. Gopāla's son was king Madana, the contemporary and master of Vidyādhara. The date of the inscription is (V.S.) 1176 (*rasādhiham abhivyāpi giriśa-caraṇūśritam*).<sup>2</sup> King Madana was probably a feudatory of Govindacandra.<sup>3</sup>

(11) *Don Buzurg grant*.—This was unearthed in a field near the village of Don Buzurg,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Mairwa railway station on the 'Bengal and North Western Railway.' It contains 36 lines incised on two plates. The seal is as usual. It records that the donor of No. 4, in (V) *Samvat* 1176 (A.D. 1119-20), after bathing in the Ganges at his camp-residence (*Yāna-vāsa*) at the village of Mamdaliā, belonging to Alamvimalhāpura, granted the village of Vadagrāma,<sup>4</sup> in Alāpa-Pattalā, with its *pāṭakas*, to the Brahman Tūltāica Sarman. The grant was written by the *Karaṇika* *Thakkura* Sahadeva, and engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* Hāleka.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 109. The date is irregular.

<sup>2</sup> *Rasa*=6, *giri*=7 and *śa*=11; i.e. 1176. See Dr. Hoey's note *JASB*, Vol. LXI, part 1, Extra No., p. 63, note 16.

<sup>3</sup> On this point see my pupil N. B. Sanyal, *JASB*, 1925, Vol. XXI (N.S.), p. 105. The inscription was first edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 61-64. The text was then published by Dr. A. Fuhrer in *ASI* (New Series), Vol. I, by Dr. Hoey in *JASB*, Vol. LXI, part 1, Extra No., pp. 57-64. He read the date as 1176.

<sup>4</sup> D. R. Sahni suggests that this may be mod. village of Bargaṭ in the Salempur Parganā of the Gorakhpur district, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by D. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 218-24.

\* (12) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant* (i).—Find-spot unknown. It records "a transfer of landed interest," in the presence of *Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhīpati-Vividha-vidyā-vecāra-vācaspati* Govindacandra, in (V) *Samvat* 1177 (A.D. 1120). The village of Karandā in the *Antarāla-Pattalā* (*Antarāla-pattalāyām-Karandagīrama-Karandā-talla*) which was originally given to the *rājaguru-śaivācārya-bhaṭṭārika* Rudrasīva by *Rāja Yaśaḥ-Karṇa*, passed into the possession of the *Thakkura* Vasīṣṭha.<sup>1</sup>

(13) *Chhatarpur grant*.—This was unearthed in the village of Chhatarpur, near Sheorajpur, 21 miles North-West of Cawnpur. It contains 32 lines incised on two plates. The seal is as usual. It records that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the water of the Ganges at Vārānasī in (V) *Samvat* 1177, granted the village of *Sāsaimaua* <sup>2</sup> in the *Koti-Pattalā* to the Brahman *Sāhula Śarman*. The grant was written by the *Karāṇika Thakkura Śrīdhara*.<sup>3</sup>

(14) *Kamauli grant*.—Found as No 1; 22 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that in (V) *Samvat* 1178 (A. D. 1122) the donor of No 4 after bathing at the *Kapālamocana-ghaṭṭa* at Vārānasī, where the Ganges flows to the north, granted the village of *Sulatenī*, in the *Neulasatāvisikā* (district) to *Vyāsa* <sup>4</sup> The grant was written by the same as in No. 8.<sup>5</sup>

(15) *Benares grant* (ii).—Found in the possession of Sitaram Agarwala of Benares. Exact find-spot unknown. It contains 29 lines, incised on a single plate. It records a grant of the donor of No. 4 and his mother (*Mahāmātr-rājñī-Śrī*)

<sup>1</sup> Edited by F. W. Hall, *JASB*, Vol XXXI, pp. 123-24. He suggests that the land which changed hands was conquered by Govindacandra from Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, *ibid*, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> The editor suggests identification with the village of Sisaman which is now part of the Cawnpur city; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by D. R. Sahu, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 224-26.

<sup>4</sup> Brother of the donee of No 4.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 109-11.

Rālhana-devī. The king, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasi, in (V) *Samvat* 1181 (A.D. 1124) granted the village of Tribhāṇḍi in the Yavaala-Pattalā to the Brahman *Pandita* Bhupati Sarman. The grant was written by the *Thakkura* Candra.<sup>1</sup>

(16) *Kamauli grant (viii)*.—Found as No. 1 ; 28 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V) *Samvat* 1182 (A.D. 1126?), after bathing in the Ganges, granted the village of Mahasonamaui in the Haladoya-Pattalā to the donee of No. 4. It was written by the *Vastavya Kāyastha* Kīthana.<sup>2</sup>

(17). *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (ii)*.—Find-spot unknown. It records that in (V) *Samvat* 1182 (A.D. 1127) the donor of No. 4<sup>3</sup> having bathed in the Ganges at Īsapratiṣṭhāna, granted the village of Agodalī in the Haladaya-Pattalā to the Brahmans Chichā Sarman and Vācata Sarman. The *tāmrapattaka* was written by *Thakkura* Viśvarūpa.<sup>4</sup>

(18) *Maner grant*.—This comes from the village of Maner in Dinapore sub-division, Patna district. It contains 26 lines incised on a single plate. Seal as usual. It records that in (V) *Samvat* 1183 (A.D. 1124), the donor of No. 4, having bathed in the Ganges at Kanyākubja, granted the villages of Gunāve and Paḍalī in the Manari<sup>5</sup>-Pattalā to the Brahman Gaṇeśvara Sarman. It was written by the same as in No. 17.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by A. Fuhrer, *JASB*, LVI, part I, pp 113-18. He read the queen's name as Dālhana-devī, and took her to be the wife of the king, but see Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol V, Appendix, p. 15, No. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Kielhorn-*EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 99-101. The date is irregular, see *ibid*, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Same titles and epithets as in No 12.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by F. E. Hall, *JASB*, Vol XXVII, pp, 241-50. Hall reads *Śrīśa-Pratiṣṭhāna*. Kielhorn identified Pratiṣṭhāna with the place of the same name which was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna; see *IA*, Vol XVIII, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Identified with mod. Maner in Patna district, Bihar. This *Pattalā* is the same as the Manara-Pattalā of the Benares college grant of Jayaccandra; see *JASB*, 1922, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> First noticed in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 106. Then a text and translation of the grant was published by R. Sarma in *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp 441-47. Finally edited by N G Mazumdar in *JASB*, V, 1922, pp. 81-84.

(19) *Kamauli grant (ix)*.—Found as No. 1. 25 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4,<sup>1</sup> after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī in (V) *Samvat* 1184 (A.D. 1127), granted to the donee of No. 4 the village of Rārī (?) in the Madavala(?)*-Pattalā* with its *pāṭakas*. It was written by the same as in No. 17.<sup>2</sup>

(20) *Benares grant (iii)*.—Found as No. 15; 26 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, in (V) *Samvat* 1185 (A.D. 1129), granted the village of Jaragāma in the Puroha*-Pattalā* to the Brahman *Pandita* Bhupati Sarman. It was written by the same as in No. 15.<sup>3</sup>

(21) *Itaunja grant*.—This was in the possession of the Raja of Itaunja, a Taluqdar of Lucknow district in U.P. Find-spot unknown. It contains 24 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4 in (V) *Samvat* 1186, after bathing as in No. 19, grants the village of Kapāsī in the Maṅgalajathi*-Pattalā* to the Brahman Nāne Sarman. It was written by the same as in No. 17.<sup>4</sup>

(22) *Set Mahet grant*—This was discovered in a monastery 'on the site of *Saheth*' (i.e., Set), on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts. It contains 27 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, and having worshipped Vāsudeva and other gods, in (V) *Samvat* 1186, granted the villages of Vihāra, Paṭṭanā,<sup>5</sup> Upalaūṇḍā, Vavvahālī,<sup>6</sup> Meyī*-sambaddha*-Ghosāḍī,<sup>7</sup> and Poṭhivāra*-sambaddha*-Payāsī<sup>8</sup> in the Vādā(jā)-

<sup>1</sup> Titles and epithets as in No. 12

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by A. Führer, *JASB*, Vol. LVI, part I, pp. 118-23.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by H. Sastri, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 295-97.

<sup>5</sup> Mod. village of Patna, about 3 miles south-west of Set; *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 21-22.

<sup>6</sup> Identified with the mod. village of Belaha, near the village of Patna; *ibid*, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Identified with the important village of this name near Subhgapur on the Gonda-Intuahok road; *ibid*.

<sup>8</sup> Identified with the village of Bayasi, which stood 2 miles to the north of Set Mahet; *ibid*.

*Caturaśīti-Pattalā* to "the *Samgha* of the Buddhist friars (*Sākya-bhikṣu*) of whom Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka is the chief" residing in the *Jetavana-mahāvihāra*. The gift was made by the donor 'having been gratified by the *Saugata-parivrājaka-mahā-pandita* Sākyaarakṣita, (a resident) of the *Utkala-deśa* and his 'disciple, the *Saugata-parivrājaka-mahāpandita* Vāgīśvararakṣita, (a resident) of the *Coda-deśa*.'<sup>1</sup> The grant was written by the *Kāyastha Sūrāditya*.<sup>2</sup>

(23) *Raiwan grant*.—Found 'at Raiwan, a place 8 miles north-west from Biswān in the Sitāpur district, in a small mound.' 29 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4,<sup>3</sup> in (V) *Samvat* 1187 (1130 A.D.), after bathing at the *Ādi-Keśava-ghatta* at *Vārānasī*, granted the village of *Sohanjaka* with *Bhuluri-pāṭaka* (?) situated in *Navagrāma-Pattalā* to the *Thakkura Bālāditya Śarman*. It was written by the same as in No. 17.<sup>4</sup>

(24) *Benaies grant (iv)*.—Found as No. 3; 24 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the *Ganges* at *Vārānasī*, in (V) *Samvat* 1187 (A.D. 1130), granted the village of *Palasaundī* in the *Nandivāra-Pattalā* to the *Prānācārya Bhaṭṭa pandita* Khona Śarman.<sup>5</sup>

(25) *Ren grant*.—Found 'in the debris of a fallen high bank of the *Jumna* river,' close to the village of *Ren* not far from the police station of *Lalaulī*. *Ren* is situated 'just within the northern boundary line of the *Mutaur Pargana* of the *Ghazi-pur Tahsīl* of the *Fatehpur district*' (U.P.). It contains 24 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the *Ganges*, near the *Ādi-Keśava-ghatta*, in (V) *Samvat* 1188 (A.D. 1131), granted the village of *Dosahalī*,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On these two persons, see editor's note on p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by D. B. Sahu, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 20-26.

<sup>3</sup> Titles and epithets as in No. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by A. Fuhrer, *JASB*, Vol. LVI, part I, pp. 106-13.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 153-55.

<sup>6</sup> Identified with mod *Dasauli*, about 6 miles south of *Ren*. The name of the *Pattalā* cannot be read, see *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 250.



to the Brahman Lahada Śarman. It was written by the same as in No. 17.<sup>1</sup>

(26) *Palī grant (u)*.—Found as No. 2. 34 lines, written on two plates. Seal as usual. It records that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Satī, at the Svapneśvara-ghaṭṭa, on the occasion of the Akṣaya-tṛtīyā, in (V) *Samvat* 1189 (A D. 1133), made over to his mother the *Mahārājñī* Rālhana-devī, ten *nālukas* (of land) in the village of Guduvī, in the Goyara-Pattalā of the Onavala-Pathaka, as a gift for the *Thakkura* Jayapāla Śarman. The grant was written by the *Thakkura* Viṣṇu.<sup>2</sup>

(27) *Kamaulī grant (x)* —Found as No. 1; 24 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4, in (V) *Samvat* 1190 (A.D. 1133), after bathing at the Govinda-vāṭikā, granted the village of Umbarī in the Rūdamauavayāhī-Pattalā to the *Rāuta* Jāte Śarman.<sup>3</sup>

(28) *Benares grant (v)*.—Found as No. 3; 28 lines, incised on a single plate. The circular seal contains in high relief the legend: *Mahārājaputra-Śrīmad-Āsphoṭacandra-devah*. Above the legend there is a conch-shell. It records that, with the consent of the donor of No. 4, the *Mahārājaputra Yuvarāja* Āsphoṭacandra in (V) *Samvat* 1190 (1134 A.D.), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, granted the village of Kaṇāuta in the Nandīnī-Pattalā to the *Pandita* Dāmodara Śarman. It was written by the *Thakkura* Gāgeka.<sup>4</sup>

(29) *Kamaulī grant (xi)*.—Found as No. 1; 25 lines, incised on a single plate. The genealogical portion of the grant is divided into two sections. The first portion gives the usual pedigree of Govindacandra<sup>5</sup> from Candradeva. Then in

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Hoernle, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 249-52.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 113-115. On *nāluka*, see *ibid*, p. 113. On the identification of Onavala, see *supra*, p. 516, fn. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 111-112.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 155-56. The writer of the grant is probably the same as in No. 8.

<sup>5</sup> His titles and epithets as in No. 12.

verses 5-9 we are given the following genealogy of the donor of the grant, apparently a feudatory of Govindacandra.

In the Sāṇḍilya-*gotra* and Singara family

Kamalapāla... Came from Sṅgarota and acquired by  
his bravery a royal fillet or tiara (*iāja-*  
*patṭī*).

Sūlhana or Alhana (?)

Kumāra

Mahāñjaputīa Lohaḍa-deva, alias Vatsarāja

We are told that this Vatsarāja, in (V) *Samvat* 1191 (A.D. 1134), at the Kanyā-saṅkrānti, after bathing in the Ganges at the Avimukta-*kṣetra* of Benares, granted the village of Āmbavara in the Rāpadī (or Rāvadi)-*Viśaya* to the Brahman *Ṭhakkura* Dalhū Śarman. The *tāmṛaka* was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Nārāyana.<sup>1</sup>

(30) *Kamauli grant (xii)*.—Found as No. 1; 26 lines, engraved on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. (4)<sup>2</sup> after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V) *Samvat* 1196 (A.D. 1139), granted the village of Janakadevipura in Rāna(?)*-Pattalā* to the donee of No. 4.<sup>3</sup>

(31) *Kamauli grant (xiii)*.—Found as No. 1; 27 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 'on the day of the great queen,'<sup>4</sup> in (V) *Samvat* 1197 (A.D. 1141), after bathing in the Ganges, at the Vedōśvara-*ghaṭṭa* at the Avimukta-*kṣetra* of Vārāṇasī, granted a village<sup>5</sup> to the donee of No. 4.<sup>6</sup> It was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Dhādūka.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 130-33.

<sup>2</sup> Titles and epithets as in No. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by A. Venis, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 361-63.

<sup>4</sup> Name not given. But it was certainly the queen-mother Rāha-devī; see *infra*, p. 525, grant No. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Name of the village and *Pattalā* have been effaced.

<sup>6</sup> Described here as *Dikṣita Jāgu* Śarman.

<sup>7</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 114.

(32) *Kamauli grant (xiv)*.—Found as No. 1 ; 29 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 'on the day of the great queen Rālha-devī,' after bathing in the Ganges at the Avimukta-kṣetra of Vārānasī in (V) *Samvat* 1198 (A.D. 1142), granted to the donee of No. 31 the village of Lankācaḍa in the Navagāma-Pattalā. The grant was written by the *Ṭhakkura Viṣṇu*.<sup>1</sup>

(33) *Gagaha grant*.—'Found at Gagahā to the west of the Rapti river, about 21 miles south of Gorahkpur' <sup>2</sup> in the U.P.; 34 lines, incised on two plates. It records that with the consent of the donor of No. 4, the *Mahārājaputra Rājyapāla-deva*, while he was at camp at (ṭurṇjhaḍa-grāma<sup>3</sup> after bathing in the Trivenī-nadī, granted certain estates in the Hathaunḍa-Pattalā to the three Brahman *Ṭhakkuras* Devavarman, Bhūpati, and Śrīdhara, in (V) *Samvat* 1199 (A.D. 1143). The *tāmrapaṭṭaka* was written by the *Karanika Ṭhakkura Vīvika* (or *Bībika*).<sup>4</sup>

(34) *Kamauli grant (xv)* —Found as No. 1 ; 32 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī in (V) *Samvat* 1200 (A.D. 1144), granted the village of Kāila with its *pāṭakas* Vīvamayūtā, Jamharimayūtā, Tihunāmayūtā, Dadaūāmayūtā, Āmbāmayūtā, Savaramayūtā, Palasavalī, Dunendu, Cācāpura and Pipalavalipi in the Temiṣapacottara-Pattalā, to the *Pandita Mahārāja Śarman*, the son of the donee of No. 31.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 113-114.

<sup>2</sup> Most probably 'the village of that name in the *tappā* of Gagahā in the Bānsgaon *tahsīl*, which is served by the post office of Korī-Rām,' see *EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Probably mod. Gunjharī, in the *tappā* of Karmant, *tahsīl* Bānsgaon near Belghat; see *ibid*, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> Summary of the grant given by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 20-21. Before him it was noticed by Carleyle in *ASR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 59 ff. Finally edited by Dr Barnett, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 216-20. The grant is now in the British Museum. Note the 3 *Garhwa* stone inscriptions, dated in V S. 1199, *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 58-60. *Garhwa* is situated 25 miles to the S.W. of Allahabad. These records do not mention the name of Govindacandra.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 114-15.

(35) *Machhlisahar grant*.—Found in a field 7 miles north of Machhlisahar (Ghiswā) in Jaunpur district, U.P. ; 29 lines, written on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, in (V) *Samvat* 1201 (A.D. 1143), granted the village of Perōha in the Mahasōya-Pattalā<sup>1</sup> to the *Pandita* Vainśadhara Śarman. The *tāmra* was written by the *Kāyastha* Dhandhūka.<sup>2</sup>

(36) *Lar grant*.—Found in the village of Lar (Long. 84°2', Lat. 26°14') in Gorakhpur district, U.P. ; 38 lines, incised on two plates. It records that the donor of No. 4, when in residence at Mudgagiri,<sup>3</sup> after bathing in the Ganges on the *Aksaya-tṛtīyā* day, in (V) *Samvat* 1202 (A.D. 1146), granted 'the village of Poṭācavada in the Pandala-Pattalā in Govisālaka that belonged to Dudhāli in Saruvāra'<sup>4</sup> to the *Thakkura* Śrīdhara. The *tāmra-pattaka* was written by the *Thakkura* Selhana.<sup>5</sup>

(37) *Benares grant (vi)* —Found as No. 3 ; 30 lines, incised on a single plate. The circular seal contains the legend *Mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Rājyapāla-devah*. Above this there is a conch-shell and below an arrow. It records that with the consent of the donor of No. 4, the *Mahārājaputra* Rājyapāla, after bathing in the Ganges at Rājyapāla-pura, in (V) *Samvat* 1203 (A.D. 1146), granted the village of Camaravāmi, with Haricandrapālī and two or three other *pātakas* (the names of which are doubtful), in the Valaura-Pattalā to the donee of No. 28. It was written by the same as in No. 28.<sup>6</sup>

(38) '*Hathiya-dah*' *pillar inscription*.—Incised on a grey sand-stone pillar standing in the middle of a dry tank called

<sup>1</sup> Kielhorn identified it with Mahasō-Pattalā of a Kamauli grant (No. 2) of Jaysandra, *EI*, Vol IV, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol V, pp 115-116. The writer is probably the same as in No. 31. The editor is of opinion that the date of the grant is a mistake for V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1146), see *ibid*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Mod. Monghyr in Bihar.

<sup>4</sup> On this place, see *supra*, p. 516, grant No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 98-100.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 156-58.

Hathiya-dah (Elephants' tank), nearly midway between Azimgarh and Benares. It contains 10 lines. The inscription records the excavation of the tank by several 'Thākuras,' of whom the chief was 'Bellana Thākur,' the *Bhāṇḍāgārīka* of Gosalla-devī, the *Mahārājñī* of king Govindacandra,<sup>1</sup> in (V) *Samvat* 1207 (A.D. 1151).<sup>2</sup>

(39) *Benares grant (vii)*.—Found as No. 3; 26 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4, in (V) *Samvat* 1207 (A.D. 1150), on 'the occasion of the *Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti*, after bathing at the Kotī-tīrtha at Vārānasī, granted the village of Lohrupādā, together with Tivāyiksetra, in the Umbarāla-Pattalā, to the donee of No. 28. The *tāmra* was written by Vidyādhara, son of the writer of No. 35.<sup>3</sup>

(40) *Bangavan grant* —Found in a field near the village of Bangavan in the Daryabad pargana of the Ramsanehi-ghat *Tahsīl*, Bara Banki district, Oudh; 25 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the *Pattamahādevī Mahārājñī* Gosaladevī, the queen of the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī near (the temple of) the god Lōlāraka,<sup>4</sup> with the king's consent, gave the village of Gaṭiara in the Bhīmamayūtāsa....<sup>5</sup> *Pattalā* to the Brahman *Thakkura* Kulhe, who had come from Pāṭalputra.<sup>6</sup> The date of the grant, (V) *Samvat* 1208 (A.D. 1151 ?), is irregular.<sup>7</sup>

(41) *Kamauli grant (xvi)*.—Found as No. 1 26 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4, in (V) *Samvat* 1211 (A.D. 1154), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, granted the village of Goulī in the Kacchoha-Pattalā

Titles and epithets as in No. 12

Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, 1871, Vol. I, pp. 95-96.

Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 158-59.

A form of the Sun, *EI*, Vol. V, p. 117, fn. 2.

The two last *akṣaras* are illegible.

Mod. Patna in Bihar.

Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 116-18

with its *pāṭakas* to the *Rāuta* Paharāja Sarman. The *tāmra-paṭ-taka* was written by Śrīpati.<sup>1</sup>

(42) *Sarnath stone-inscription*.—‘It was dug out to the north of the Dhamekh Stūpa, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period.’ It contains 29 lines, opening with *Om namo bhagavatyaī ārya-Vasudhārāyaī*, and an invocation of Vasudhārā (V. 1) and the Moon (V. 2). It may be divided into four parts, the first three parts contain information about the rulers of Piṭhī, Aṅga and the Gāhadavālas which can be shown in tabular form as follows :<sup>2</sup>

<i>Rulers of Piṭhī</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>Rulers of Aṅga.</i>	<i>Gāhadavālas</i>
In the <i>Chikkora-vamśa</i> of the lunar race.	( <i>Rāstrakūta</i> )	⋮
⋮	⋮	⋮
Vallabharāja	Mahana	Candra
↓	↓	↓
Devarakṣita =	Sankara-devī	Madanacandra
↓	↓	↓
Kumāra-devī = Govindacandra.		

The proper object of the inscription is given in the 4th part, (Vs. 21-23).<sup>4</sup> We are told that, Jambukī having represented that the Dharmacakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmāśoka required to be repaired, Kumāra-devī restored the Jina (or set up a new one) and placed it in a new *vihāra* built for the purpose. Jambukī was made the foremost of all *Pattalikās* <sup>5</sup> by the queen. The *praśasti* was composed by the poet Kunda, and engraved by Vāmana.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 116-117.

<sup>2</sup> For details see my chapter on the Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, pp. 338-40.

<sup>3</sup> Another name of Magadha; see *supra*, fn 1 on p. 339.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of these verses is rather obscure; see *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 320, for Venkayya's suggestions, which have been accepted by Sten Konow.

<sup>5</sup> See for this word, *EI*, III, p. 44, line 38.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 319-28.

The above 42 inscriptions of Govindacandra range over a period of 40 years (A.D. 1114-1154). If we add to this the period of his father's reign during which he seems to have taken an active part in the government of the state, his association with the administration may well have spread over half a century. We have already seen how he waged successful wars against the Gauda prince and Hammīra during his father's reign. These conflicts with the Muslims probably continued even during his reign, for the Sarnath inscription of Kumāra-devī tells us that "Harī, who had been commissioned by Hara to protect Vārāṇasī from the wicked *Turuṣha* warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Govindapāla."<sup>1</sup> This statement may contain an otherwise un-recorded notice of a possible invasion of Benares by the later Yamīnīs.<sup>2</sup> In the east Govindacandra's marriage with Kumāra-devī, the grand-daughter of Mahana, a maternal uncle of Rāmapāla (c 1084-1126 A.D.), may indicate a temporary truce between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Pālas. (But the Maner (No. 18) and Lar. (No. 36) plates show that during the period 1124-1146 A.D., the arms of Govindacandra had crossed the Son and gradually advanced along the southern bank of the Ganges to Patna and Monghyr in the East. The date of the Maner grant (A.D. 1124) indicated that he captured part of Patna before Rāmapāla's death. It is likely that the Gāhaḍavālas' advance began during the weak administration of Rāmapāla's son who according to the *Rāma-carita* was entrusted with the administration of the state during the later years of that king.<sup>3</sup> This advance must have continued during the

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 324 and 327, V. 16.

<sup>2</sup> The Yamīnī rulers during this period were :

(1) Shīrṣād, Kāmāl ud-Daulah (A.D. 1115-1116).

(2) Arsalān Shāh, Sulṭān ud-Daulah (A.D. 1116-18).

(3) Bahrām Shāh, Yamīn ud-Daulah (A.D. 1118-52).

See *CHI*, Vol. III, pp 35-37 and 688.

<sup>3</sup> *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, IV, 1; see also *supra*, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, pp. 347-48.

inglorious period of Pāla rule (c. 1126-50 A.D.) which followed Rāmapāla's death. The hostility of the Pālas towards the Gāhaḍavālas appears to have been inherited by the Senas, and possibly the naval expedition of Vijayasena (c. 1097-1159 A.D.) to the western regions, 'which sailed up the whole course of the Ganges,' may not have been entirely unconnected with the Gāhaḍavālas.<sup>1</sup> (In the south, the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant dated in A.D. 1120, which records the transference of land formerly granted by Yaśah-Karna (c. 1073-1125 A.D.) seems to show that the success of the Gāhaḍavālas against the Kalacuris of Tripurī was maintained during Govindacandra's reign.) This conclusion may derive some support from the fact that it was Govindacandra who first assumed in his family the title of *Aśvapati* and others which figured regularly amongst the epithets of the Kalacuris of Tripurī from the time of Laksmī-Karna. An indirect proof of the hostilities between the Gāhaḍavālas and Kalacuris is probably supplied by the evidence of the friendship of the former with the enemies of the latter, the Candellas. (The Mau inscription seems to show that Govindacandra maintained friendly relations with the Candella Madanavarman (c. 1129-63 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> But the most important fact about the relations of the Gāhaḍavālas with the princes of the South is their regular diplomatic connection with the great Coḷa rulers. Venkayya has drawn our attention to an unfinished inscription at Gongaikonda-Coḷapuram which gives the genealogy of the Gāhaḍavālas from Yaśovigraha to Candra.<sup>3</sup> It is almost a verbatim copy of the introduction of Govindacandra's Kamauli grant, dated in V.S. 1182.<sup>4</sup> But unfortunately the record abruptly

<sup>1</sup> Princes of the *Pāścātya-cakra* probably included also the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā; see *supra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar*, p. 360, and fn. 8 on the same page.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198, V. 15. See also *infra*, chapter on the Candellas.

<sup>3</sup> *Progress Report of the Asst. Supdt. for Epigraphy (Southern Circle)* by V. Venkayya, 1907-08, pp. 65-66, paragraphs 58-60.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, IV, pp. 100-01. See *supra*, p. 520, No. 16.



stops after the name of Candra. As the inscription occurs immediately after a record of Kulottuṅga I dated in his 41st year (c 1110-11 A.D.), it is generally supposed to belong to the time of Madanapāla or his son Govindacandra. It is likely that after the advance of the Coḷas to the Ganges under Rājendra Coḷa in the first quarter of the 11th century, the communication between the far south and the Ganges valley, became much more brisk and intimate. There is unquestionable epigraphic evidence to show that the Coḷas retained their hold on a large portion of the land which lies between the river Godavari and Mahendragiri.<sup>1</sup> The attacks by Kulottuṅga I,<sup>2</sup> and some of his predecessors on Vairagarh in C. P. may have brought the Coḷas into conflict with the Kalacuris. The friendship between the Gāhadavālas and the Coḷas may thus have been caused by their common enmity to the Kalacuris.<sup>3</sup> The Gāhadavāla inscription in the Coḷa country is possibly to be taken as evidence of a friendly visit by a prince of the royal family to the Coḷa capital, who made some grants to local temples Govindacandra's Set Mahet grant (No. 22) dated in A.D. 1130, which records a grant by the king at the request of two Buddhist monks, who were residents of the Utkala and Coda countries further shows the intimate bond that existed between the two kingdoms.

The success of Govindacandra as a ruler is also demonstrated by his coins. He appears to have given up the 'bull and horseman' type of his father's coins and adopted the 'seated goddess' type, which was first introduced by the Kalacuri Gāṅgeya. The obverse of his gold and copper coins has the legend *Srī-Govindacandra-deva*, often followed by the representation of a *triśūla*, while the reverse contains the seated figure of the goddess Lakṣmī. Gold *drammas* of Govindacandra, 'often in

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, *Dynasties of Orissa*, p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, by Hultzsch, 1903, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 132 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See on this point Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, "The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend": quoted in my article in *IA*, 1925, p. 203.

extremely base metal,' are abundant. Eight hundred of them were found in 1887 near Nanpara in Bahraich district, Oudh.<sup>1</sup>

Govindacandra had at least four queens. Of these the names of Nayanakeli-devī,<sup>2</sup> Gosala-devī,<sup>3</sup> and Kumāla-devī<sup>4</sup> are known from his inscriptions. The last of these three seems to have professed the Buddhist religion. The name of another Buddhist queen of Govindacandra is preserved in the colophon of a Nepal MS. of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*. It runs as follows: *Śrī-Śrī-Kānyakubjādhipatya-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Rājya-tray-ādhipati-Śrī-mad-Govindacandra-devasya pratāpa-vaśatah iājñī-Śrī-pravara-Mahāyāna-yāyinyāh paramaopāsikā iājñī Vāsanta-devyā deya-dharma'yam*.<sup>5</sup> He had also at least three sons. The Benares grant of A.D. 1133<sup>6</sup> shows that Asphoṭacandra was considered as heir-apparent (*Yuvarāja*) on that date. The Gagaha grant of A.D. 1143<sup>7</sup> gives us the name of another son, Rājyapāla. The appearance of the name Asphoṭacandra on the seal of the grant shows that he was actively associated in the Government of the state.<sup>8</sup> The Kamauli grant<sup>9</sup> of Vijayacandra however shows that Govindacandra's successor was neither of these but another son named Vijayacandra. The causes that led to the accession of this prince, who according to the evidence available at present did not take any part in his father's administration, must remain a mystery. The argument that the other two princes predeceased their father is familiar enough. But the possibility

<sup>1</sup> *CCIM*, Vol. I, pp. 257 and 260-61; *CMI*, p. 80, plate IX, and p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 517, grant No. 8.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, pp. 526-27, grants Nos. 38 and 40. Name sometimes spelt as Gosalla-devī.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, p. 528, inscription No. 42.

<sup>5</sup> No. 381 of the 3rd collection by H. P. Śāstrī, quoted in *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 321. Konow was wrong (*ibid*, p. 321) when he accepted Fuhrer's reading and interpretation of line 19 of grant No. 15 (*JASB*, Vol. LVI, Part I, p. 115) and took Dālhapa-devī, as one of the queens of Govindacandra. See Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 15, No. 96 and *supra*, p. 520, fn. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See *supra*, p. 523, grant No. 28.

<sup>7</sup> See *supra*, p. 525, grant No. 33.

<sup>8</sup> The seal of grant No. 33 is unfortunately lost; see *supra*, p. 525.

<sup>9</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 119, lines 7-8.

of palace-intrigue or a fratricidal war can never be completely eliminated.

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Vijayacandra :

(1) *Kamauh grant*.—Found as No. 1 of the previous reign; 31 lines, incised on a single plate. The introductory portion traces the Gāhaḍavālas' pedigree from Yaśovigraha to Vijayacandra.<sup>1</sup> This last king then records that with his consent the *Mahārājaputra Yuvarāja Jayaccandra*, in (V) *Samvat* 1221 (A.D. 1168), on being initiated as a worshipper of the god Kṛṣṇa, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī near the (temple of) god Ādi-Keśava, granted the village of Haripura in the Jīvati-Pattalā<sup>2</sup> to the preceptor of Vaiṣṇava worship, the *Mahāpurohita* Praharāja Śarman,<sup>3</sup> son of *Mahāpurohita* Dīksita Jāgn.<sup>4</sup> The grant was written by the *Thakura* Kusumapāla.<sup>5</sup>

(2) *Jaunpur stone pillar-inscription*.—This was found 'cut on the face of one of the bracket-capitals of a square pillar in the south cloister of the Lāl Darwāza Masjid' at Jaunpur. It consists of two lines, which are 'both incomplete on the right hand, owing to the cutting away of 3½ inches of the face to make the old Hindu bracket fit into its new position in the Muhammadan masjid.' It gives the date, (V) *Samvat* 1225 (A.D. 1169) in the reign of the fortunate Vijayacandra.<sup>6</sup>

(3) *Royal Asiatic Society's grant*.—This was in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1886. Find-spot not known. It contains 28 lines, incised on a single plate. The introductory portion as in No. 1 with the same titles and epithets of the king. It records that, with the king's permission,

<sup>1</sup> His titles and epithets as in No. 12 of his father, see above.

<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn (*EI*, Vol. IV, p. 118) identified it with the Jīvati-Pattalā of grants Nos. 1 and 2 of Madanapāla, see *supra*, pp. 511-12.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the same as the donee of No. 41 of his father's grant, see *supra*, p. 528.

<sup>4</sup> The same as the donee of No. 4 of his father's grant, see *supra*, p. 516.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol IV, pp 117-20.

<sup>6</sup> Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XI, p. 123, plate XXXVII. For the date see *EI*, Vol V, Appendix, p. 22, No. 150.

the *Mahārājaputṛa Yuvarāja Jayaccandra*, after having bathed in the Jumna at the *Vaśiṣṭha*<sup>1</sup> (?) *-ghaṭṭa*, in (V) *Samvat* 1225 (A.D. 1169), granted the village of *Nāgalī* in the *Devahālī-Pattalā* to two brothers, the *Rāutas* *Ananta Śarman* and *Dāde Śarman*. The grant was written by *Jayapālā*<sup>2</sup>

(4) *Tārācandī rock inscription*.—This inscription was incised “upon a rock, denominated, from an idol delineated on it, *Tārācandī*, in the vicinity of *Sahasām*,” in the *Shahabad* district in *South Bihar*. It records a declaration, issued in (V) *Samvat* 1225 (A.D. 1169), by the *Mahānāyaka Jāpīlādhipati Prātāpadhabala*. This announces as forged a grant of the villages of *Kalahandī* and *Badapīlā*, by the *Kānyakubjādhipati Vijayacandra*, which is said to have been executed in the favour of certain Brahmins living in villages adjoining *Kalahandī*. These Brahmins, we are told, secured this document by bribing (*utkocya*) *Deū*, an officer (*dāsa*) of the sovereign of *Gādhi-nagara*.<sup>3</sup>

(5) *Phulwaria (Rohtasgarh) inscription* —Kielhorn notices this inscription, which was found in the *Shahabad* district of *Bihar*, from a rubbing taken by *Cunningham*. It is a record of the *Nāyaka* of *Jāpīla* named *Prātāpadhabala*.<sup>4</sup> It is dated in (V) *S.* 1225 (A.D. 1169).<sup>5</sup>

\* The inscriptions noticed above gives us dates of *Vijayacandra* from A.D. 1168 to 1169. The *Kamauli* grant of his son dated in V.S. 1226 shows that his reign must have terminated sometime before Sunday, the 21st June, A.D. 1170.<sup>6</sup> As the last known date of his father *Govindacandra* comes down to A. D. 1154, he seems to have had a reign about 15 years (c. 1155-1170 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 8, line 17.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 7-13.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by F. B. Hall, *J108*, Vol. VI, pp. 547-49. It was first noticed by Colebrooke in *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1873, Vol. III, p. 256. He read the date as (V)S. 1229 (A.D. 1173). But see Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 22, No. 153. The record ought to be re-edited.

<sup>4</sup> The same as in No. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 22, No. 152.

<sup>6</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 120-21.

We have very little other authentic information about him. *Prthvīrāja-Rāso* however purports to narrate some of his achievements. We are told in this work that Vijayapāla "attacked the Somavamśī king Mukundadeva of Katak, who gave his daughter in marriage to Vijayapāla's son Jayacandra, to whom a daughter named Saṁyogītā was born in S. 1133."<sup>1</sup> The *Rāso* also contains references to Vijayapāla's attack on Bholābhīm of Pattanapura (Anhilvād) and Anangapāla of Delhi.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case he is reported to have been defeated by the combined armies of Anangapāla and Someśvara. It is difficult to accept any of these statements as historical.<sup>3</sup> The available lists of the Somavamśīs of Orissa do not contain the name Mukundadeva.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> the Somavamśīs were most probably destroyed by the Gangas in the 11th century and the king who ruled in Cuttack contemporaneously with Vijayacandra was not the fictitious Mukundadeva but the Gaṅgas Kāmārṇava VII (c. 1147-56 A.D.) and Rāghava (c. 1156-70 A.D.). Similarly, if Bholābhīm is to be identified with the Caulukya king Bhīmadeva II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.) it is impossible to make him a contemporary of Vijayacandra, whose reign certainly ended before 1170 A.D. Again as Delhi was under the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī from the time of Viśaladeva (c. 1153-1163 A.D.) there seems to be no place for an Anangapāla of Delhi in the reign of Vijayapāla. The only reliable evidence for any military success of Vijayacandra is the statement of the Benares College grant of his son Jayacandra<sup>6</sup> that his father "swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (of water flowing as) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of the Hambīra, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth." This passage probably

✓ *JBRAS*, 1927, Vol. III (New Series) p. 207.

✓ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> See R. R. Halḍar, *ibid.*, pp. 208-09.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, pp. 398 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, 'Dynasties of Orissa,' pp. 412-13.

*IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 130 and 133, lines 9-10.

contains a genuine reference to a conflict of the Gāhadavālas with a hitherto unrecorded invasion of the last Yamīnī king, Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (c.1160-86 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

Vijayacandra was succeeded by his son Jayaccandra, sometime before the 21st June, A.D. 1170, the date of his coronation (*abhīṣeka*). The following inscriptions are known for Jayaccandra's reign.

(1) *Kamauli grant (i)*.—Found as No. 1 of Govindacandra ; 34 lines, incised on a single plate. The introductory portion gives the usual genealogical information, and traces the line from Yaśovigraha to Pb.-M.-P.-Jayaccandra. We are then told that this last prince on Sunday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of *Āṣāḍha* of the (V) *Samvat* 1226 (Sunday, the 21st June, A.D. 1170), while encamped in the village of Vadaviha, after performing the *mantia-snāna* at his inauguration (*abhīṣeka*), granted the village of Osia in the Brhadgrhokamisa-Pattalā to the royal preceptor, the *Mahāpurohita* Prah-lāda Śarman,<sup>2</sup> son of *Dikṣita* Jāgu. It was written by, the *Mahāksapatalika* Thakkura Śrīpati.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Kamauli grant (ii)*.—Found as No. 1 ; 35 lines, incised on a single plate. Introductory portion as in No. 1. It records that the donor of No. 1, in (V) *Samvat* 1228 (1172 A.D.) after bathing on the Manvantarādī at the confluence of rivers at Prayāga, in the presence of the god Gaṅgāditya, granted the village of Kusuphatā in the Mahaso-Pattalā to the *Mahāpurohita* Praharaja Śarman.<sup>4</sup> It was written by the same as in No. 1.<sup>5</sup>

(3) *Kamauli grant (iii)*.—Found as No. 1 ; 37 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1 in (V) *Samvat* 1230 (A. D. 1173), after bathing in the Ganges at

<sup>1</sup> *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 37 and 688.

<sup>2</sup> According to Kielhorn, the same as the donee of No. 1 of his father's grant. Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 120-21.

<sup>3</sup> Same as in No 1 above.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 121-23.

Vārānasī in the presence of the god Ādi-Keśava, granted the villages of Abentī, Sarasā, and Aṭhasuā in the Unāvīsa-Pattalā. The name of the donee and writer are the same as in No. 2.<sup>1</sup>

(4) *Kamauli grant* (iv).—Found as No. 1; 32 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, in (V) *Samvat* 1231 (A.D. 1174 ?),<sup>2</sup> after bathing in the Ganges at Kāśī, in the presence of the god Kṛttivāsas, granted the village of Khambhamaua in the Vajaimhācchāsathī-Pattalā. Half of this village was given to the donee of No. 2; the other half was shared by *Driveda* Viśvāmītra and 7 other Brahmans. In line 32 we are told that the grant was written by the *Thakkura* Vīvika in (V) *Samvat* 1235 (A.D. 1179). It was incised by the *lohara* Someka.<sup>3</sup>

(5) *Kamauli grant* (v).—Found as No. 1; 32 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, on Sunday, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of Bhādrapāda, in (V) *Samvat* 1232 (Sunday, the 10th August, A.D. 1175), after bathing in the Ganges at Kāśī, at the *Jāia-karman* (the birth ceremony, when the navel-string is cut) of his son Hariścandra, granted the village of Vadesara, in the Kaṅgalī-Pattalā, to the same donee as in No. 2. Written by the same person on the same date (V. S. 1235) as in No. 4. Also incised by the same as in No. 4.<sup>4</sup>

(6) *Benares college grant*.—Uncarved in a field at the village of Sihvar, 6 miles N.E. of the city of Benares; 35 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, on Sunday, the 13th lunar day of the bright half of Bhādrapāda, in (V) *Samvat* 1232 (Sunday, 31st August, A.D. 1175), on the occasion of the *Nāma-karaṇa* (name-giving) ceremony of his son, *Rājaputra* Hariścandra, granted the two villages of Saraudā and (Ā?)māyī

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 1292-4.

<sup>2</sup> The date is irregular.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 124-26.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 126-28.

in the *Mānara-Pattalā*,<sup>1</sup> to the *Mahāpaṇḍita* Hṛṣikeśa Sarman, son of *Mahāmiśra-paṇḍita* <sup>2</sup> Hāle. It was written by the same as in No. 1.<sup>3</sup>

(7) *Kamauli grant (vi)*.—Found as No. 1 ; 33 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, in (V) *Samvat* 1233 (A.D. 1177), granted the village of Mātāpura in the *Kacchoha-Pattalā* to the temple of the god Lolārka (a form of the Sun) and to the donee of No. 2.<sup>4</sup> It was written by the same as in No. 1.<sup>5</sup>

(8) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (i)*.—Found in a field near the confluence of the rivers Barna and Ganges, close to Benares; 35 lines, incised on a single plate. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It records that the donor of No. 1 in (V) *Samvat* 1233 (A.D. 1177) after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, granted the village of Godantī situated in the *Paśima-Cchapana-Pattalā* in *Antarvedī*<sup>6</sup> together with its two *pāṭakas* named *Ghantīmauyī* and *Nitāmauyī*, to the *Rāuta* Rājyadhara-varman, son of the *Mahāmahattaka Thakhura* Vidyādhara. It was written by the same as in No. 1.<sup>7</sup>

(9) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (ii)*.—Found as No. 8 ; 34 lines, incised on a single plate. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It records that the donor of No. 1 in (V) *Samvat* 1233, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, granted the village of Kothāravandhurī, in the *Kosamba-Pattalā*,<sup>8</sup> to the same donee as in No. 8. Written by the same as in No. 1.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same as in No. 18 of Govindacandra; see *JASB*, 1922, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> According to Kielhorn it signifies 'a great scholar'; see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 136, fn. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 129-34.

<sup>4</sup> Name spelt as in No. 4 of Govindacandra.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *HI*, Vol. IV, pp. 123-29.

<sup>6</sup> The *Ganges-Jumna Doab*.

<sup>7</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 134-36.

<sup>8</sup> Identified by Kielhorn with Kosam near Allahabad on the left bank of the Yamunā, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 136-37.



(10) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (iii)*.—Found with No. 8 ; 36 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, in (V) *Samvat* 1234 (A D 1177), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasī, granted the village of Deūpālī, together with its 4, *pātakas* Vavaharādīha, Catāgelauāpālī, Saravatātatalia, and Naugama, situated in the Ambuālī-*Pattalā*, on the banks of the Daivahā,<sup>1</sup> to the same donee as in No. 8. Written by the same as in No. 1.<sup>2</sup>

(11) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (iv)*.—Found with No. 8. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It contains 34 lines, incised on a single plate, and records that the donor of No. 1 when in residence at Raṇḍavaī on the Ganges in (V) *Samvat* 1236 (A.D. 1180), granted the village of Dayadāma, situated in Dayadāmi-*Pattalā*, to the donee of No. 8. It was written by the same as in No. 1.<sup>3</sup>

(12) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (v)*.—Found with No. 8. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It contains 33 lines, incised on a single plate, and records that the donor of No. 1 when in residence as in No. (ii), in (V) *Samvat* 1236, granted the village of Saleṭi in Jāruttha-*Pattalā* to the donee of No. 8. Written by the same as in No. 1.<sup>4</sup>

(13) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (vi)*.—Found with No. 8 ; 32 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, when in residence as in No. 11, in (V) *Samvat* 1236, granted the village of Abhelāvaṭu in the Jāruttha-*Pattalā* together with the *pātakas* of Maṇiāri, Gayasaḍa, Vatāvana, Asiāma, and Sīrīma, to the donee of No. 8. It was written by the same as in No. 1.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently mod. Dehos, which according to Thornton's Gazetteer (p. 138) is another name of the river Gogra. See *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 137-39.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 139-40.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 140-42.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 142-43.

(14) *Bodhgaya stone-inscription*.—Found in Bodhgaya, in the district of Gaya, Bihar; 17 lines. It opens with *Om namo Buddhāya*, and then praises the Ādi-Buddha,<sup>1</sup> the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara, Ekajātā,<sup>2</sup> Śrīghana (Buddha) and the monk Śrīmitra. This last person is described as the *dikṣā-gṛ̃hu* of the *Kāśīśa* Jayaccandra. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a large cave (*guhā*) at Jayapura, “with Sīmhanāda<sup>3</sup> in front and bearing therein the images of Ugratārā,<sup>4</sup> with her hands raised upwards, Dattatārā, adored in the morning and (another Tārā) draped in orange clothes,” in the *vatsara* of king Vikramānka measured by the.....Vedas (4), eyes (2), and the moon (1), 124...? <sup>5</sup> The *praśasti* was composed by Manoratha, written by the *Kāyastha* Purandara, and engraved by the *Śilpī* Dhārādharma.<sup>6</sup>

(15) *Fyzabad grant*.—Found near Fyzabad, in Oudh; <sup>7</sup> 34 lines, incised on a single plate. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It records that the donor of No. 1,<sup>8</sup> in (V) *Samvat* 1233 (A. D. 1187), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Kamolī (or Kemolī?) in the Asuresa-*Pattalā* to the *Doḍa-Rāuta* <sup>9</sup> Ananga of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.<sup>10</sup>

(16) *Meohar stone-inscription*.—Incised ‘on door-jamb of a ruined temple in the village of Meohar, distant 7 miles from Kosam’ in Allahabad district, U. P.; 3 lines only. It records

<sup>1</sup> See *IHQ*, March, 1929, p. 17 ff, and fn 1 on p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid*, fn. 1, on p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid*, p. 16, fn. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid*, p. 17, fn. 1; Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 111; Bhaṭṭācārya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 76-81.

<sup>5</sup> The first word of the chronogram is lost.

<sup>6</sup> First edited by R. L. Mitra, *PASB*, 1180, Vol. XLIX, pp. 76-80. Some of the mistakes were corrected by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 26, No. 177. Finally edited by my pupil N. Sanyal, *IHQ*, March, 1929, pp. 14-30.

<sup>7</sup> Now in the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

<sup>8</sup> His title as in No 12 of Govindacandra. Please note that though he has the usual title *Parama māheshvara*, he is called in V 9, the incarnation of Nārāyaṇa.

<sup>9</sup> The editor draws attention to Elliot, *Suppl. Glossary*, Vol. I, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 10-13.

that in (V) *Samvat* 1245 (A. D. 1189), in the reign of *P.-etyādī-rājāvalī-pañcatayopetāśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-trayādhipati vividha-vidyā-ucāra-vācaspati, Śrīmaḡ-Jayaccandradeva*,<sup>1</sup> a certain Śrī-Vāstavya *Thakkura* built a temple of Siddheśvara (Mahādeva) in the village of Mehavada<sup>2</sup> in the Kausāmba<sup>3</sup>-*Pattalā*.<sup>4</sup>

The 16 inscriptions noticed above range over a period of 29 years (A. D. 1170-89). The Tārācandī rock-inscriptions (A. D. 1169) of his father and his own Benares (A. D. 1175) and the Bodhgayā (A. D. 1182) inscriptions show that the Gāhaḍavālas maintained their hold on Shahabad, Patna, and Gaya districts of Bihar during the period c. 1150-80 A. D. It was in this area that they probably came into conflict with the Senas, who since the days of Vijayasena (c. 1097-1159 A. D.) were trying to extend their influence along the Ganges towards the west. The statement in the Sena records that Lakṣmanasena (c. 1184-1206 A. D.) defeated an unnamed *Kāśīrāja* and raised pillars of victory at Benares and Allahabad<sup>5</sup> certainly refers to his conflict with the Gāhaḍavālas of the Ganges valley. According to the *Prthvīnāḡ Rāso*, 'Jayacandra' is said to have maintained friendly relations with the Candellas and helped the Candella king Paramardī (c. 1167-1202) in his wars against the Cāhamāna Prthvīrāja II (c. 1177-1192 A. D.).<sup>6</sup> The same epic contains the story of the hostility between Prthvīrāja II and 'Jayacandra' and the romantic episode of the love and marriage of Prthvīrāja and Jayaccandra's daughter Saṁyogitā.<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to believe in the details of the *Rāso* in view of the demonstrated unreliability of the poem in its present form.<sup>7</sup> But it may well be that its

<sup>1</sup> Compare this with the epithets and titles of grant No. 15; also with No. 12 of Govindacandra.

<sup>2</sup> This village still exists under its ancient name in the vicinity of Kosam; see *JRAS*, 1927, p. 696.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Kosam, near Allahabad, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Edited by D. R. Shanī, *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 695-96.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, pp. 367-69.

<sup>6</sup> See *infra*, my chapter on the Candellas.

<sup>7</sup> *JBRAS*, 1927, Vol. III (New Series), pp. 203-11.

stories of the struggles between the Cāhamānas, Gāhadavālas and Candellas have a substantial basis of truth. Lulled into a false sense of security by the temporary cessation of vigorous attacks from the weak successors of Mahmūd, they carried on their petty feuds and failed to notice the formidable storm-cloud that was slowly gathering strength in the hills of Ghūr. It must remain an interesting historical speculation, whether a common front presented by the later Yāmīnīs, Cāhamānas, Gāhadavālas, and Candellas could have stemmed the advancing tide. But there is no evidence that they realised their danger or that they showed any tendency to combine their forces. By the year 1186 A. D., the last of the Yāmīnīs had been swept away from Lahore, leaving the Eastern Punjab and the Ganges-Jumna valley open to the attacks of another horde of Turks, not less bigoted or ferocious than the Yāmīnīs, but led by chiefs who were certainly superior to the Ghaznavids in the practical gifts of empire-building. Within five years the Cāhamānas were fighting a life-and-death struggle in the field of Taraori,<sup>1</sup> near Karnal. There is no evidence to show that Jayaccandra, even from an intelligent perception of his own self-interest, co-operated in any way with the Cāhamānas. Before the death-agonies of the Cāhamāna kingdom in the second battle of Taraori (A. D. 1192) had died away, Muhammad Ghūrī, in 590 H. (A. D. 1193) advancing "towards Kinnauj and Banāras," overthrew Jayaccandra in the vicinity of Chandwar.<sup>2</sup> The *Tajul-Ma'āthir* the almost contemporary work<sup>3</sup> of Ḥasan Nizāmī, gives the following account of the Muslim campaign against the Gāhadavālas.

<sup>1</sup> Also written Tarāin or Talāwarī; 'situated on the route from Karnal to Thaneswar, 8 miles north of the former, 15 miles south of the latter.' See *Thornton's Gazetteer*, London, 1886, p. 938.

<sup>2</sup> *TN*, Vol I, p. 470 and fn. 2, see also pp. 491 and 516. On the location of Chandwar, see *ibid*, p. 470, fn. 1, for Raverty's suggestions. The name is sometimes written Chandrāwar. It was situated in the Etawah district near Jumna. *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> It was commenced in the 602 H. (A. D. 1205), see *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 209.

“When the army was mustered, it was found to amount to ‘50,000 mounted men clad in armour and coats of mail,’ with which they advanced to fight the Rāī of Benares. The king ordered Kutbu-d dīn to proceed with the vanguard, consisting of 1,000 cavalry, which fell upon ‘the army of the enemies of religion,’ and completely defeated it. The Rāī of Benares, Jaichand, the chief of idolatry and perdition, advanced to oppose the royal troops with an army, countless as the particles of sand<sup>1</sup> The Rāī of Benares, who prided himself on the number of his forces and war elephants, seated on a lofty howdah, received a deadly wound from an arrow and ‘fell from his exalted seat to the earth’ His head was carried on the point of a spear to the commander, and his body was thrown to the dust of contempt.<sup>2</sup> The impurities of idolatry were purged by the water of the sword from that land, and the country of Hind was freed from vice and superstition. Immense booty was obtained, such as the eye of the beholder would be weary to look at, including hundred elephants.<sup>3</sup> The royal army then took possession of Āśnī,<sup>4</sup> where the treasures of the Rāī were deposited, and there much more precious spoil of all kinds rewarded the victors. From that place the royal army proceeded to Benares, ‘which is the centre of Hind,’ and here they destroyed nearly 1,000 temples, and raised mosques on their foundations; and the knowledge of the law became promulgated, and the foundations of religion were established,

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Kāmil* the ‘Hindu prince had 700 elephants, and his men were said to amount to a million, *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kāmil* says ‘The Hindu king was slain, and no one would have recognised his corpse but for the fact of his teeth, which were weak at their roots, being fastened in with golden wire,’ *ibid*

<sup>3</sup> Some copies say 300 The *Kāmil* gives the number as 90, in addition to ‘a white one,’ *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 251. The *TN* gives the number as ‘three hundred and odd elephants,’ see Vol. I, p. 470; *Firishta* also gives the number as ‘upwards of 300’; see *TF*, *Brigg’s Trans.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Placed by *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 19-20, near Jaunpur, U. P. But it is possibly the same place, some 10 miles north of Fatehpur in U. P. where was discovered an inscription of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahipāla, dated in V. S. 974; see *IA*, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-75. See *infra*, p. 583.

and the face of the dīnār and diram was adorned with the name and blessed titles of the king.<sup>1</sup> The Rāīs and Chiefs of Hind came forward to proffer their allegiance. The government of that country was then bestowed on one of the most celebrated and exalted servants of the State... ..The standards of Khusru (Kutbu-d dīn) ..were planted for some days on the fort of Āsnī and the chiefs and elders all around hastened to his service with various kinds of rarities and presents, and his noble court became the scene where the princes and generals of the world came to bow their heads in reverence ”<sup>2</sup>

It is generally assumed by historians that the battle of Chandwar ‘put an end to the independent kingdom of Kanauj.’<sup>3</sup> The publication of the *Macchhlīshīhr grant* of Hariścandra has however shown that the Gāhadavālas, though robbed of most of their dominions, were not completely destroyed in 1193 A.D. This record was found “in village Kotwa, parganah Ghiswā, tahsil Macchhlīshahr,” during the course of excavation works in the Jaunpur district of U.P. It contains 34 lines, incised on a single plate. The circular seal bears the legend *Śrīmata-Hariścandra-devasya* and the usual figures and emblems. The inscription traces the genealogy of the donor from Yaśovigraha; then records that *Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-Rāja-trayādhipati-Vividha-vidyā-vicāra-vācaspati-Hariścandra*,<sup>4</sup> while residing at Dhanamvakra (?) (line 24), after bathing in the Ganges at the *Cyavaneśvara-ghaṭṭa*, on

<sup>1</sup> The *Kāmil* says “After the flight of the Hindus Shahāb ud-Dīn entered Benares, and carried off its treasures upon 1,400 camels;” *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 251

<sup>2</sup> *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp 222-24, for another account see *Kāmil* of Ibn Athīr (c. 1230 A.D.), extracts trans. in *Elliot*, Vol II, pp. 250-51, see also Brigg’s *Firishta*, Vol. I pp. 178-79. Cf *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 19 ff, where ‘the Rathor raja Jaichand, of Kanauj’ is through a mistake made a contemporary of the Yamīnī king, Mahmūd of Ghazni

<sup>3</sup> *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> See for another record discovered in the same locality, Govindacandra’s No. 35 above.

<sup>5</sup> In this grant the *Aśvapati* titles which first occurred in the grants of Govindacandra (see No 12) are given to all the donors’ predecessors from Govindacandra downwards; see lines 16-20, pp. 97-98, *EI*, Vol. X.

Sunday, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of Pauṣa in (V) *Saṃvat* 1253 (Sunday, the 6th January, A.D. 1197), granted the village of Pamahai<sup>1</sup> with its *pātakas*<sup>2</sup> to one Rāhīhīyaka (or Hihīyaka?), son of the *Ṭhakkura* Madanū of the Kāśyapa<sup>3</sup> *gotra*. It was written by the *Mahākṣapaṭāhika Ṭhakkura* Bhogāditya.<sup>3</sup>

The Hariścandra of this record is certainly the same prince whose *Jāta-karman* and *Nāma-karana* ceremonies were performed by his father in the year A.D. 1175.<sup>4</sup> At the time of the above grant he was therefore about 22 years old, and at the time of the battle of Chandwar barely 18. It appears from this inscription that at least for four years this young prince succeeded in preserving his independence. This conclusion is further supported by the *Belkhara stone pillar-inscription*, dated in (V) *Samvat* 1253, which was discovered in the village of Belkhara, situated about 12 miles S. E. of Chunar, in Mirzapur district, U. P. The inscription is incised on a stone pillar above which there is a small figure of a Ganeśa, with a few letters, and just above the inscription under notice there is a rude bird,<sup>5</sup> and a still ruder horse. There are two inscriptions on the pillar. The upper one, of 5 lines, is illegible. The lower one, in 9 lines, records the erection of a pillar by *Rāuta* Ananda in the reign of *Bānaka* Vijayakarna, the ruler of Belaśarā.<sup>6</sup> It is dated as follows : *Parama-bhattāraketyādi rājāvali...*

<sup>1</sup> Hiralal identified it with Bambāhā, a village in the Machhlisahar tahsil; see *ibid*, p. 94, fn. 5. The editor of the grant however identifies it with Poha, a village about 2 miles from the find-spot of the grant; *ibid*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the *Pattalā* is not clear. But see *supra*, p. 526, Govindacandra's grant No. 35, which mentions the village of Peroha in Mahasoya-Pattalā; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 94, fn. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Hiranand Sastri, *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 93-100. See also remarks by R. D. Banerji on the grant in *JASB*, 1911, pp. 757 ff.; he reads the date as (V) S. 1257 (A.D. 1200).

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, p. 537, grants Nos. 5 and 6 of Jayacandra.

<sup>5</sup> Could it be the mythical bird *Garuḍa*, which appears on the seal of the Gāhaḍavālas?

<sup>6</sup> The text is *Belaśarā palyāṃ pālaka*. I have given above the translation of Cunningham.

*Aśvapati-gajapati- narapati-rāja - trayādhipati..... Vidyā-vicāra-vācaspati- Śrīmat- Kānyakubja - vijaya - rājye - Samvat 1253, Vaiśākha Sudī 11 Bhaume* (Tuesday, 29th April, A.D. 1197).<sup>1</sup> Though unfortunately the inscription does not name the ruler of Kanauj, we may guess that he was no other than the Hariścandra of the previous inscription.<sup>2</sup> It is however doubtful whether Hariścandra had any control of Kanauj and the surrounding territory. Though there is no conclusive evidence in the Muslim chronicles that Kanauj was actually captured,<sup>3</sup> yet the fact that the two above inscriptions were discovered in the Mirzapur and the Jaunpur districts seems to be significant. I have already pointed out the very close connection of the Gāhadavālas with Benares and the territories round about it, and it seems likely that the power of Hariścandra lingered for some time in the more inaccessible parts of the same region. The absence of the name of the sovereign lord of Vijayakarna, the local prince of the Chunar region, in the Belkhara epigraph may have some connection with the statement of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* that in about A.D. 1196 the fiefs of Bhagwat or Bhugwat (بھگوت) and Bhīūli or Bhīwālī (بھیرلی) were conferred upon Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār.<sup>4</sup> These fiefs were situated between the Ganges and

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XI, pp. 128-30, plate XXXVIII. Re-edited by R. D. Banerji, *JASB*, 1911, pp. 763-65.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham in his translation of the record accepts the name as 'Raja Lakhana Deva(?)'. But at that time the Machhlisahr grant was not known. See on this point R. D. Banerji, *JASB*, 1911, pp. 765 ff. Note the inscription engraved on a brick which was found in a village near Jaunpur. It is dated in (V) *Sam* 1273 (A.D. 1217) and is a deed of mortgage recording the loan of 2,250 *Shabdoddika* *drammas* on the pledge of certain fields. It does not mention the name of the king, but its script is similar to Jayaccandra's grants; see *JASB*, Vol. XIX, pp. 454-56.

<sup>3</sup> Only *TN* (Vol. I, p. 491) mentions 'Jai Chand of Banāras, Kinnauj and the territory of Awadh' in the list of victories of Muḥammad Ghūrī. But it is doubtful whether by 'Kinnauj' he meant the city or the territorial division of that name. *TN* (Vol. I, pp. 627-28) mentions 'Kinnauj-i-Shergarh' (city of Kanauj) as one of the conquests of Iltutmish. See on this point, *JASB*, 1911, pp. 766-69.

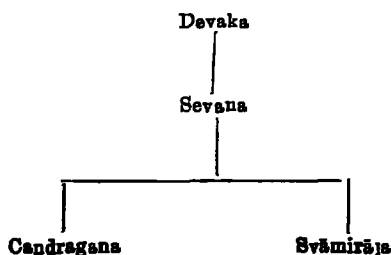
<sup>4</sup> *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 549-50, also fn. 5 on p. 550.



the Karmanasa eastward of and adjoining Chunar-garh. The absence of the royal name in the Belkhara record may reflect the unsettled condition of the neighbouring countries due to the repeated incursions of the Turkish bands under Muḥammad, the fame of whose alertness, bravery and the booty they acquired, had "become noised abroad."<sup>1</sup> But in spite of the success of the Muslims, the fact that the successors of Jayaccandra continued to issue inscriptions and grant lands shows the limitations of the victory of the Turks. The battle of Chandwar had given them only the possession of the more important cities and strongholds; the country-side beyond the reach of the Muslim posts still continued to be under Hindu rule.<sup>2</sup>

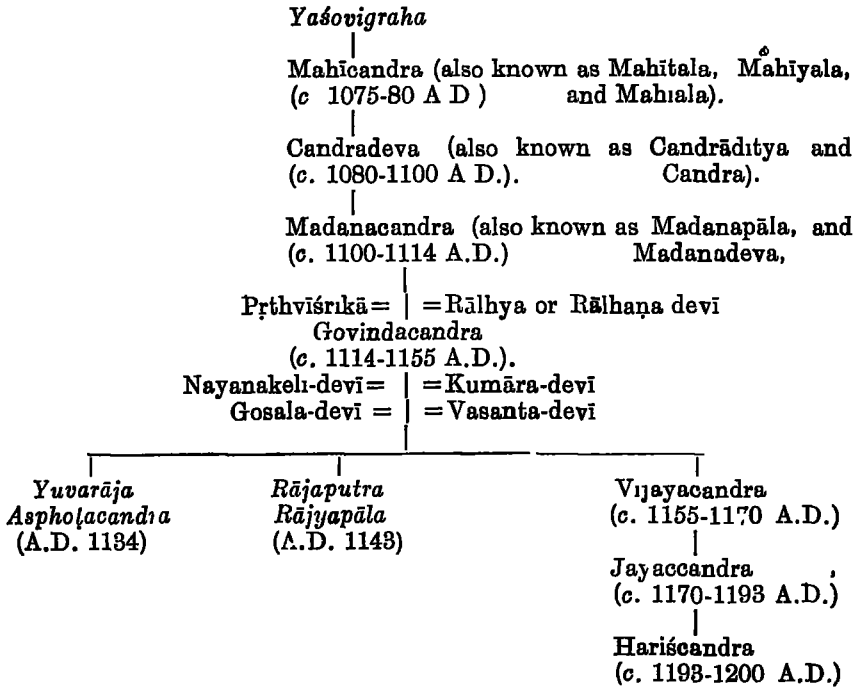
<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 551

<sup>2</sup> On this point see *TN* (Vol. I, pp. 627-28), which refers to Budā'ūn Banāras, Kinnauj-i-Shergarh and Tirhut as the conquests of Iltutmish. Note also the significant mention by that authority (*ibid.*, pp. 628-29) of the existence in the reign of Iltutmish of one 'accursed Bartū' (or Britū) in 'the territory of Awadh' 'beneath whose sword, a hundred and twenty thousand Musalmāns had attained martyrdom'. Raverty suggests that the name of the Hindu chief may be meant for Prthu. *TN* tells us that this ruler was overthrown and 'sent to Hell' by Malik Naṣir ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, the eldest son of Sultān Shams ud-Dīn, soon after 623 H (A.D. 1226). What relation this prince had with the Gāhaḍavālas must at present remain unknown. But as his date is not far removed from the last known date of Hariścandra (A.D. 1197 or 1200?), and as his territory was contiguous to the area where the last Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions have been discovered, he may have belonged to that family. For the history of the Chunar region in the Muslim period, note the stone-inscription in the fort at Chunar, dated in (V) *Samvat* 1390 (A.D. 1334?), which refers to *Shahābadīnādī-duṣṭātma-Yaśanendra-Mahammadā*. This prince has been identified with Muḥammad ibn Tughluq. The record seems to mention the following line of chiefs who ruled in *Kāśīpūra*:



GENEALOGICAL TABLE <sup>1</sup> (c. 1075-1200 A.D.).

(Dates approximate.)

<sup>1</sup> Princes whose names are in *italics* did not reign.

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## CHAPTER IX

### THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS OF NORTHERN INDIA

The late Dr. Burnell was inclined to look upon the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as Dravidian in origin. 'He gave the word *rāṣṭra* as a mythological perversion of *raṭṭa* which he held to be equivalent to the Kanarese or Telegu *Raddi* or *reddi*,' denoting 'the caste of aboriginal Telugu farmers'<sup>1</sup> Fleet, however, maintained the view that *raṭṭa* is an abbreviation of Rāṣṭrakūṭa, rather than Rāṣṭrakūṭa an amplified form of *raṭṭa*. According to this theory, *raṭṭa* is a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *rāṣṭra*, meaning a province. Without entering into the complicated question of the ethnic origin of the various families who called themselves *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, *Raṭṭas*, *Rāṣṭhikas*, *Ratrakas*, *Rāṣṭraudas*, *Rāṣṭrodas*, *Rāṭhadās*, and *Rathors*, we may now hold that these designations are all derived from the word *rāṣṭra*. From very ancient times officers who were in charge of provinces were known as *Rāṣṭriyas*. The Gīrnar inscription of Rudradāman mentions the *Rāṣṭriya* Puṣyagupta of the Vāṣīya castè, who was an officer of the Maurya emperor Candragupta in Kathiawar. Kielhorn, while editing the record, took the word *Rāṣṭriya* in the sense of 'a provincial governor.'<sup>2</sup> Since then it has been pointed out that the *Rāṣṭrapālas* of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Rāṣṭriyas* were synonymous terms.<sup>3</sup> The fact that the former used to receive a salary equal to that of the *Kumāras* or princely viceroys, makes it very probable that the *Rāṣṭrapālas* were viceroys of non-royal families. In the land-grants of the

<sup>1</sup> BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 119-20; Part II, pp. 383-85, p. 385, fn. 2, and also p. 550 and fn. 9 on the same page.

<sup>2</sup> EI, Vol. VIII, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> IA, 1918, p. 145.

10th and 11th centuries A.D. the word *Rāṣṭrapati*<sup>1</sup> and *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*<sup>2</sup> frequently occur in the list of officers addressed by the royal donor before making the grant. The fact that the *Rāṣṭriya* Puṣyagupta was a Vaiśya, while the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* of Mānyakheṭa claimed to be Kṣatriyas of the lunar race, supports the conclusion that all the above words had a professional rather than an ethnic significance. Like the Bengali titles *Mazumdār*, *Cāklādār*, or *Tālūkdār*, these official names may have become in certain areas crystallised into family, caste, or tribal names. It will therefore probably be futile to connect all the families bearing names derived from *rāṣṭra* with one family or tribe. Though some of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* families of Northern India were undoubtedly connected with the great dynasty of Mānyakheṭa (c. 743-974 A.D.), it will perhaps be safer to assume that the other *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* houses whose connection with Mānyakheṭa is not apparent had an independent origin. In the following pages I shall try to give short accounts of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* families of Northern India, with the exception of the Gujarat branch of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* (c. 743-974 A.D.). These latter were descended from the Mānyakheṭa dynasty, and with the exception of a short period of about 80 years (c. 808-888 A.D.) were dependent on the main branch. Their history therefore belongs properly to the history of the Deccan.<sup>3</sup>

### (1) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj.*

The Rāṭhors of Jodhpur claim to be descended from the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* of Kanauj. As their bardic chronicles trace their descent from 'Jayacandra,'<sup>4</sup> the last Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj, and as there is no evidence to show that the Gāhaḍavālas were

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> For their history, see *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 119-34.  
Jayacandra of the inscriptions, see *supra*, pp. 536-544.

Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj have been regarded by many scholars as a myth.<sup>1</sup> Recent investigations have however conclusively demonstrated the existence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family at Kanauj. It is not unlikely that the Rāthors of Jodhpur are really descended from this family. In their usual attempt to glorify their patrons the *prastatikāras* may have wrongly connected the Rāthors with 'Jayacandra.' It is however not absolutely impossible that the mistake was unconscious. It may have been caused by the fact that 'Jayacandra' was at the time of Muslim attack actually the sovereign ruler of Kanauj and the overlord of the feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of that place.

The earliest reference to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family at Kanauj is contained in the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla dated in 1151 A.D., which after mentioning the miraculous birth of Caulukya goes on to say that the latter married a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanyākubja.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hoernle saw 'no historical value' in this statement, and tried to interpret the verse in a different way.<sup>3</sup> But the existence of Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the vicinity of Kanauj is proved beyond all doubt by the *Budaun stone-inscription* of Lakhanapāla.<sup>4</sup> This record was found in August 1887 in the ruins of the south gate of the old fort of Budaun,<sup>5</sup> the chief town of the district of the same name in U.P. It contains 23 lines, written in Devanāgarī characters of about the 12th or 13th century A.D. It probably contained a date in line 23, but unfortunately the editor could not read it. The genealogical portion tells us that the town of Vodāmayūtā,<sup>6</sup> the ornament of the land of Pañcāla, was protected by princes born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS*, 1905, p. 10; *EHI*, 4th Ed., p. 399, fn. 5. *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Ed. by Crooke, Vol. I, p. 161, fn. 2; Vol. II, p. 824, fn. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 201, V. 6, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 10.

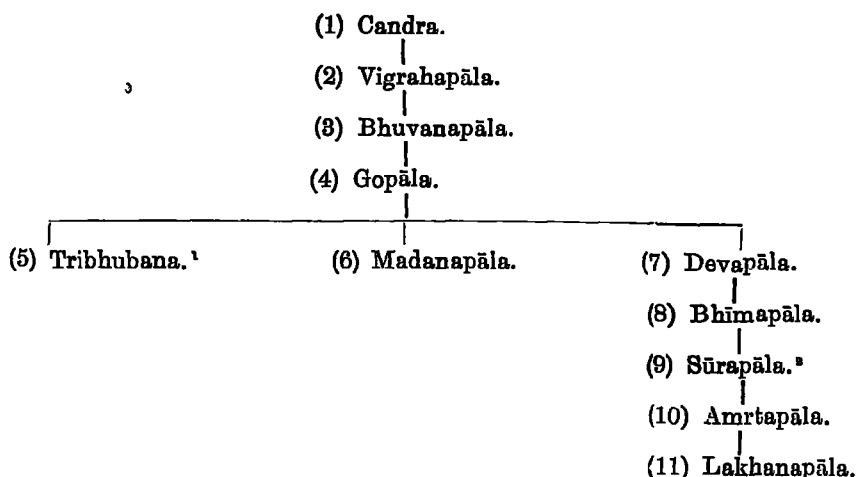
<sup>3</sup> *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66.

<sup>5</sup> According to Kielhorn, called Vodāmayūtā in the record (lines 1 and 11)

<sup>6</sup> Identified by Kielhorn with Budaun.

(*kula*). The inscription then gives the following list of these :



It next proceeds to give the following list of the spiritual predecessors of the Śaiva ascetic Īśānaśiva, who in the reign of Lakhanapāla erected a Śaiva temple at Vodāmayūtā.

- (1) Varmaśiva ..of Anahilapātaka, <sup>3</sup> he destroyed by the efficacy of his *mantras* a Buddhist idol in Dakṣināpatha. He came to the town of Vodāmayūtā in the reign of No 7, and was appointed to the headship of a *maṭha* there, by his *Mantri*. Succeeded by :
- (2) Mūrtigana ....became the spiritual adviser of No 9. Succeeded by his pupil :
- (3) Īśānaśiva.....born in Gauda, the eldest son of the twice-born Vasāvana, a resident of Simhapalli in the Hariyāna country. <sup>4</sup> He founded a temple of Śiva and endowed it with the revenues of a place called Bhadanaulikā.

<sup>1</sup> Tribhuvanapāla?

<sup>2</sup> Sūrapāla?

<sup>3</sup> Popularly known as Anhilwad. Mod Patan on the Saraswati in N. Gujarat.

<sup>4</sup> Also mentioned in inscription No. 238 of Kielhorn's List of N. I. Inscriptions, EI, Vol. V, Appendix. Identified by Kielhorn with mod. Hariyana in the Hissar district of the Punjab.

The inscription was composed by the poet Govindacandra.<sup>1</sup>

This inscription bestows vague praise on most of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes with the exception of Madanapāla, the 6th of the line. We are told about this ruler that in consequence of his " distinguished prowess there never was any talk of Hamvīras' coming to the banks of the river of the gods " (Ganges). The identification of this Hamvīra with the Yamīnī Sultān Ma'sūd III<sup>2</sup> (c. 1099-1115 A.D.) is suggested by a Set Mahet Buddhist stone-inscription, dated in (V) Ś 1176 (A.D. 1119-20),<sup>3</sup> which mentions a Gādhi-purādhīpa Gopāla and Madana, who are most probably to be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes (4) and (6) in the Budaun record bearing the same names.<sup>4</sup> As Budaun was conquered by Qutb ud-Dīn in A. D. 1202 and was conferred as a fief on Shams ud-Dīn Iltutmish, we may infer that Lakhanapāla was the last Hindu ruler of that area, and probably flourished in the first quarter of the 13th century. If this date for him be correct, then we may assign Madanapāla, the 6th prince in the ascending line from Lakhanapāla, to the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. The proximity of the dates and of the areas, viz., Badaun and Kanauj, leaves very little doubt that the two records relate to the same persons, Gopāla and Madanapāla.

As the Gāhadavāla Candradeva claims to have conquered Kanauj some time before 1090 A.D., it may be inferred that he conquered it from Gopāla. The descendants of Gopāla however appear to have been suffered to exist as feudatories by the Gāhadavālas. It is not unlikely that these Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued to hold Kanauj till the reign of Iltutmish (1191-36 A.D.), who

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *MI*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, chapter on the Gāhadavālas, pp. 514-15. First suggested by my pupil N. B. Sanyal, *JASB*, 1925, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, pp. 505 and 518; inscription No. 10 of Gāhadavāla Govindacandra's reign.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1925, pp. 105 ff.



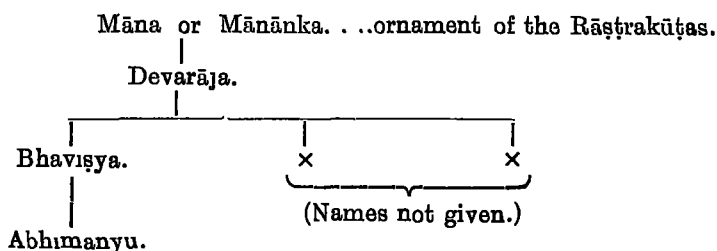
conquered 'Kinnauj-i-Shergarh' and brought the territory of Oudh and Badaun under subjection.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of C. P. and C. I.*

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa families of C. P. and C. I. may be conveniently grouped under the headings of (1) *Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura*, (2) *Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Betul*, and (3) *Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Pathari*.

(a) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.*

The existence of this family is known from the *Undīkavā-ṭikā grant* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Abhimanyu. The exact find-spot of this is unknown. It contains 22 lines, incised on 3 plates. It is not dated, but has been referred approximately to the 7th century A.D. on palaeographic grounds.<sup>2</sup> The seal contains the figure of a lion couchant facing the proper right, with jaws open and tongue protruding.<sup>3</sup> The grant opens with *Om svasti* and in the introductory portion gives the following genealogy of the donor :—



<sup>1</sup> *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 627-29; see also *supra*, chapter on the Gāhadavālas, p. 547, fn. 2. Consult *Rāṣṭraudha-vaṃśa-Mahākāvya* of Rudra Kavi, composed in *Saka* 1518 (A D 1596), under the orders of king Nārāyaṇa Shāh of Mayūragiri (mod. Mulher, not far from Satana in Nasik District). The princes claim descent from Rāṣṭraudha, who was adopted by Nārāyaṇa, the childless king of Kanauj. The clan of Mayūragiri are known as the Bāgula clan of the Rāṭhōra and have the same *gotra* (Gautama) as that of the Jodhpur branch. The ancestors of Nārāyaṇa Shāh seem to have accepted service under Jayasīṃha of Anahilapūra, and after the downfall of the Vāghelas migrated to the Nasik region.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet in *BG*, Vol I, Part II, p. 386; *HI*, Vol. VIII, p. 163. Jackson referred the grant to about 450 A D., see *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> The seals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa contain the figure of a *Garuḍa*.

This last ruler, while residing at Mānapura<sup>1</sup> granted the small village of Undikavāṭikā<sup>2</sup> to the god Dakṣiṇa-Śiva, through Jaṭāvāra, a Pāśupata ascetic in charge of the temple situated at Peṭha-Pangaraka.<sup>3</sup> The grant was made in the presence of Jayasimha, the Harivatsa-Koṭṭa-nigraha<sup>4</sup>

This land-grant of Abhimanyu seems to be the earliest inscription of the princes who designated their family as Rāṣṭrakūṭa. The lion-seal of the family of Mānānka may indicate that his line was quite distinct from the Malkhed family, who had the figure of Garuda on their seals. The town named Mānapura, from which the grant of Abhimanyu was issued, was probably founded by Mānānka. If its identification with Manpur near Mhow is accepted,<sup>5</sup> we may infer that this family ruled over the valley of the Narbada from Mhow to Pachmarhi.

### (b) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Betul*

The existence of this family is also known from a single grant, the *Multāi grant* of Nandarāja. It was found in the possession of a Gosain resident at Multāi, the chief town of the

<sup>1</sup> Identified by Hultzsch with Manpur, near Bandhogarh, in Rewa, *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 166, Bhagvanlal Indraji thought that it was an older form of the name Mānyakheṣa (mod. Malkhed), about 60 miles S.E. of Sholapur; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 120. Fleet at first identified it 'with the modern Mānpur in Malwa about 12 miles S. W. of Mhow,' in the Indore Residency, C.I. (*ibid*, Part II, p. 386, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 233-34), but later thought it not impossible that Mānpur may have been the older name of Shohagpur, or Sobhapur, which is a large village 6 miles on the N.E. of Shohagpur (*ibid*, Vol. XXX, p. 514).

<sup>2</sup> Identified with the mod. village of Ontia, near Pagara; the latter is 4 miles N. of Pachmarhi in Hoshangabad district, C.P., *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 514.

<sup>3</sup> The Mahāśiva temple at Pagara, about 4 miles north of Pachmarhi, in Hoshangabad district, C.P., has been identified with this Dakṣiṇa-Śiva temple, *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 132, *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 511.

<sup>4</sup> Does it mean 'commandant of the fort of Harivatsa'? *nigraha* = *pāla*? Its ordinary sense is, chastiser, but Fleet took *nigraha* = *pāla*, see *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 510. The inscription was first published by Bhagvanlal Indraji in *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 88 ff., and critically examined by Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XXX, pp. 509 ff. It was noticed in the *BG* by both Jackson and Fleet, and finally edited by Hultzsch in *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163-66.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet rejected this identification, suggested by him (in *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 386) on the ground that it was north of the Narbada. This does not appear to me to be a sufficient reason.

Multāi sub-division of the Betul district in the C. P.<sup>1</sup> It contains 31 lines of writing in Nāgarī characters, incised on 3 plates. The seal, which is a part of the ring itself, bears in outline the figure of *Garuda* and the legend *Śrī Yuddhāsura*. The record opens with *Om svasti*, and then gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the *Rāṣṭrakūtānvaya*

Durgarāja

Govindarāja

Svāmīkarāja

Nandarāja, *alias* Yuddhāsura.

The object of the grant is to record the grant of the village of Jalaūkuhe to the Brahman Śrīprabha Caturveda. In line 29 we are told that the charter was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Naula in *Śaka-kāla-samvatsara* 631 (c. 700 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

Fleet thought that this family was a feudatory line. The figure on the seal is similar to that on the seal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed. It may indicate that two lines were connected, but the connection is not apparent.

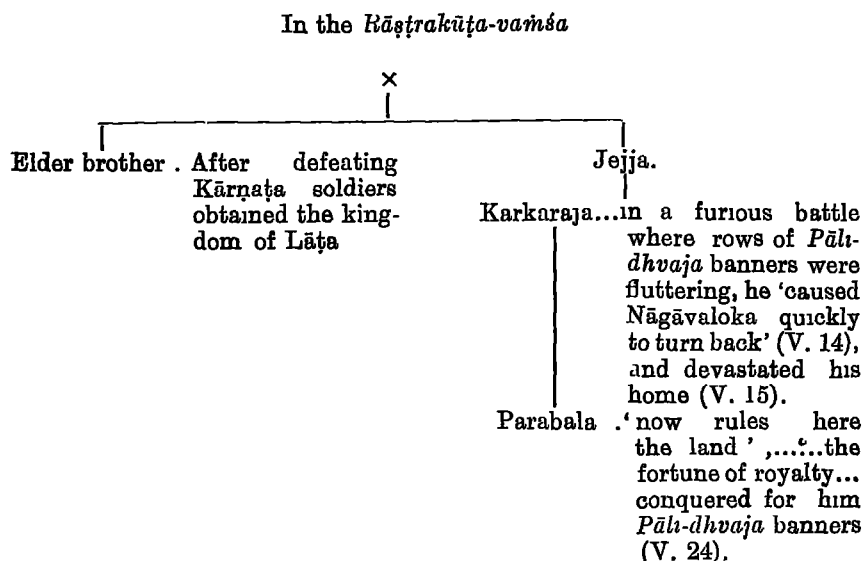
### (c) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Pathari.*

The existence of this family is also known from a single inscription, the *Pathari stone pillar-inscription* of Parabala. This is incised on the northern face of a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital, in Pathari (long 78° 15', lat. 23° 56'),

<sup>1</sup> Fleet pointed out that the localities mentioned in the grant do not bear any resemblance to any villages in the Multāi district or in Hoshangabad or Jubbulpore. It is therefore not certain that the grant really belongs to the locality where it was found. 'All that can be said on this point is that the characters show that it belongs to some part of Central India or of the Central Provinces;' *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-31.

<sup>2</sup> First published by Prinsep in *JASB*, Vol. VI, pp. 869 ff. Re-edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-36.

the chief town of the State of the same name in the Bhopal Agency, C.I. It contains 36 lines. The characters resemble those of the Gwalior *praśasti* of Bhoja (V.S. 933). It opens with *Om namaḥ* and four verses invoking the god Viṣṇu under the names of Murāri, Kṛṣṇa, and Hari, and then gives the genealogy of a line of kings as follows :



The proper object of the inscription is to record that this last king founded a temple of Sauri (Viṣṇu), before which he erected the *Guruda-dhvaja* pillar on which it was engraved. The first part of the inscription (lines 1-31) ends here. The second part (lines 32-38), which appears to have been added as post-script, then seems to record the installation of an image of Viṣṇu.<sup>1</sup> The date, (V) *Samvat* 917 (A.D. 861), comes at the end of the first part (line 31).<sup>2</sup>

This inscription supplies some facts of considerable historical importance. Kielhorn had already pointed out that the unknown

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is damaged here.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol IX, pp 218-56.

elder brother of Jejjā, who is reported to have conquered Lāṭa after defeating the Karnāṭas, must be placed in the period 757-812 A.D., during which we know little about Lāṭa.<sup>1</sup> It thus appears likely that he may have conquered portions of Gujarat by defeating the armies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan (Karnāṭas) after the death of Kakkarāja, the local Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, in 757 A.D. The Nāgāvaloka defeated by Karkarāja has also been identified by Kielhorn with the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhatta II (c. 815-33 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> The enmity between these Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the rising power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras appears to have brought them into friendly alliance with the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. This is shown by the probable identification of the Parabala of our inscription with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala of the Pāla records.<sup>3</sup> The marriage of Rannādevī, the daughter of Parabala, with Dharmapāla (c. 769-815 A.D.) must be accepted as the outward symbol of the close alliance between these two enemies of the Gurjara power. Another interesting fact is the mention of the *Pāli-dhvaja* banner in connection with the victories of Karkarāja and Parabala. The possession of this flag was claimed by both the Calukyas of Vātāpi<sup>4</sup> and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed.<sup>5</sup>

(3) <sup>o</sup> *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Rajputana.*

Inscriptions of Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes have been found in Rajputana with dates ranging from about 973 to 1366 V.S. They may be conveniently grouped under the following heads :—

- (a) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikunāi.*
- (b) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Dhanop.*
- (c) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Rathadās) of Bithu.*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252; also *EI*, Vol. VII, Appendix II, p. 4. The period falls between Mahārājādhirāja Kakkarāja, II (A.D. 757) and Indrarāja, the brother of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (c. 794-814 A.D.), for whose sons we have dates from 811 to 827 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 251

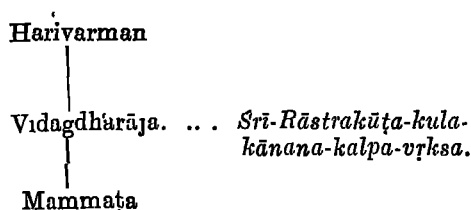
<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, p. 288; also *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 189, 338, and 368.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 387 and 402.

(a) *The Rāstrakūṭas of Hastikundī.*

The existence of this family was revealed by the discovery of the so-called *Bijapur stone-inscription* of Dhavala. According to 'local report' the stone was originally fixed in the wall of a solitary Jaina temple situated about 2 miles from the village of Bijapur in the Bali (Godwar) district of the state of Jodhpur.<sup>1</sup> The inscription consists of 32 lines, and contains two separate records. The first one extends from lines 1 to 22, the second from lines 23 to 32. The *second record* 'opens with the praise of the Jaina religion.' It then gives the following genealogy of a line of princes:—



The inscription then records that Vidagdharāja built a *Caitya-grha* at Hastikundī<sup>2</sup> for his *guru* Balabhadra. The former prince in (V) *Samvat* 973 granted certain donations,  $\frac{2}{3}$  rds of the proceeds of which were to go to the Jina (*Arhat*) and  $\frac{1}{3}$  rd to the guru as *Vidyā-dāna*. These grants were renewed by Mammaṭa in V. S. 996. The closing verse expresses a wish that the endowments may be enjoyed by the progeny of Keśavadāsa Sūri as long as mountains, etc., last. The inscription was engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* Satayogeśvara.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription according to another report was discovered by Captain Burt "in the interior of a gateway leading to Mandir, distant one kos from Beejapoor, on the route from Odeypore to Sirohi near Mt. Abū;" *JASB*, Vol. X, p 821.

<sup>2</sup> Mod Hathundi, close to the village of Bijapur, 10 miles to the south of Bāli, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Jodhpur; *IGI*, Vol. VI, p 247

The first record opens with two verses in praise of the Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras. Then follows the genealogy of the same line of princes as above :—

Harivarman = Ruci

Vidagdha... .. induced to build a temple of Jina in the town of Hastikundi by his preceptor Vāsudeva.

Mammata

Dhavaḷa..... gave shelter to the armies of a king (name lost) and of the lord of the Gurjaras, when Muñjarāja had destroyed Āghāta,<sup>1</sup> the pride of Medapāta<sup>2</sup> (V 10), . afforded protection to Mahendra against Durlabharāja (V 11); gave support to Dharaṇivarāha (V 12); and abdicated in favour of his son Bālaprasāda (V. 19)

Bālaprasāda

The next 6 verses (22-27) are devoted to the praise of Hastikundi, the capital of Bālaprasāda. Next is mentioned the *Sūri Śāntibhadra*, the pupil of Vāsudeva. Then follows the information that the *goṣṭhī* of Hastikundi renovated the temple of the first Tīrthaṅkara (Rsabhanātha), which was first built by Vidagdharāja. After its renovation Śāntibhadra in (V) *Samvat* 1053 (A.D. 997) installed the image of the Tīrthaṅkara. The inscription was composed by Sūryācārya.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription supplies some interesting information in connection with the achievements of Dhavaḷa. Muñjarāja has been correctly identified with the Paramāra Vākpāti-Muñja (c. 974-95 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> The lord of the Gurjaras mentioned here was most probably the Caulukya Mūlarāja I of Gujrat (c. 961-96 A.D.),<sup>5</sup> while the prince whose name is lost was possibly a Guhila of Medapāta. Durlabharāja was identified by Kielhorn

<sup>1</sup> Mod. Ahad, near the Udaipur station. The Guhilot clan Ahadiyā derives its name from this place.

<sup>2</sup> Mod. Mewar.

<sup>3</sup> First noticed by Kielhorn, *JASB*, 1893, Vol. LXII, Part I, pp 309-14. Then edited by Pandit Ramkaran, *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 17-24.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, 1893, Vol. LXII, Part I, p. 311.

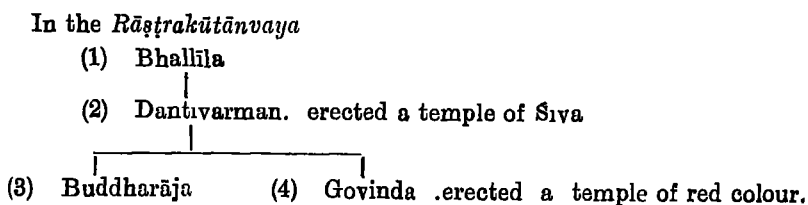
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*

with the brother of the Cāhamāna Vighraharāja of the Harṣa inscription dated in V.S. 1030.<sup>1</sup> The same scholar rightly identified Mahendra with the Naddūla Cāhamāna of the same name.<sup>2</sup> Pandit Ramkaran has suggested the possibility of the identification of Dharaṇīvarāha with the Paramāra king of that name, who is said to have been the ruler of Nav-kot in Marwar.<sup>3</sup>

The proposed identifications, if accepted, would show the comparative importance of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. Their importance was probably in some measure due to the fact that their principality was situated in the region where the frontiers of the Caulukya, the Cāhamāna, and the Paramāra kingdoms met. As incessant struggles went on between these powers, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas could always count on the assistance of one when threatened by another of the three.<sup>4</sup>

(b) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Dhanop.*

The existence of this family was made known by the discovery of the *Dhanop* stone-inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Cacca. It was found at Dhanop, 16 miles north of Shahpura, capital of the principality of the same name in Rajputana. It contains 13 lines, opening with *Om namaḥ Śivāya* and a verse invoking Śiva. We are next introduced to a king named Cacca. Then we are given the following genealogy of the princes of this family :—



<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 71; also pp. 64 and 67.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, Vol. X, p. 19 and fn. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Annalla-devī, the wife of the Cāhamāna Aḥhaṇa of Naddūla (A.D. 1152-61), who traced her descent to the *Rāṣṭrauḍa-vamśa* may have belonged to this Hathundi branch, See *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 71, fn. 2.



Then we are told that many years after the passing away of these princes, a devotee of Śiva named Nagna-bhattāraka, seeing that the god founded by the above-mentioned kings received no worship, went to king Cacca and said : “ O king, this temple belongs to the princes of your family ”<sup>1</sup> and induced him to renovate it, and it was dedicated to Śiva under the name Dhankeśvara. The inscription was engraved by Rāmadeva. It ends with the date (V) *Samvat* 1063.<sup>2</sup>

That the power of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas probably extended into the region now known as the State of Kotah is shown by the *Shergadh stone-inscription* dated in (V) S. 1074. This, together with two other records dated in (V) S. 1075 and 1084, was incised on a stone which was lying outside the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa at Shergadh, in the State of Kotah in Rajputana. It records that in V. S. 1074 the Seth Narasimha and two others made a grant of one *Karsa* of ghee as unguent for the feet of Bhattāraka Nagnaka. There can hardly be any doubt that this last person is identical with the Nagna-bhattāraka of the Dhanop inscription of Cacca.<sup>3</sup>

(c) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Raṭhadās) of Bithu.*

This branch is known from the *Bithu stone-inscription* of the Sīhā Raṭhadā, engraved on a *devlī* (memorial stone) in Bithu, a village about 14 miles N. W. of Palī, the principal town in the district of the same name in the State of Jodhpur. It contains 7 lines, recording that in (V) S. 1330 the Raṭhadā Sīhā, son of *Kamvara* (Kumāra) Śrī-Seta, went to the world of gods. ‘ May the bliss of heaven be for Pārvatī, the Solāṅkinī.’<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This shows that Cacca was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa. But we do not know how he was related to the previous family.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1911, pp. 174-75.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by the same, *ibid*, pp. 175-76.

Edited by the same, *ibid*, pp. 181-83.

Prof. Bhandarkar rightly identified this Sīhā, son of Seta, with Sīyā jī, the son of Setrām, the reported founder of the royal family of Jodhpur. The Rāthors of Jodhpur claim descent from the Rāstrakūtas of Kanauj (*Kanojīyā-Rāthora*)<sup>1</sup> It is therefore very likely that this family was a branch of the line of Lakhanapāla, which, we have seen, ruled in Budaun and Kanauj probably as feudatories of the Gāhadavālas.<sup>2</sup> It may well be that after the destruction of this Rāstrakūṭa line in the 13th century a scion of this family, possibly Seta, migrated to Rajputana and became the founder of the modern Rāthors. As usual, the bards, mixing facts with fiction, represented him as connected with Kanauj and the famous Gāhadavāla prince Jayaccandra.<sup>3</sup>

#### (4) *The Rāstrakūtas of Bihar.*

In my chapters on the dynasties of Bengal and Bihar and the Gāhadavālas, I have already referred to this line of Rāstrakūtas. In her Sarnath inscription, Kumāra-devī,<sup>4</sup> the queen of the Gāhadavāla Govindacandra (c. 1114-1155 A.D.), refers to her maternal grandfather Mahana, the ruler of Aṅga (*Aṅgapa*) and 'a peerless warrior of the Gauda country.' Mahana is further described as 'the venerable maternal uncle (*mātula*) of kings' who had conquered the Chikkora Devarakṣita of Pīthī and maintained the glory of Rāmapāla. This led to the identification of Mahana with the Rāstrakūṭa Mahana or Mathana of the *Rāma-carita* of Sandhyākara Nandī,<sup>5</sup> who was the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126 A.D.), and materially aided

<sup>1</sup> AR, Vol. I. p. 161, Vol. II, p. 824

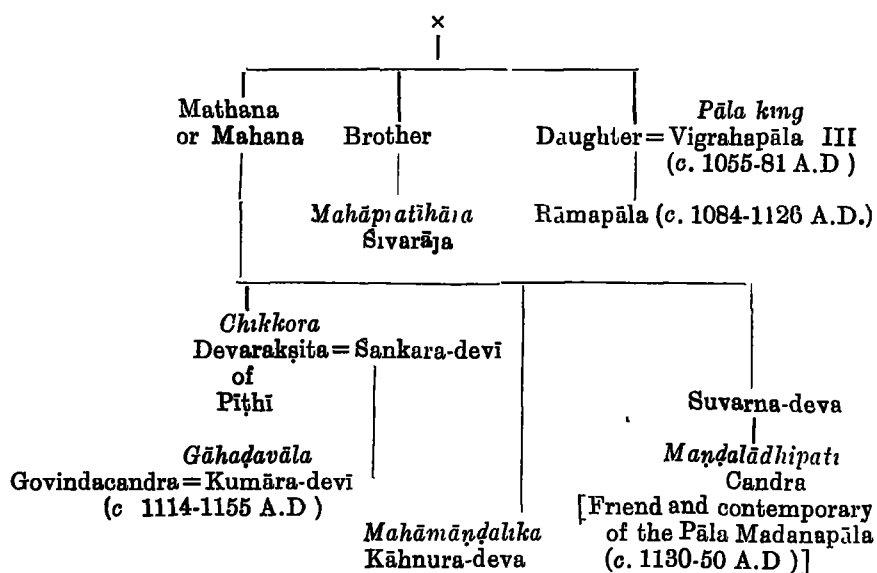
<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, pp. 505, 507 and 518.

<sup>3</sup> Note also the *Bikaner prasasti* of Rāya Singha of V.S. 650, JASB, Vol. XVI (N.S.), pp. 262 ff.; and the *Trisinghar inscription* of Dūhada, son of Āśvatthāman (Āsothama), and grandson of Sīhā, dated in V.S. 1366. See IA, 1911, p. 301

<sup>4</sup> EI, Vol. IX, pp. 319-20. No. 42 of the Gāhadavāla Govindacandra; see above, p. 526.

<sup>5</sup> MASB, Vol. III, No. 1. See *supra*, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, pp. 338 ff.

him in establishing his power. The *Rāma-carita* makes it clear that Mathana was a feudatory of Rāmapāla. The names of the following members of this family are supplied by the *Rāma-carita*<sup>1</sup> and the Sarnath inscription :—



### (5) *The Rāstrakūṭas of Kathiawar.*

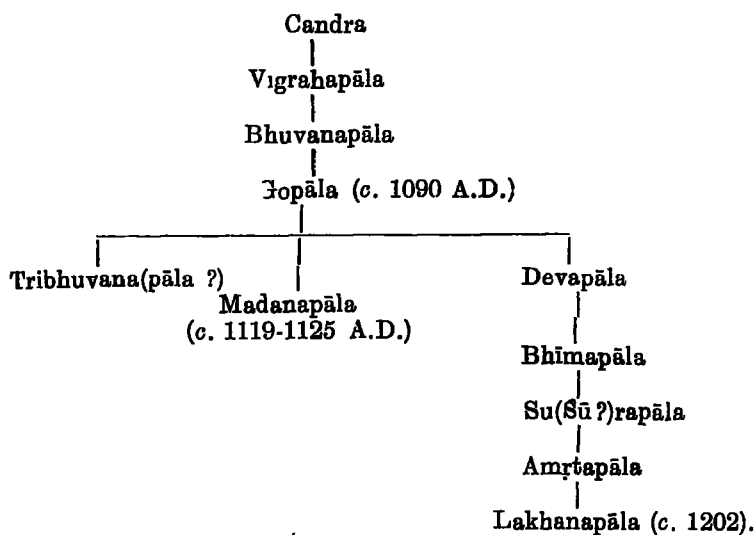
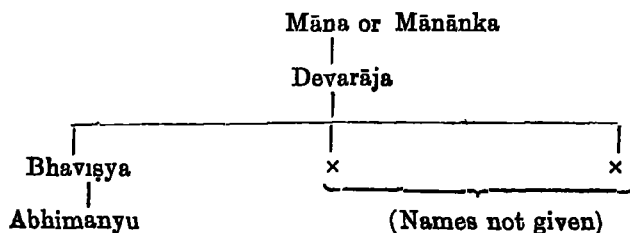
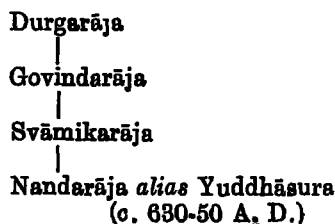
A *Veraval* inscription dated in V. S. 1442 (A.D. 1384) gives us the name of prince (*Nṛpa*) Bharmā of the *Rāṣṭroḍa-vamśa*.<sup>2</sup> Veraval is a port in the State of Junagarh, in Kathiawar, situated in Lat. 20°33' N and Long. 70°26' E. The inscription reveals the existence of Rāstrakūṭa chiefs in Kathiawar even after the Muslim conquest in 1299 A.D., and is chiefly interesting as it supplies the form *Rāṣṭroḍa* which shows the gradual vernacularisation of the word Rāstrakūṭa towards modern Rāṭhōḍa or Rāṭhor.

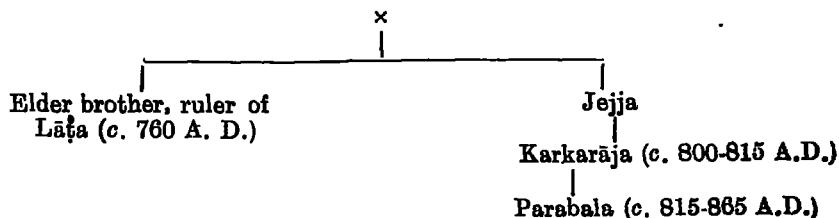
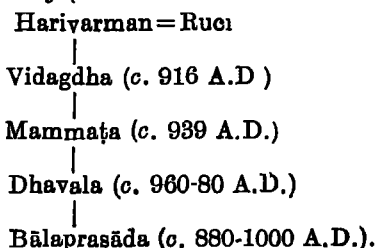
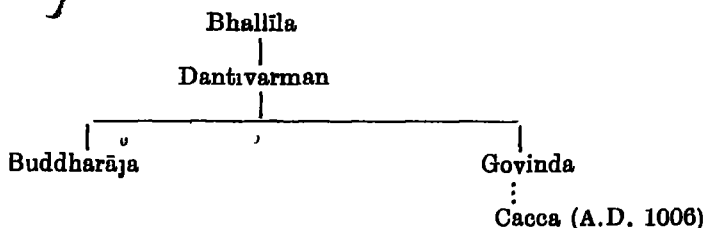
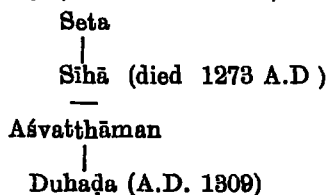
<sup>1</sup> See in this connection *IHQ*, March, 1929, pp. 35-46.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 185; *BI*, Vol. V, Appendix. Knelhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 1442.

## GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(Dates approximate.)

I. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj (c. 1050-1202).*II. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of C I and C.P.:*(a) *The Mānapura Family (c. 650-700 A.D.):*(b) *The Betul Family (c. 575-650 A. D.):*

(c) *The Pathari Family (c. 750-875 A.D.):*III. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Rajputana:*(a) *The Hastikuṇḍi Family (c. 900-1000 A.D.):*(b) *The Dhanop Family (c. 950-1010 A.D.):*(c) *The Bithu Family (c. 1200-1310 A.D.):*IV. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Bihar (c. 1050-1150 A.D.):*

[For the list of princes, see *supra*, the genealogical tables in the chapter on the 'Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar,' p. 387.]

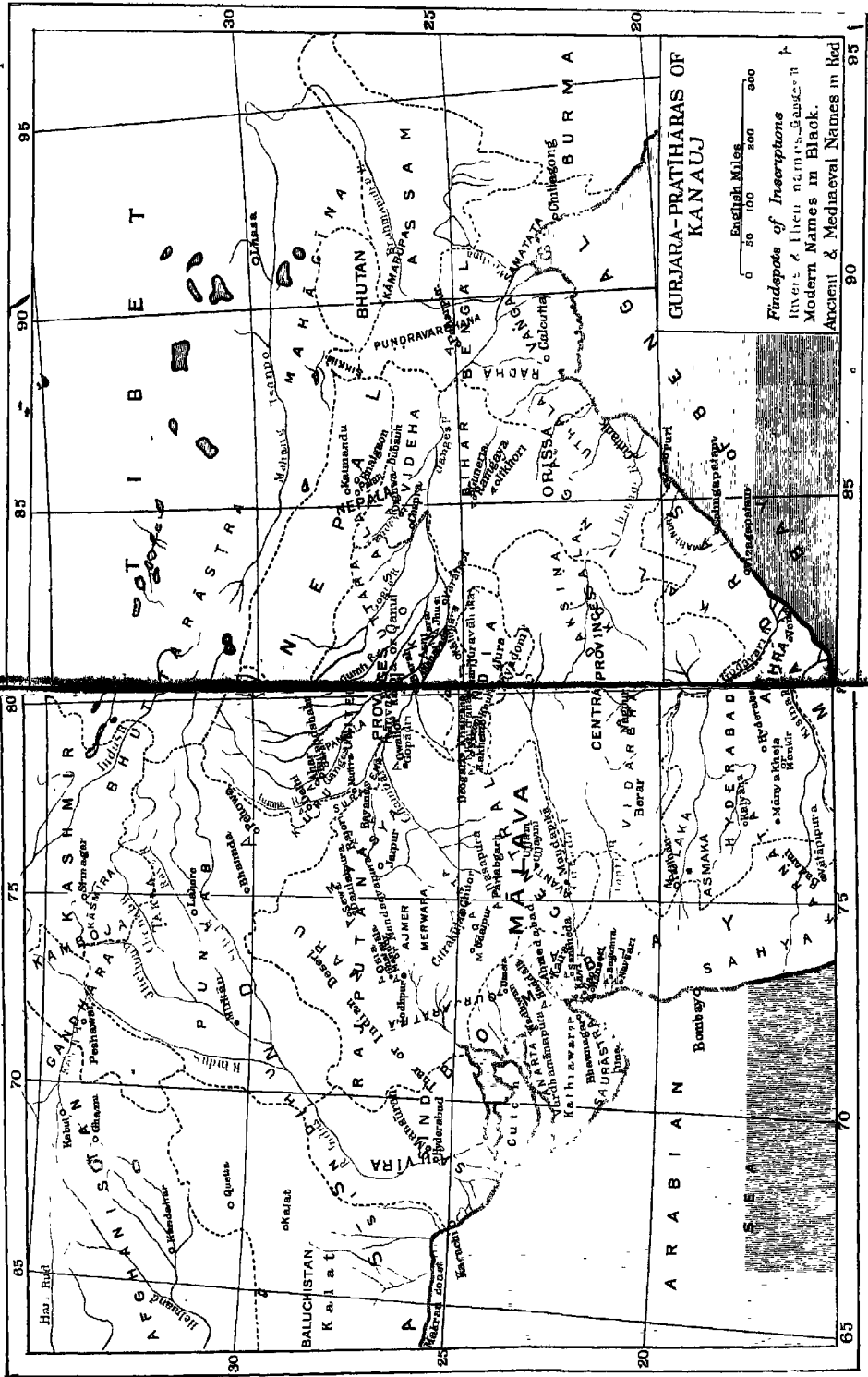
V. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kathiawar:*

Bharma (A.D. 1384.)

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4. *The Predecessors of the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj*, by N. B. Sanyal, *JASB*, 1925, pp. 103-106.
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## CHAPTER X

### THE LATER GURJARA-PRATIHĀRAS OF KANAUJ

The Kānyakubja empire of the Puspabhūtiś did not long survive the death of Harṣavardhana in about 647 A.D. His death introduces us to one of those periods of turmoil which inevitably follow the disruption of a strong empire and precede the foundation of a new one in Indian history. It is very difficult to give any connected account of political happenings in Northern India for about two hundred years after this event. The Tibetan invasion and control of the Ganges valley, the attempted revival of the Gupta empire by Ādityasena and of the Kanauj empire by Yaśovarman are some of the more important incidents of the first half of this period. The hope of an early revival of the hegemony of Kanauj, however was shattered by the ambition of the Kārkota kings of Kashmir. Then followed what may be described as a triangular contest between the Pālas of Bengal and Bihār, the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Malwa and Western India, and the Rāṣtrakūṭas of the Deccan for the possession of the Ganges-Jumna valley and the city of Kanauj. After a struggle of about half a century, in which fortune showed her fickleness by alternately favouring each of the combatants, she at last became the bride of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Some time before the year 836 A.D. they captured Kanauj, and, thanks to the achievements of two of their ablest chiefs, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, at last succeeded in re-establishing an empire in India that in extent rivalled, if it did not exceed, that of the Guptas and the Puspabhūtiś. There unquestioned epigraphic evidence to show that the last of these

two princes ruled over an area which extended from the Karnal district in the Punjab to Bihar and from the Kathiawar peninsula to Northern Bengal.<sup>1</sup> The strength and power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras are amply attested by the account of the contemporary

<sup>1</sup> The important inscriptions and dates for the history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras up to the reign of Mahendrapāla are as follows

- (1) Jodhpur stone-inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, V. S. 894, *EI*, XVIII, 87-99.
- (2) Ghatayāla stone-inscription of Pratihāra Kakkuka, V.S. 918, *JRAS*, 1895, 513-21.
- (3) 4 Ghatayāla pillar stone-inscription of Pratihāra Kakkuka, V. S. 918, *EI*, IX, 277-81.
- (4) The five records of the Gurjaras of Broach
  - (i-ii) Two Kaira grants of Dadda II, K S 330 and 385, *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 82-91.
  - (iii) Sankheda grant of the time of Dadda II, K S. 391, *EI*, Vol. II pp. 20-21.
  - (iv) Nausari grant of Jayabhata III, K S 456, *I I*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77-81.
  - (v) The second plate of the Kavi grant of the same, K S. 486, *IA*, Vol. V, pp. 113-15.
- (5) The Sankheda Gurjara grant (second half only) of (Dadda I?), K.S. 346, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 19-20
- (6) The three records of the Gurjaras of Broach held to be spurious by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet
  - (i) Uneta grant of Dadda II, *Saka*. S. 400, *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 61-66
  - (ii) Bagumra grant of the same, *Saka* S. 417, *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 183-200.
  - (iii) Ilao grant of the same, *Saka* S. 417, *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 116-19
- (7) Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna Bharivaddha of the time of Nāgāvaloka, V S. 813 *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 197-204; Nāgāvaloka is identified with Nāgabhatta I, *IA*, Vol. 40, 1911, p. 240
- (8) Osia stone-inscription of Vatsaraja, *JRAS*, 1907, Part II, pp. 1010-11
- (9) The passage in *Jaina-Harivamsa* giving the date *Saka* S. 705 for Vatsa king of Avantī, see *IA*, XV, pp. 141-43, *BG*, Vol. I Part II, p. 197 and fn. 2, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 195-96.
- (10) Buchkala stone inscription of Nāgabhatta II, V S. 872, *JRAS*, 1907, Part II, p. 1011. The date is wrongly given by Marshall as 892 but see *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 4, fn. 1.
- (11) Barah copper-plate of Bhojadeva, V.S. 893, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.
- (12) Daulatpura plate of the same, V.S. 900, *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 208-13, see for the correction of the date, *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 410 ff.
- (13) Deogadh pillar-inscription of Bhoja, V S. 919 and *Saka* S. 784, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 309-10.
- (14-15) The two Gwalior Caturbhujā temple inscriptions of the same, V S. 932 and 938, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 154-62.
- (16) Gwalior (Sāgar-Tāl) stone-inscription of the same, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 99-114; *ASI*, 1903-04, pp. 277-85.
- (17) Ahar stone-inscription of the same, *Harṣa*. S. 259, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 52-62.
- (18) Delhi fragmentary stone-inscription of Bhoja *RMR*, 1924, p. 3.
- (19) Pehowa Garibnāth temple stone-inscription of the same, *Harṣa* S. 276, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 184-90.

Arab writers.<sup>1</sup> The Arab satraps of Sind soon found their way blocked by the mighty arm of these rulers, and came to regard them as the greatest foe of the Muḥammadan faith. Though there is at present little evidence, it may be surmised that but for the powerful aid of the Rāṣtrakūṭa rulers of the Deccan, the Arab power in the last half of the 9th century would probably have been crushed in Sind.

Mahendrapāla died some time after 907-08 A.D. The chronological arrangement of the princes who succeeded him is

- (20) Barton Museum, Bhavnagar fragmentary stone-inscription of the time of Bhoja (?), *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 174-77.
- (21-22) The two Una grants of the time of Mahendrapāla, *Valabhī* S. 574 and V S 956, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 1-10.
- (23) Dighwa-Dubauli plate of the same, V S 955, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 105-13, *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 405 ff
- (24) Siyadoni stone-inscription of the same, V S. 960 and 964, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 162-79.
- (25) Pehowa *prasasti* of the same, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 242-50
- (26) Ram-Gaya stone-inscription of the same, year 8, *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64.
- (27) Guneria stone-inscription of the same, year 9, *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64.
- (28-29) Two British Museum stone-inscriptions of the same, years 2 and 6, *NKGWG*, 1904, pp. 210-11.
- (30) Itkhorī stone image inscription of the same, *ASI*, 1920-21, p. 35.
- (31) Paharpura (N. Bengal) votive stone pillar-inscription of the same, 5th year, not yet edited, noticed in *ASI*, 1925-26, p. 141.

*Non-Gujara Inscriptions :*

- (1) Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, *Saka* S 556, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
- (2) Radhanpur plates of Govinda III, *Saka* S 730, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 239-51.
- (3) Wani grant of the same, *Saka*. S 730 (for 728), *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 157-63.
- (4) Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235-57
- (5) Pathari pillar-inscription of Parabala, V S 917, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 248-56 and *IA*, 1911, pp. 239-40
- (6) The Baroda grant of Karka-Suvarṇavarṣa, *Saka* S 734, *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 156-65.
- (7) The Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa, *Saka* S 788, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 98-108
- (8) Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243-54.
- (9) Monghyr grant of Devapāla, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304-07.
- (10) Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 304-10
- (11) Badal pillar-inscription of Guravamiśra, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 160-67.
- (12) Kahla plate of the Kalacuri Sodhadeva, V S 1134, *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 85-93.
- (13) Bilhari stone-inscription of the rulers of Cedi, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 251-70.
- (14) Benares copper-plate of Karṇadeva, K.S. 793, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 297-310.
- (15) Chatsu inscription of the Guhila Bālāditya, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol. I, p. 4. See also 'Dynastic History of Sind,' *supra*, pp. 10-11 and 15-16.

somewhat difficult. The Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla, dated in V.S. 988, informs us that (Mahendrapāla) had a son named Bhoja II by his queen Dehanāgā-devī, and another son Vināyakapāla by the queen Mahī-devī. The latter is represented as meditating on the feet of his father, as well as of his illustrious half-brother. The Asmī stone pillar-inscription of Mahīpāla, dated in 974 V S., tells us that Mahīpāla meditated on the feet of Mahendrapāla. That Mahīpāla was a son of Mahendrapāla is also clear from the plays of Rājasekhara. The Siyadoni stone inscription mentions Kṣitipāla after Mahendrapāla, though the relationship between the two is not specified. The inscription supplies the date V.S. 964 for Mahendrapāla and V.S. 1025 for Devapāla, the son of Kṣitipāla. The Patnagarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II, dated in V.S. 1003, mentions Vināyakapāla as meditating on the feet of Mahendrapāla I. The Khajuraho inscription of Dhanga, dated in V.S. 1011, tells us that the Candella Yaśovarman received an image of Vaikunṭha from the Hayapati Devapāla, the son of Herambapāla. The latter had received the statue from the Śāhi king of Kīra in return 'for a force of elephants and horses.'<sup>1</sup> The late Dr. Kielhorn assumed the identity of this Devapāla with the Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription,<sup>2</sup> and thereby identified his predecessors Kṣitipāla and Herambapāla. As *Kṣiti* and *Mahī* mean the same thing, he further assumed the identity of the princes named Kṣitipāla, Mahīpāla, and Herambapāla.<sup>3</sup> It remained for Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar to show that Vināyaka and Heramba also mean the same deity and hence to propose the identification of Vināyakapāla with the three mentioned above.<sup>4</sup> The chronology of the

1 *Kailāśād-Bhotanāthakṣṣitipāla ca lalākṣṣitipāla prapade*  
*Śāhi-stasmādavāpa dvipaturagabalenānu Herambapālakṣṣitipāla.*  
*tatsūno Devapālāttamatha Hayapatēḥ prāpyanunye pratigṛhām*  
*Vaikunṭhaḥ kunṭhitārīḥ kṣitidharatīlakṣṣitipāla śrī-Yaśovarman-ājāḥ.*

2 *HI*, Vol. I, pp. 129 and 134, V. 43. Scholars are not unanimous about the interpretation of this verse

3 *HI*, Vol. I, p. 124.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 170-72

4 *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 406-07

immediate successors of Mahendrapāla, according to this view would be as follows :

- (1) Mahendrapāla (last known date 907-08 A. D.)  
Dehanāgā-devi = | = Mahi-devi.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) Bhoja (II) |
- (3) Mahipāla (914, 917 A.D.) *alias*  
Ksitipāla, *alias*  
Vināyakapāla (931 A.D.) *alias*  
Herambapāla

Recently some Indian scholars have taken objection to this arrangement.<sup>2</sup> They do not accept the identification of the *Haya-pati* Devapāla of the Khajuraho epigraph with the Gurjara prince of that name, on the ground that *Hayapati* was 'never the accepted title of the Pratihāra kings of Mahodaya.' Secondly, as the dates of Mahipāla and Vināyakapāla never overlap, they see no reason to justify their identification. They would therefore reject the identification of Herambapāla with Vināyakapāla and of the latter with Mahipāla and propose to arrange the princes as follows :—

- (1) Mahendrapāla (907-08 A.D.)
- (2) Mahipāla, *alias* Ksitipāla (914-17).      (3) Bhoja II      (4) Vināyakapāla (A.D. 931)

The situation however has been further complicated by the discovery of the name of Vināyakapāla as 'protecting the earth' at the end of the Khajuraho inscription of Dhāṅga, dated in 954 A.D. A critical examination of the passage leaves no doubt that the name of Vināyakapāla was mentioned as that of the sovereign ruler. Now if this Vināyakapāla is identified with the Vināyakapāla of the Gurjara inscriptions, the attempt to identify Devapāla of the Khajuraho inscription at once falls to the ground. The identification of the two Vināyakapālas is however difficult on

<sup>1</sup> According to the Partabgarh inscription the name is *Mahā-devi*, see *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 178-80; *JL*, Vol. X, p. 54, fn. 6.

account of the date of the Khajuraho inscription (954 A.D.); for we know from the Partabgarh inscription that Mahendrapāla, the son of Vināyakapāla, was already on the throne in V. S. 1003 (A.D. 945-46). The suggestion that the name of Vināyakapāla occurred in the original record of Yaśovarman some time before 954 A.D. and that after the latter's death the record was set up in his son's reign in 954 A.D. with some verses 'added at the end to describe the martial exploits of Dhaṅga' seems to me rather improbable.<sup>1</sup> It is unlikely that in an official document a dead king should be referred to 'as protecting the earth.' Thus if we accept the suggestion that the Vināyakapāla of the Khajuraho inscription was a Gurjara prince, we are driven to assume the existence of a second Vināyakapāla who ruled after Mahendrapāla II. Another complication has been introduced by the recent discovery of the Bayana 'Ukha-Mandir' stone-inscription of *Mahānādhira* Mahīpāla, dated in V. S. 1012 (A.D. 956). The fact that the neighbouring feudatory princes of the locality where the inscription was found acknowledged the sovereignty of the Gurjaras as late as 1016 V. S. (960 A.D.), and the difficulty of identifying this prince with the Pāla or the Paramāra prince of the same name, seem to confirm the suspicion that he may have belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra line of Kanauj. If this is admitted, we shall have to assume the existence of another Mahīpāla after the reign of Vināyakapāla of the Khajuraho inscription mentioned above.<sup>2</sup> Now in summing up the whole discussion, I beg to point out that once we accept the principle that synonymous names may be identified by identifying Mahīpāla with Kṣitipāla, and further grant the separate existence of the Vināyakapāla of the Khajuraho inscription, there is no really serious objection against the acceptance of the arrangement of succession advocated by Kielhorn and Bhandarkar. It is true that the title *Haya-pati* does not occur among the epithets of the

<sup>1</sup> *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 60-61.

<sup>2</sup> *ASI*, *WC*, 1919, pp. 43-44, *IA*, 1928, pp. 230 ff

Gurjara princes so far discovered; but at the same time the title "lord of horses" occurs as a title of kings during this period on the records of the princes of northern India.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore likely that Devapāla was a king and not merely a cavalry leader. Again, it is clear from the assistance he gave to the Kīra prince that Herambapāla was also most probably a king. It is of course not absolutely impossible that these two princes were separate from the Gurjara princes bearing the same names; but it is improbable that there should be two sets of princes in the same period both in close association with the Candellas and both bearing the same names. If the fact that the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap be urged against their identification, the same argument may also be applied against the identification of Kṣitīpāla and Mahīpāla, for so far there is nothing in their dates derived from their own inscriptions or those calculated from the records of their successors or predecessors to suggest any overlapping. It is possible to suppose for instance that Kṣitīpāla like Bhoja II, may have had a brief reign between Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla or Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla; or to assume that Kṣitīpāla, as the eldest son, first reigned for a brief period and was then ousted by Mahīpāla and the latter by Bhoja, who was in his turn peacefully succeeded by Vināyakapāla. Such an assumption of internal dissensions in the family and enmity between Mahīpāla on the one hand and Bhoja and Vināyakapāla on the other, would furnish satisfactory reasons for the omission of Mahīpāla's name from the records of Vināyakapāla and also explain some of the causes that may have operated to bring about the decline of the Gurjara Pratīhāras, so soon after the death of Mahendrapāla. But as

<sup>1</sup> The title *Aśvapati* occurs in the inscription of the successors of Lakṣmanasena in Bengal, see *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 6 ff.; *ibid*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), pp. 97 ff. For the title amongst Candella kings, see *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff. The Gāhaḍavālas and the Haihayas also assumed this title, see *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123-24, *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 321, *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 695 ff., *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 189 ff., *ibid*, Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff.



this theory does not satisfactorily explain the absence of the name of Kṣitipāla from the inscription of Vināyakapāla, I would tentatively adhere to the arrangement of Kielhorn and Bhandarkar. According to this theory Mahendrapāla was succeeded some time after A. D. 907-08 by his son Bhoja II. Nothing is known about this prince excepting that he had a short reign and that he must have ceased to rule some time before 914 A.D., the first known date of Mahīpāla. There is reason to think that Mahīpāla during the first part of his reign succeeded in preserving the mighty empire that was handed down to him by his predecessors. Thus Rājasekhara in the introduction of his *Bālabhārata* or *Pracandapāṇḍava* describes the victories of Mahīpāla in the following terms: "In that (lineage of Raghu), there was born the glorious Mahīpāladeva, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the head of the Muralas, who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate; who has driven the Kaliṅgas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulūtas; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas, and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramathas."<sup>1</sup> In the same

<sup>1</sup> *Namita-Murala mauliḥ pākālō Mēkalānāḥ,*  
*rana-kalita-Kaliṅgaḥ keli-taḥ Kēraḥ āndoh,*  
*Ajani jita-Kulūtaḥ Kuntalānām, kuthāraḥ,*  
*haṭha-hṛta-Ramatha-Sriḥ Sri Mahīpālādēvaḥ.*  
*Tēna ca Raghu-vamśa-muktāmaninā Āryāvarta-mahārājādhirājena*  
*Sri-Nṛbhayanarendra-nandanenādhiḥkṛtāḥ sabhāsadaḥ sarvān . etc.*

Nirnaya Sāgar Press Ed., I, 7-8.

The Muralas may have inhabited the banks of the river Muralā which is identified by some with the river Narbada. (*Trikhāṇḍasāga*, Chapter I). But in the *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 51-55) the river is placed after the Kerala country. The Mekalas probably lived in the region round about the Maikal Range (Amarkantak) in the Central Provinces. The Kulūtas were taken by Cunningham to be the inhabitants of Yuan Chwang's *Ku-lu-to* "which corresponds exactly with the position of the district of Kulu in the upper valley of the Byās river." The position indicated is roughly the modern Kangra district. The Ramathas "must be a neighbouring people, as they are placed with the Pāñcanadas in the western division in the *Brhat Saṁhitā* and with the Kulīndas in the Northern division in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*." Kuntala, Kerala, and Kaliṅga are well known geographical divisions of ancient India, and require no identification. For the identifications see *GDI*, Luzac, 1927, *JL*, Vol. X, pp 63-64.

passage we are further told that the play was acted before an assembly of guests invited by Mahīpāla, 'the pearl-jewel of the lineage of Raghu the *Mahānāḍhirāja* of *Āryāvarta*.' Another passage of the same work tells us that the play was performed by the king's orders at the great city of Mahodaya.<sup>1</sup> The list of Mahīpāla's conquests given by Rājasekhara may possibly be exaggerated, after the manner of court poets. But an examination of it does not reveal any unsurmountable obstacles to our acceptance of it as mainly true. Thus a king who ruled over the Karnal district might well wage war with the tribes in the Kangra valley and the neighbouring regions.<sup>2</sup> Again a prince who ruled over Bundelkhand, Bihar, and Northern Bengal might well have engaged in hostilities with the rulers of the upper Narbada and the lower Mahanadi. Nor does a struggle with Kuntala present any difficulty. The rulers of Kuntala or the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency were certainly the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta. In describing her lineage, the *nāyikā* in the *Karpūramañjarī* gives the name of the ruler of Kuntala in the Deccan as *Vallabha-rāja*.<sup>3</sup> The title *Vallabha-rāja* was assumed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga and the designation Balharī (بلهري) of Mānkīr (مانكير) applied by the Arabs to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns of the Deccan was only a corruption of this epithet.<sup>4</sup> The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras were warring with each other since the days of Dhruva Nirupama and Vatsa, and it is quite likely that the hostilities continued up to the time of Mahīpāla. The Gurjaras were at this time at the height of their power, and it is not at all improbable that Mahīpāla may have even carried on a raid into the heart of his enemies'

<sup>1</sup> For these and all relevant passages on the date of Rājasekhara, see V. S. Apte, *Rājasekhara, his Life and Writings*, 1886; Fleet, *The Date of the Poet Rājasekhara*, *IA*, 1887, Vol. XVI, pp. 175 ff.; Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II, pp. 361-62.

<sup>2</sup> For identifications of the tribes conquered, see above, fn. 1, p. 576.

<sup>3</sup> *Asi ettha Dakkhināvade Kuntalesum saalajanavallaho Vallaha-rājo nāma rājā*. Harvard Oriental Series, 1901, p. 32, Trans., p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 192, V. 10; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 387-89.

territory, penetrating as far south as Kerala. Such sudden raids by enemy kings were quite familiar features of Indian history up to comparatively recent times. The evidence of Rājasekhara gains substantial support from the *Murūj ul-Zahab*, a work by the contemporary Arab traveller Mas'ūdī (c. 890-956 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The following relevant passages may be collected from his work. After referring to the Balharī kings of Mānkīr, he says; "one of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is Ba'ūrah, (بَؤْرَه) who is lord of the city of Qanūj (قَنْج). This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings." After criticising Jāhīz, who supposed that the river Mīhrān (Indus) came from the Nile, Mas'ūdī says that that author "did not know that Mīhrān of Sind comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Qanūj in the kingdom of Ba'ūrah and from Kashmīr, Kandarhar, and at-Tāfin... ." <sup>2</sup> Further on, in Chapter XVI, he tells us that "the king of Qanūj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Ba'ūrah; this is the title common to all kings of Qanūj.. This king has four armies according to the four quarters of the wind. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. The army of the north wars against the prince of Multan and with the Muslimāns his subjects, on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balharī, king of Mānkīr. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction." <sup>3</sup> It is clear from the passages quoted above that the territories of the king

<sup>1</sup> Al Mas'ūdī was born in Bagdad towards the close of the 3rd century A. D. and died in Egypt in 315 A. H. (956 A. D.). He visited Multan and Mansūrah, c. A. H. 300 (A. D. 912) and Cambay c. 304 A. H. (A. D. 916). See, *Les Prairies d'or*, Texte et Traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861, Tome I, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, Vol. I, p. 21, *Les Prairies d'or*, Tome I, p. 178. Meynard transcribes

بَؤْرَه as Baourah.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot, Vol. I, p. 21; *Les Prairies d'or*, Tome I, p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 22-23; *Les Prairies d'or*, Tome I, pp. 372 and 374.

of Kanauj included some portions of the Punjab and Sind, and bordered on the dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. As the date of Mas'ūdī's stay in India makes it almost certain that the king of Kanauj was Mahīpāla, his account gives us some idea of the power and prestige of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras during the period 912-16 A. D.<sup>1</sup> In waging a two-fold struggle with the Arabs of Sind and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, Mahīpāla was only carrying on the traditional policy of his family.<sup>2</sup> The evidence of Rājaśekhara and Mas'ūdī is also corroborated by archaeological testimony. The find-spots of the Asmi (in Fatehpur dist., U. P.), Haddala (in Eastern Kathiawar), Rakhetra (near Chanderi in Gwalior) and the Asiatic Society's plate (which grants land in Vārānasī-*Visaya*) show that the dominions of Mahīpāla at least extended from Kathiawar to the borders of Bihar. Thus it is clear that Mahīpāla during the first part of his reign could with some exaggeration be called the *Āryāvarta-mahārājādhirāja*. By successive stages the Gurjara-Pratīhāras had succeeded in occupying an almost supreme position amongst the rulers of Northern India. But the position was no bed of roses. The incipient hostility of the Pālas in the east and the powerful combination of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Arabs were perennial sources of danger. As Mas'ūdī has pointed out, they had to maintain four mighty armies to meet "enemies in every direction." The economic consequences of continuing such a struggle would have sapped the foundation of any empire, and the Gurjara empire was no exception to the operation of inexorable economic laws. The crash appears to have

<sup>1</sup> Dr R C Majumdar first noticed the importance of these passages in his paper on the Gurjara-Pratīhāras in *JL*, Calcutta University, Vol. X, pp 64-66. He may be right in

his suggestion that the word Ba'ūrah (بؤره) is an "Arabic corruption of the word Pratīhāra or its Prakrit form Padihāra." See also *supra*, 'Dynastic History of Sind,' p. 4, fn. 8, p 16, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Gwalior (Sāgar-Tal) stone inscription of Bhoja, V. 4, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 167, also fn 10; Radhanpur grant of Govinda III, V. 8, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 230 ff.

come soon after 915 A. D. Verse 19 of the Cambay plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV contains the following passage about the northern expedition of Govinda's father Indra III. "The courtyard (of the temple of the god) Kālapriya became uneven by the stroke of the tusks of his rutting elephants. His steeds crossed the unfathomable Yamunā, which rivals the sea (*Sindhu-prati-spardhinī*). He completely uprooted (*nirmūlam unmūlitam*) the hostile city of Mahodaya, which is even to-day greatly renowned among men by the name Kuśasthala."<sup>1</sup> As "the god Kālapriya is generally identified with Mahākālā" of Ujjayinī, the passage suggests that Indra III proceeded in his northern expedition by way of Malwa. The statement of this inscription is further supported by some passages of the *Vikramārjuna-vijaya* of the Kanarese poet Pampa usually known as *Pampa-Bhārata*. This poem was composed in about Śaka 863 (941 A. D.) under the patronage of the Cālukya chief Arikeśarin, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV. Pampa gives us the following information about the military achievements of Narasimha, the father of Arikeśarin, who must have been a contemporary of Indra III. We are told that "when preparing for victory he captured the champion elephants which marched in front, and penetrating and putting to flight the army of the Ghūrjara-rāja, secured the victory and eclipsed Vijaya (or Arjuna),—this Narasimha. Terrified at the army of this Naraga, which fell like a thunderbolt, Mahīpāla fled in consternation, not stopping to eat or sleep or rest. His own horse he bathed at the junction of the Ganges and the sea (*Gangā-vārdhuyol*), thus becoming celebrated; and by his own friend destroying the qualities and character of (?) Saṅga, established with pride the victory of his arm."<sup>2</sup> Though the meaning and reference in the latter part of this passage are not clear, yet it is evident that the poet was apparently referring to the

<sup>1</sup> *BI*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. by B. Lewis Rice, in the *Bibliotheca Carnatica*, Bangalore, 1898, pp. 8-4.

achievements of his patron's father, who must have accompanied his sovereign Indra III when the latter overran northern India. The exact date of this victory of the Rāṣtrakūtas cannot be settled; but it appears to have happened some time between 915 and 918 A.D. For the Nausari grant of Indra III which is dated in 915 A.D., contains no reference to these victories; and the Daṇḍapur stone inscription of his son Govinda IV shows that he was dead sometime before 23rd December, 918<sup>1</sup> The defeat of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras appears to have been complete; but the Rāṣtrakūtas could not take full advantage of their victory because of the confusion in which they were involved after the death of Indra III. Amoghavarsha II, who succeeded his father, was probably killed and dethroned by his younger brother Govinda IV, and the latter in his turn, "being caught in the chains of the eyes of women," took to "vicious courses" and met his destruction.<sup>2</sup> It is however likely that Govinda IV retained some hold on the Gangā-Yamunā valley till about the 10th May, 930 A.D., the date of his Cambay plates. For in verse 28 of that inscription "the Gangā and Yamunā are mentioned as doing service in the palace of Govinda IV." But there is unquestioned epigraphic evidence to show that the Gurjara-Pratīhāras recovered a substantial portion of their dominions, probably by taking advantage of this weakness of the Rāṣtrakūta power. The Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyaka-pāla (*alias* Mahīpāla ?), which was issued from Mahodaya, shows that Vārānasī-*Viṣaya* in the Pratiṣṭhāna-*Bhukti*, was still under the Gurjaras in 988 V.S. (931 A.D.) The Rakhetra stone inscription of the same prince shows that the Gwalior region was under him in V.S. 999-1000 (A.D. 942-43). In his attempts to recover his dominions Mahīpāla appears to have been helped by a number of his feudatories. One of the Candella fragmentary

<sup>1</sup> *JBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.; *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 222 ff.; *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 66-67.

<sup>2</sup> *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 204-05 and 416-17, *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 34-35; XIII, p. 328. *JBRAS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 350-51.

stone inscriptions of Khajuraho claims that either Harṣa or his son Yaśovarman placed Kṣitipāla on the throne.<sup>1</sup> The Guhila prince Bhaṭṭa, who appears to have been a contemporary of Mahipāla, is credited in V. 26 of the Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya with having defeated the armies of the kings of the south 'at the behest of his overlord.'<sup>2</sup> It is not unlikely, as has been suggested, that "the kings of the south were no other than the chiefs of the Rāṣtrakūṭa army by defeating whom king Mahipāla regained his territories."<sup>3</sup> There is therefore some incontestable evidence that Mahipāla succeeded in recovering a portion of his dominions with the assistance of his feudatories. There is nothing to shew what the limits of his revived empire were. But there is every reason to believe that the blow inflicted by the Rāṣtrakūṭas helped to bring about a new relationship between the imperial government and its vassals which in the end proved fatal to it. Thus, though many of the subordinate kings still acknowledged the supremacy of the imperial power in their official documents, they resisted by physical force every attempt of the sovereign to exert any real authority over them. The best example of this state of things is found in the records of the Candellas. Though Dhaṅga retains the name of Vināyakapāla, apparently a Gurjara king, in his inscription even as late as A.D. 954, he none the less described his father Yaśovarman as having been "a scorching fire to the Gurjaras."<sup>4</sup>

✓ Mahipāla-Vināyakapāla ruled at least up to about 942-43 A.D. The following records may be referred to his reign :

(1) *Haḍḍālā grant* — This was discovered near "Haḍḍālā, a large village on the old road from Dholka to Dhandhūkā, but

1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 121-22, line 10; the name of the prince who helped Kṣitipāla is lost. Kielhorn, who edited the inscription, took this prince to be Harṣadeva, while Hoernle thought that he was probably his son Yaśovarman; see *JRAS*, 1904, p. 654 and fn. 1

2 *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 12 and 16, V. 26.

3 *JL*, Vol. X, p. 68.

4 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 127 ff., V. 23.

belonging to Eastern Kathiawar." It consists of 52 lines, and is written on two semi-elliptical plates. On the first plate "it shows the rude conventional representation of the moon and the sun, while it is blank on the second." There are no holes for rings. The inscription begins with an invocation to (Śiva) Dhandeśvara. It then proceeds to give the legendary origin of the Cāpas from the *cāpa* (bow) of Śambhu. In the *Cāpa-vamśa* was born *Nṛpa* Vikramārka. His son was *Rājā* Addaka; his son was king Pulakesi; his son was king Dhruvabhata; his younger brother was king Dharanivarāha, resident in Vardhamāna (mod. Wadhwan in E. Kathiawar), who was *Samadhigat-āśeṣa-mahā-śabda-Mahāsāmantādhipati*, and who through the favour of *Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Śrī-Mahīpāla-deva* ruled the *Addāṇaka-deśa* named after his own grandfather. This prince granted to *Maheśvarācārya* on the day of the winter solstice the village named *Viṃkālā*, which is connected with the *Kanthikā-sthalī*. It is dated in *Śaka*. S. 836 and was written by *Sāmdhivigrahika* Mahindaka. Taking the date of the inscription into consideration, Bühler calculated the date of Vikramārka, the founder of the feudatory line, as about 800 A.D. The same scholar also identified Addāna with the modern village of Haḍḍālā.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Asni stone pillar-inscription*.—It is recorded on one of the faces of a square sandstone pillar that was found at Asni, a village about 10 miles north of Fatehpur, the chief town of the district of the same name in U.P. The inscription consists of 14 lines of incorrect Sanskrit prose written in northern Devanāgarī of the 10th century. The record opens with the sign ॐ and then mentions *Pb.-M.-P* Mahīṣa(ndra?)pāladeva-*pādā-nudhyāta Pb.-M.-P*. Mahīpāladeva. In his reign, in the (V) year 974, this inscription was set up in a certain *cartya* of the god *Yogasvāmin*. It made some arrangements for the worship

1 Bühler edited the inscription in 1883 from a facsimile, a paper rubbing, and an impression on lead of the second half of the grant in *IA* vol. XII, pp. 190-95. The date of the record was read by Fleet, *ibid.*, 1899, Vol. XV, p. 90.



of the god by Brahmans and ascetics of the locality. The record was written by Suvarnabhadra.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Bengal Asiatic Society's plate*.—The find-spot of this plate, sometimes spoken of as the 'Benares plate' from the fact that it mentions in line 10 *Vārāṇasī-Viṣaya*, is not 'known'. It consists of 17 lines, and is written on one side of a single plate. "On to the proper right side of the plate there is soldered a thick and massive seal with a high raised rim all round it; ...it is rectangular, except that the top of it is raised into an arched peak with a slight depression on each side of it. In the arch thus formed, there is a standing figure facing full front of a goddess, doubtless the *Bhagavatī*," who is mentioned in the inscription. Below this, across the surface of the seal, there is the legend in 16 lines in relief. The seal and legend are exactly similar to those in the Dighwa-Dubauli plate of Mahendrapāla. The additional information in the legend of this inscription is as follows:—*Mahendrapāla-devastasya puttras tat-pādānudhyātāḥ Śrī-Dehanāgā-devyām utparnaḥ Parama-vaiṣṇavo Mahārāja-Śrī-Bhojadevas tasya bhrātā Śrī-Mahendrapāladeva-putras-tayōḥ-pādānudhyātāḥ-Śrī-Mahī-devī-devyām utpannaḥ Paramīdityabhakto Mahārāja-Śrī-Vināyaka-pāladevaḥ*. The inscription begins with *Om svasti*, and then tells us that it was issued from the *Skandhāvāra* situated at Mahodaya. Then it again repeats the genealogy given on the seal. Next it records the gift of '*Pratiṣṭhāna-Bhuktau Vārāṇasī-Viṣaya-sambaddha-Kāśī-pāra-Pathaka-Pratibaddha-Ṭikkarikā-grāma*,' to the Bhatta Bhullāka, a student of the Atharvaveda, by Vināyakapāla. The village of Ṭikkarikā has been identified

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Fleet in *IA*, Vol XVI, pp 173-75, in 1887. The reading of the name of Mahipāla's predecessor is not certain. Fleet read it as Mahīṣapāla, Mr R. D. Banerji (*MASB*, Vol V, No 3, p. 65) read the name as Mahindrapāla from an impression of this inscription in the Allahabad exhibition of 1910. This reading however is not supported by the plate given by Fleet. The pillar-inscription is now in the Municipal garden attached to the Town Hall of Fatehpur.

with the modern Tikarī, 4 miles due south of Benares. The date (V) *Samvatsara* 988, comes last.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Rakhetra stone-inscription*.—This inscription was found on the right bank of the river Orr within the limits of the village of Rakhetra, not far from the old site of Chanderī in Gwalior. It is written in Sanskrit and incised on a rock-tablet. It is dated in V.S. 999 and 1000, and apparently records the construction of some sort of waterworks at a cost of 95 or 96 crores (of coins) by Vināyakapāla. As there is no overlapping of dates, we may with some certainty identify him with Mahīpāla *alias* Vināyakapāla.<sup>2</sup>

Mahīpāla-Vināyakapāla was succeeded by his son Mahendra-pāla II by his queen Prasādhana-devī, some time before V.S. 1003. The existence of this prince was revealed by the discovery of the *Partabgarh stone-inscription*. This stone was found affixed to a platform at Partabgarh, the capital of the state of that name in Southern Rajputana. The inscription contains 35 lines of writing and is naturally divided into four parts. It records a series of grants in favour of various shrines attached to the monastery of Hari-Rṣiśvara, who originally lived in Daśa-pura (mod. Mandasor). The inscription opens with 2 verses invoking the sun-god, followed by two verses in praise of the goddess Durgā. Then comes the statement that the inscription was issued from the *Skandhāvāra* situated at Mahodaya. Next is given the genealogy of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, which is the same as in the Asiatic Society's plate of Mahīpāla as far as Mahendrapāla. *Tasya-putras tatpādānudhyātaḥ Śrī-Mahādevyām-utpannah Paramāditya-bhaktō Mahārāja-Śrī-Vināyakapāla-devas*

<sup>1</sup> This inscription was first noticed by Dr R L Mitra in 1848 in the *JASB*, Vol. XVII, part I, pp. 70 ff. In 1862 Dr. F. Hall noticed it in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. In 1864 a lithograph of the record was published in the same journal. Fleet next edited it from the original plate in 1886 in the *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 138-41. He however read the date as (Hargā) S 188. It was corrected by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 405 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ASI*, 1924-25, p. 168.

*tas yaputras tatpādānūdhyaṭah Śrī-Devathāddhi(?) -nāma-nya-kula-Prasādhanaḍevyām-utpannaḥ Parama-māheśvaro-Mahārāja-Śrī-Mahendrapāladevaḥ*. This last named king grants the village of Kharpara-padraka in the holding of Tala-vargika Hariṣaḍa and situated in the vicinity of Ghontā-varsikā, in the western *Pathaka* of Daśapura, to the goddess Vata-Yakṣini Devī, whose temple was connected with the *matha* of Hari Ṛṣīśvara. The grant was made in V S. 1003 at the request of Dhana-Sūra. The record was written by *Purohita* Trivikramanātha under the orders of Jajja-Nāga. It ends with *Svabhasto'yam Śrī-Vidaḍhasya* (line 13).

The second grant opens with a praise of the princes of the *Cāhamānāvaya*, who, we are told, were a source of great pleasure to Bhojadeva. Then comes the name of Govindarāja, of this lineage; his son Durlavarāja; his son Indrarāja built the great temple of the Sun-god known (as Indrādityadeva at Ghontā-varsikā). This is an entirely new Cāhamāna family, which appears to have risen to importance in the service of Bhoja I (c. 836-90). Next we are told that there was one Mādhava, who was *Mahāsāmanta-Dandanāyaka* in Ujjayinī, and Śrī-Sarman appointed by Kokkata, who was *Balādhikṛta* serving at the feet of *Parameśvara* (i.e., Mahendrapāla II?) at Maḍapikā (mod. Mandu) (line 20). The aforesaid Mādhava (here called *Tantrapāla-Mahāsāmanta-Mahādandanāyaka*) (line 21) having come to Ujjayinī on business and having bathed at the temple of Mahākāla, granted on the Mīna-Saṁkrānti day the village of Dhārā-padraka for repairs to and maintenance of daily services to the temple of Indrāditya deva, at the request of *Cāhamānāvaya-Mahāsāmanta-Śrī-Indrarāja*, son of Durlabharāja. In line 26 is recorded a grant of a field. It comes to an end with *Svabhasto'yam Śrī-Mādhavasya Svabhasto'yam Śrī-Vidaḍhasya*.

Part three opens with the date (V) *Samvat* 999, which marked the grant of a field named Vavvūlika by the side of the river Nandya in the village of Palāśa-kūpikā to Indrāditya-deva of

Ghoṇṭā-varṣi by *Mahārājādhirāja* Bharṭṛ-paṭṭa, son of Khommāṇa. ~~G. H. Ojha~~ has identified this prince with Bharṭṛ-paṭṭa II, son of Khommāṇa III of Mewar, of the Guhila family. The same scholar has suggested the identification of Palāśa-kūpikā with Parasia, about 15 miles south of Mandasor. \*

Part four of the inscription records about four minor grants to various deities connected with the same *maṭha*. Last comes the date (V) *Samvat* 1003 <sup>1</sup>

The facts revealed by the inscription mentioned above show that the Gurjaras in 946 A. D. held the Malwa region, and it is not unlikely that their power was still acknowledged by the feudatories in South and Eastern Rajputana and Central India. Mr. R. D. Banerji therefore is certainly wrong when he asserts that Mālava had never been reoccupied after the northern campaign of Indra III.<sup>2</sup> However nominal the allegiance paid by these feudatories stationed at Mandu, Ujjayinī, and the places near about Partabgarh and Mandasor, it is clear that the occupation of Ujjayinī by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was not continuous till the time of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-70 A.D).

Mahendrapāla II, appears to have been succeeded by his brother or half brother Devapāla on or before 948-49 A.D. The existence of this prince was revealed by the *Siyadoni stone-inscription* discovered about 10 miles N. N. W of Lalitpur near Jhansi, at Siron Khurd, in the precincts of the Jain temple of Śāntinātha. The inscription contains 46 lines of incorrect Sanskrit influenced by the local vernacular. It is divided into two parts. The first part (lines 1-39) is written in prose, and records a large number of donations made at different times from the (V) year 960 down to the (V) year 1025 by some feudatories and private individuals in favour of the god Viṣṇu and various other Brahmanical gods at Siyadoni (mod. Siron). In line 1, which is much damaged, we have with the date (V) S. 960 the

<sup>1</sup> Edited by G. H. Ojha, in *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-8

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, 1928, December, p. 486.

names of the *Pb.-M.-P.* Mahendrapāladeva (meditating on the feet of *Pb.-M.-P.* Bhojadeva). In line 4, with the date (V) S. 964, the same two princes are mentioned in the same order. In line 28, with the date (V) S. 1005, occurs the name of *Pb.-M.-P.* Devapāladeva, meditating on the feet of *Pb.-M.-P.* Kṣitipāladeva. As line 40 speaks of a ruler of Mahodaya who granted some land to certain Brahmanas of Siyadonī, Kielhorn rightly assumed that these rulers were Gurjara-Pratīhāra kings of Kanauj.<sup>1</sup>

It is significant that, unlike the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla, which mentions his predecessor and brother Bhoja, this inscription does not give the name of the reigning king's brother and predecessor Mahendrapāla II. It is not unlikely therefore that the succession of Devapāla was not entirely peaceful, and that he may have omitted to mention the name of one whom he looked upon as a mere usurper. If this was so, then these internal dissensions must have hastened the decline and break-up of the Gurjara dominions. Another important cause that appears to have helped towards the dismemberment of the Gurjara empire was the revival of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' attacks on Northern India. The Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III, dated in *Saka* 830 (A.D. 959), refer to his victories in the North.<sup>2</sup> V. 25 of this inscription, in which he claims to have "conquered Sahaṣrārjuna," has been rightfully interpreted by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar as referring to his victories over some Cedi rulers of Northern India. In V. 31, we are told that "all the feudatories from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the island of Simhala bowed to him out of fear of severe punishment, though he himself was obedient (*i.e.*, subordinate to his father)." Such vague claims in Indian

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first noticed by F. Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 6-7. This was based on a very imperfect copy of a transcript of the record. Kielhorn then edited it in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 162-79.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

records of course mean nothing. But V. 30 of the same inscription contains more definite information. It runs as follows : "On hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gurjara."<sup>1</sup> These claims of conquests in Northern India are supported by the recent discovery of several inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat and the Maihar State in Baghelkhand Agency (C I). Two of these were found at the village of Harasola in Ahmedabad, and record grants of land in V.S. 1005 (A.D. 949) by the Paramāra Sīyaka, apparently a feudatory of *Pb.-M.-P* Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa III), the son of Amoghavarṣa.<sup>2</sup> The third inscription was discovered on a stone slab at the village of Jura in the State of Maihar. It is written in Kanarese, and "contains the name and the different titles or *birudas* of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, Akālavarṣa, the son of Amoghavarṣa III, *alias* Baddega."<sup>3</sup> These inscriptions show that some time before the middle of the 10th century Kṛṣṇa III had attacked the Gurjara dominions from the south-west and the south-east, and it would seem that he even succeeded for a time in capturing the famous forts of Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and Kālañjara from the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.<sup>4</sup> The Deoli and the Karhad plates seem to indicate that most of these victories of Kṛṣṇa occurred during the lifetime of his father, who died some time before 940 A.D.<sup>5</sup> We have seen that the attack of Indra

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 284; V. 30 also occurs in the Deoli plates of the same king, see *JBRS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 247, lines 7-8 of the second side of plate II.

<sup>2</sup> *PTOC*, Madras, 1926, pp. 308-08; *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff. *JBORS*, December, 1928, pp. 479 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *MAI*, No. 23 *The Harahyas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, pp. 11 and 117; *JBORS*, December, 1928, pp. 476 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. R. D. Banerji suggests that the Citrakūṭa of these inscriptions should be identified with the place of the same name near Kālañjara, in the Banda District. See *JBORS*, 1928, p. 481. But I think that the famous fort of Chitor is here meant. The two forts were apparently the objective of the two expeditions which penetrated the Gurjara territory from the S.W. and S.E.

<sup>5</sup> *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 279.

III proceeded by way of Ujjayinī. The Partabgarh inscription, dated in 945-46 A D however shows that the Gurjaras had recovered Malwa. Their possession of the fort of Mandu in that year probably led the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the reign of Amoghavarṣa III to avoid the Malwa route and attempt a flanking movement from the south-west and the south-east. The inscriptions mentioned above show that their strategy was brilliantly successful. Another interesting fact to be noted in this connection is the mention of the Gurjara dominion in connection with the forts of Chitor and Kālāñjara. This shows that the Guhilots and the Candellas were as late as 959 A D. regarded still as feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. It is therefore not difficult to understand why Dhaṅga should mention the name of Vināyakapāla as his overlord in his Khajuraho inscription, dated in 954 A.D. Thus though the Candellas claimed victories over the Gurjaras before 954 A D they none the less must have retained in their outward relations an attitude of formal subordination to the effete imperial government at Kanauj.<sup>1</sup>

The end of the reign of Devapāla brings us again to a period of confusion in the chronology of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. I have already pointed out the difficulty of accepting the identification of the Vināyakapāla of Dhaṅga's Khajuraho inscription (dated in V.S. 1011)<sup>2</sup> with the Mahipāla-Vināyakapāla whose known dates range between *Śaka* S. 836 and V.S. 1000. If the former is to be accepted as a separate ruler of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra line of Kanauj, how are we to connect him with that line? The only suggestion so far advanced is based on the custom sometimes found in Indian royal families of naming the grandsons after the grandfather. According to this suggestion, Vināyakapāla of the Khajuraho inscription may have been a son

<sup>1</sup> Dr R C Mazumdar (*JL*, Vol X, p. 69) has in this connection pointed out the relations of the rulers of Oudh and the later Mughuls of Delhi. A more interesting instance is probably that of the Buwayhids of Ray and the later Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad.

<sup>2</sup> *EI*, Vol I, pp. 127 ff

of Mahendrapāla of the Partabgarh inscription.<sup>1</sup> Another difficulty is the identification of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahīpāla of the Bayana stone-inscription of Citralekhā, dated in V S. 1012 (c. A.D. 956). This inscription consists of 22 lines of writing, and records the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a queen named Citralekhā during the reign of Mahīpāla. Citralekhā was the daughter of one Rājayika and married Mangalātāja, who may perhaps be identified with the Kacchapaghāta prince of the same name mentioned in the Gwalior Śāsbahū temple inscription of Mahīpāla, dated in V S 1150. The inscription records the grant of two villages to the god Nārāyaṇa. Of the villages mentioned Gograpura has been identified with modern Gogera in tahsil Weir, Nāgapallī with modern Nāvah in tahsil Bayana, and Hādhapallī with mod. Hadboli a village in the district of Hindaun in Jaipur state.<sup>2</sup> Mr. R. D. Banerji's suggestion that the Mahīpāla of this record is a prince of the imperial Pratihāra line of Kanauj, is certainly plausible, and if accepted will give us a Mahīpāla II. As the Bayana inscription gives no genealogy of Mahīpāla we can only accept the tentative suggestion that he may have been a son of Devapāla and grandson of Mahīpāla I. The situation is further complicated by the discovery of a fragmentary stone-inscription at Osia of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja, dated in V.S. 1013. The inscription was found incised on a slab built in the wall of the *mandapa* of a Jain temple.<sup>3</sup> As an epigraph of Vatsa the father of Nāgabhatta II was found at Osia, it may be assumed that the place was still situated within the Gurjara dominions. Was this Vatsa then a Pratihāra of Kanauj? If so, where are we to place him on the genealogical table? His

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, 1928, p. 233

<sup>2</sup> *ASI, WC* 1919, pp. 43-44, *ibid*, 1920, p. 47 *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 10, *ibid*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI, WC*, 1907, Section XI, p. 15; see also the list of inscriptions, *ibid*, p. 7, No. 2302. Mr. D. C. Ganguli drew my attention to this epigraph. V. Smith in his article on the Gurjara-Pratihāras has confused this Osia inscription with the Osia inscription of Vatsa the father of Nāgabhatta II, and has wrongly given the date of the latter epigraph as V S 1013, thus placing the father 141 years later than the son, see *JRAS*, 1909, p. 66, No. 1.



date of course places him after the Mahīpāla (II?) of the Bayana inscription. The acceptance of this Vatsaraja as a member of the imperial family of Kanauj would then involve us in the supposition that three princes, Vināyakapāla II, Mahīpāla II, and Vatsa II, ruled in rapid succession, during the period V.S. 1011-13. This of course is not impossible, but at the same time the suspicion that the last two rulers may have been representatives of local branches of the family cannot entirely be avoided. The Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was certainly declining since the capture of Mahodaya by Indra III. The renewal of the invasions under Kṛṣṇa III helped to disintegrate the empire and give rise to local lines, some of whom at least may have been related to the imperial stock. In the present state of our knowledge however it is better to keep an open mind and await the discovery of fresh material before formulating any definite opinion on the point.

Three years after the date of the Osia inscription we find a *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Mathanadeva, son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Sāvaṭa of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family (*anvāya*), acknowledging allegiance to *Pb.-M.-P.* Kṣitipāladeva-*pādānu-dhyātaḥ Pb.-M.-P.* Vijayapāladeva. This is revealed by the *Rajor stone-inscription*, discovered among the ruins of the city of Parnagar, which lie south of the village of Rajor or Rajorgadh in the Rajgadh district of Alwar State, about 28 miles S.W. of the town of Alwar. The inscription contains 23 lines of writing, and is dated in the reign of Vijayapāla in (V) S. 1016 (A.D. 960). On this date Mathanadeva, who resided in Rājya-pura (mod. Rajor), granted *Vamśapota-ka-Bhōga-sambaddha-Vyāghrapātaka-grāma* (probably mod. village of Baghor near Rajor), to the god Lacchukeśvara Mahādeva (so named after his mother Lacchukā). An interesting fact in connection with this grant is the separate mention of fields 'cultivated by the Gūrjaras (*Gūrjara-vāhita-samasta-kṣetra*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first published by Dr. B. L. Mitra in the *PASB*, 1879, pp. 157 ff., it was then printed in the *Prācīnalekhamālā* of the *Kāvyamālā*, Vol. I, pp. 53 ff. Kielhorn next edited it in *BI*, Vol. III, pp. 263-67.

This Vijayapāla may with some certainty be said to be another son of Mahīpāla I. The decay of Gurjara-Pratihāra power is amply shown by the assumption of imperial titles by his feudatory Mathanadeva. The addition of the title *Paramēśvara* to his father's *Mahārājādhirāja* may indicate the gradual growth of independence in the local dynasty at the cost of the imperial power. This inscription therefore further illustrates the tendency towards the disintegration of the empire which was first observed in the Candella records. The Khajuraho inscriptions of Dhanga (V.S. 1011), though it mentions the name of Vināyakapāla nevertheless gives the area of Dhaṅga's dominions as extending "as far as Kālañjara, as far as Bhāsvat, on the banks of the river of Mālava, from here to the banks of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country and even as far as the mountains called Gopā" (V. 45).<sup>1</sup> The area indicated includes practically the whole of the province of Central India. The possession of Kālañjara shows that the Rāṣtrakūṭas were expelled from that fort by the Candellas, the nominal feudatories of the Gujjaras, some time before 954 A.D. The capture of the fort of Gwalior and the extension of Candella power to the Jumna must have struck severe blows at the very foundation of Gurjara-Pratihāra sovereignty; and it was not long after this that the whole imperial structure crumbled into pieces, giving rise to independent dynasties in the provinces. The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman informs us that the *Narendra Dhaṅga*, "having defeated on the battlefield the king of Kānyakubja, (who had subdued) all princes obtained exalted sovereignty (*sāmrajya*)."<sup>2</sup> This defeat of the Kanauj monarch must have happened some time after 954 A.D., and it is significant that the name of the

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 129 and 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 197, V. 3.

Gurjara-Pratihāra sovereigns does not occur in Candella inscriptions after this date. In the Sāsabāhū inscription of Mahīpāla, the Kacchapaghāta Vajradāman is said to have "by honest means put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara, his proclamation drum . . . resounded in the fort of Gopadri, conquered in battle by his irresistible strong arm."<sup>1</sup> The date of Vajradāman is supplied by his fragmentary Gwalior image inscription dated in V.S. 1034 (A.D. 977).<sup>2</sup> It seems likely that the Kacchapaghātas during this period acted as the subordinates of the Candellas, who were gradually growing powerful in Bundelkhand. The Baroda plates of Mūlarāja dated in V.S. 1030 (A.D. 974) show that the Caulukyās had established themselves in Gujarat and Kathiawar.<sup>3</sup> As the recently discovered Ahmedabad grant of Paramāra Sīyaka II is dated in V.S. 1026 (A.D. 970),<sup>4</sup> it seems probable that the Caulukyās ousted the Rāstrakūta feudatories from that area between 970 and 974 A.D. Pushed from the west by the Caulukyās, the Paramāras were gradually driven into Malwa, which must have passed into their possession some time before V.S. 1031 (A.D. 973-74). For in that year the Paramāra Mahārājādhnāja Vākpatirāja issued his Dharmapurī grant from Ujjayinī.<sup>5</sup> It should be noted in this connection that this city and Mandu were in the possession of the Gurjara-Pratihāras at least up to V.S. 1003, the date of the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II. In the East and South-east the Kalacuris had already established themselves as independent powers in the U.P. and the Central Provinces. There is some reason to believe that the Kalacuris, like the Candellas, were also at first feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.<sup>6</sup> In the Kalha plates of Sodhabhadeva Guṇāmbodhi

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 393.

<sup>3</sup> *WZKM*, Vol. V, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 177-79.

<sup>5</sup> *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 51 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 884, V. 9; Vol. I, pp. 254 ff., V. 17; Vol. II, pp. 305 ff., V. 7.

is said to have obtained some land from Bhoja I, while in the Bilhari plate of Yuvarājadeva II and Benares grant of Karṇa Kokalla I is said to have supported Bhoja I in the north. In V. 8 of the Goharwa plates of Karṇa one of his predecessors, Lakṣmaṇarāja, is said to have defeated the Gurjara king along with other princes of Northern and Southern India.<sup>1</sup> As Lakṣmaṇarāja is four generations earlier than Gāngeya, who died about 1041 A.D., he can be safely placed in the neighbourhood of the middle of the 10th century A.D. In the west the Cāhamānas had already become an independent power before V.S. 1013 (A.D. 957), the date of the Harṣa stone-inscription of Vighraharāja,<sup>2</sup> while in the south-west the Guhilots appear to have become also independent soon after V.S. 1003. The Partabgarh inscription of that date contains the record of a grant of some land by the (Guhila) *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhartṛpatta in V.S. 999 (A.D. 943). The fact that he married a Rāṣtrakūṭa princess<sup>3</sup> may indicate that he allied himself with the traditional enemies of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. This alliance may have been brought about after the capture of Chitor by Kṛṣṇa III. In the North-west the pressure of the Muhammadan Turks, which was to drive the Śāhis of Kābul beyond the Sutlej, had already commenced.<sup>4</sup> Thus when Rājyapāla, son of Vijayapāla ascended the throne, some time between 960 and 1027 A.D. the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire probably did not extend much beyond the Ganges-Jumna Doab.

I have already referred to the part played by the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire in stemming the tide of Arab invasions from Sind.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately for the Hindu principalities in the interior of India, the Arab power in Sind declined in the 9th century and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 124; see also p. 119 for another inscription of the same prince, dated in V. 1080.

<sup>3</sup> V. 4 of the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, *IA*, 1910, p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> *TF, Briggs' Trans.*, Vol. I, p. 13; see also *supra*, pp. 80 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, pp. 10, 15-17, 570-71 and 578-79, etc.

became moribund simultaneously with the decay of Gurjara-Pratīhāra power.<sup>1</sup> But soon after the middle of the tenth century the Turks appeared before the north-western gates of India, carrying the banner of Islam. The establishment of the Yamīnī dynasty at Ghazni in the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. synchronised with the dismemberment of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire. Before the inevitable 'political readjustment' could take place, the hungry Turks had swooped down upon the smiling Indian plains, carrying fire and rapine. The process thus set in motion culminated in the establishment of the Muhammadan Turk as the imperial power in Northern India. It was probably not the first time that India was invaded and conquered by the Turks. But those Turks as well as other foreigners who entered India before this time had become gradually assimilated into its elastic social system. This time however the Turks entered India as the proselytes of Semitic Islam, which refused to compromise its fundamental social and religious tenets. Thus the 10th century of the Christian era, which saw the dismemberment of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire and the arrival of the Muhammadan Turk in India, marked an epoch in the history of India. Since then, in spite of efforts at rapprochement on both sides, India has practically remained divided into two mutually repellent units. The problem that confronted Indian administration in the tenth century remains still unsolved after the lapse of more than nine hundred years.

When Sabuk-tigīn ascended the throne in about 977 A.D., he found his way into India blocked by the Śāhis of Kābul. He and his son Maḥmūd had to fight a series of engagements before they could destroy these guardians of the north-western gates of India. Of these, two were very important; and if we may believe some late historians, a confederacy of North Indian princes helped the Śāhi kings on these two occasions. One of these was fought in about 991 A.D. between Laghman and

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, pp. 16-17.

Ghazni, probably in the Kurram valley. We are told by Firishta that "the neighbouring Rajas supplied troops and money, particularly those of Delhi, Ajmir, Kalinjar, and Kanauj, whose forces having united in the Punjab, the whole composed an army of a hundred thousand." The names of these princes are not found in the *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*. But what is more significant is that even the contemporary 'official history,'<sup>1</sup> of 'Utbi fails to give the names of any of these princes'<sup>2</sup> It is curious that an author who was in such intimate relations with the Yamīnīs, and whose object in writing his *Kitāb* was certainly not to conceal any facts which would tend to increase the glory of his master's house, should fail to mention these princes if their contingents were really present in the battle-field. In any case the assumption that any Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler personally took part in the struggle appears to be unsupported by any evidence. Even Firishta only alludes to the "supply of troops and money" by the princes, in response to the appeal of Jayapāla. The same arguments also apply in the case of the battle which took place in about 1008 A.D. According to Firishta, the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj and Delhi entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards the Punjab. It is surprising, that 'Utbi notices no such awakening to a common danger amongst the princes and peoples of India, which, according to Firishta, led to something like a national confederacy against the Islamic invaders, and even omits from his account the names of all these kings and principalities. Under the circumstances it is, I think, useless to speculate as to the identity of the princes who may have participated in these campaigns.<sup>3</sup> The dates of the battle show that if the lists in Firishta's *Tārīkh* are not later fabrications,

<sup>1</sup> Margoliouth, *Arabic Historians*, University of Calcutta, 1930, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The *TKA* of Ibn ul-Athīr, which was composed within a century of the death of Mahmūd, also does not mention the names of these allies of the Śāhis. See Bulak edn., 1874, Vol. IX.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, pp. 88 ff., and 91 ff.

the Gurjara-Pratihāra princes who might have participated in these battles were either Vijayapāla or Rājyapāla.

The existence of Rājyapāla is revealed by the *Jhusi grant* of Trilocanapāla, dated in V S.1084 (A.D. 1027).<sup>1</sup> We know from this inscription that Pb.-M.-P. Rājyapāla meditated on the feet of Pb.-M.-P. Vijayapāla. He thus appears to have been a son of Vijayapāla, whose only date so far known is 960 A.D. Thus Rājyapāla must have succeeded Vijayapāla some time between 960 and 1027 A.D. It was probably this prince who was ruling in Kanauj about 1018 A.D., when Sultān Maḥmūd invaded the Ganges-Jumna valley. 'Utbī tells us that on the 20th of Rajab 409 A.H. (1018 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> Maḥmūd after crossing the Jumna appeared at Baran (mod Bulandshahr). Haradatta, its prince, probably a feudatory of the Kanauj rulers, is said to have submitted to the Sultān and proclaimed his anxiety for conversion and rejection of idols with 10,000 followers. The chief whose fort was next attacked was Kulacandra. The position of his principality, which must have been near about Baran, is not defined; but he is said to have bravely resisted Maḥmūd. "Nearly 50,000 men were killed or drowned and became a prey of beasts and crocodiles" before Kulacandra finding further resistance hopeless, slew himself and his wife with his own dagger. Maḥmūd next came to Mathura. The city was surrounded by a wall of 'hard stone'; two gates opened up on the river flowing by it, and it "was erected on strong and lofty foundations." It will perhaps suffice to give us some idea of the magnificence of this city of temples if we only quote Maḥmūd's account of the large temple that stood in the centre of the city: "If one should wish

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33-35.

<sup>2</sup> *Nizām ud-Dīn* (*TA*, Tr. B. Dey, p. 10) and *Firishta* (Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 56) also give the same date. The date 407 A.H. given by Ibn ul-Āthir (*TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, p. 98) and by Mirkhond (*Rauzat us-Safā*, Lucknow Text, 1874, p. 740) appears to be wrong. It is very easy to mistake nine, تسع (tis') for seven سبع (sab'). Khond Mir (*Habib us-Siyar*, Text, Bombay, 1857, Vol. II, Chapter IV, p. 28), gives the correct date, 409 A.H.

to construct a building equal to this, he would not be able to do it without expending an hundred thousand red dīnārs, and it would occupy two hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were employed." The beauty and magnificence of the temples however failed to protect them from destruction. For "the Sultān gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled with the ground." Maḥmūd next reached Kanauj, which was protected by "seven distinct forts washed by the Ganges, which flowed under them like the ocean." At the advance of the Sultān there was panic in the "city of ten thousand temples" "Many of the inhabitants of the place fled and were scattered abroad like so many wretched widows and orphans" Rājyapāla appears to have been almost deserted 'Utbī specifically mentions that he had at this time but a few men with him. Finding resistance hopeless, he left Kanauj and "fled across the Ganges" The unfortunate people of the country "either accepted Islam or took up arms against him" (Maḥmūd) collected so much booty, prisoners and wealth, that the fingers of those who counted them would have tired" We are told that, the seven forts of Kanauj which must have been all deserted were captured in a single day. The Sultān then gave up the city to be sacked. Amongst the citizens "those who did not fly were put to death." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol II, p 41-46. I have followed the contemporary account of the TY; Nizām ud-Dīn and Firishṭa appear to give a defective account of this campaign. They are clearly wrong when they say that Maḥmūd first captured Kanauj and then Baran and Mathura. These two places lay in the way of Maḥmūd from the Punjab to Kanauj, and it is much easier to agree with 'Utbī who says that Maḥmūd captured those places before he came to Kanauj. The name of the Kanauj prince is also wrongly given by the last two authorities. Nizām ud-Dīn (Text, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 12), gives the name as Kūrah (كوره), Firishṭa (Lucknow Text, 1864, p. 29), though he claims to have consulted the work of 'Utbī, blindly follows him in giving the same name. Elliot read the name given by 'Utbī as Rājyapāl, while Reinaud gave it as 'Rājā Pāl' and 'Rajajipāl,' which all seem to be variants of Rājyapāla, see Elliot, Vol. II, p. 45, fn. 2. In the KZA, p. 76, the name is given as راجبال. In the British Museum MS. of the TY,



After the plunder and desecration of Kanauj, the city appears to have remained deserted by its inhabitants. Al-Bīrūnī, who wrote his *Indica* about 1030 A.D., describes it as “a very large town, but most of it is now in ruins and desolate, since the capital has been transferred thence to the city of Bārī, east of the Ganges. Between the two towns there is a distance of three to four days’ marches.”<sup>1</sup> It has been generally assumed from this that Rājyapāla after escaping from Kanauj established his capital at Bārī.<sup>2</sup> In any case Rājyapāla was not in Kanauj when in the following year Mahmūd (410 A.H=1019 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> “turned again towards Hind with his bold warriors.” We are told by ‘Utbī that “he obtained a large amount of booty before he reached the river, known by the name of Rāhib (راهب)..... Barujaybāl (برجيبال) was encamped on the other side of the river, as a measure of security in consequence of this sudden attack, with his warriors dusky as night, and his elephants all caparisoned. He showed a determination to resist the passage of the Sultān, but at night he was making preparations to escape down the river.” The account then proceeds to say that at Mahmūd’s direction a detachment of his troops effected a landing on the opposite bank in spite of opposition. Encouraged by their success the rest of

(Add. 23, 341 f. 148a), the name is given as راجيال which may well be a mistake for راجپال. In the Arabic Text of the same work edited by ‘Alī and Sprenger (Delhi, 1847, p. 403) the name is written as راجيبال. In another Arabic Text of the *TY*, printed on the margin of *TKA*, (Bulak, 1874, Vol. II, p. 79) the name of the king is given as راجيبال. *TKA* (*ibid*, pp. 98 and 115) itself gives the name as راجيبال and راجيال. In the *Rauzat uṣ-Ṣafā* of Mīrkhond (Text, Lucknow, 1874, p. 740) the name is given as جيبال راي. He appears to have mistaken the ر of the name given by ‘Utbī as راي. He thus thought he was quite right in writing *Rāy Jaypāl* as *Jaypāl Rāy*. The *Habīb uṣ-Ṣiyar* of his grandson Khond Mīr (Text, Bombay, 1857, Vol. II, Chap IV, p. 23) gives the name of the king as جيبال. Thus ‘Rājyapāla’ was gradually changed into ‘Jayapāla’

<sup>1</sup> Trans by Sachau, Trübner, Vol. I, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> See *KZA*, p. 76, on this point. On the approach of Mahmūd in A.D. 1019 Tarujaypāl went towards Bārī.

<sup>3</sup> *TA*, Trans. by B Dey, 1018, p. 12.

the army crossed the river, not without considerable difficulty, and put their enemy to flight. "Some of the infidels asked for mercy after being wounded, some were taken prisoners, some were killed, and the rest took to flight, and 270 gigantic elephants fell into the hands of the Musulmāns." There has been some difference of opinion about the identification of this Barūjaybāl. Nizām ud-Dīn gives the name as Tarū-Jaypāl or Narū-Jaypāl, which seems to be clearly the same name as that given by 'Utbi.<sup>1</sup> Barū can very easily be transformed into Tarū or Narū in the Perso-Arabian script. It is difficult to say how the confusion first arose, but I think it is better to accept the contemporary text of 'Utbi. That Nizām ud-Dīn was not free from mistakes is shown by the fact that he describes the battle as having taken place on the river Jūn (i.e., Jumna), while 'Utbi clearly says that it was fought on the Rāhib.<sup>2</sup> The theory that Tarū-Jaypāl or Narū-Jaypāl must be differentiated from Barū-Jaybāl rests upon a statement of Nizām ud-Dīn, who in giving Maḥmūd's reason for invading India in 410 A.H. writes : "It has been handed down, that when the Sultān heard that a Rājā of the name of Nandā (نندا) had slain the Rājā of Kannauj, because the latter had submitted and rendered allegiance to him he formed a strong resolution to destroy Nandā, and in the year 410 he again invaded Hindustan."<sup>3</sup> Thus it is assumed that when Maḥmūd invaded India, the Kanauj king Rājyapāla,<sup>4</sup> who ruled in 409 A.H., had been killed by Nandā

<sup>1</sup> Ibn ul Athīr, in his *TKA*, (Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-16) gives the name as **برجیال**. The argument that Tarū or Narū may be mistakes for Barū applies also for Parū. It is only a question of dots, the omission of which is very usual in Perso-Arabic MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The *KZA*, p. 76, says that the battle took place when both the armies had crossed the Ganges and when Tarū-Jaypāl was on his way to Bārī Rāhib (راهب) is identified with modern Rāmganga, which rises in the Garhwal hills (30°5' N, 79°12' E) and falls into the Ganges a little above Kanauj, after a total course of about 370 miles. See *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 49, fn. 6; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 46, fn. 1; *IGI*, Vol. XXI, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *TA*, Trans. by Dey, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Identified by these scholars with Barū-Jaypāl, or Purū-Jaypāl first mentioned by 'Utbi in connection with Maḥmūd's expedition in A.H. 409. See *Elliot*, Vol II, p. 461.

whose name is taken to be a mistake for Gaṇḍa, the Candella ruler.<sup>1</sup> So the prince who opposed Maḥmūd on the Rāhib must have been his son Trilocanapāla.<sup>2</sup> Now so far as names are concerned the following table will, I hope, show that there is no inherent improbability that the name Trilocanapāla might be corrupted in Arabic script into Barū, Parū, Tarū, or Narū-Jaypāl.

ٲٲٲٲٲٲ	ٲٲٲٲٲٲ—Trilocanapāla
ٲٲٲٲٲٲ	ٲٲٲٲٲٲ—Tarlūjaypāl
ٲٲٲٲٲٲ	ٲٲٲٲٲٲ—Tarūjaypāl <sup>3</sup>
ٲٲٲٲٲٲ	ٲٲٲٲٲٲ—Barūjaypāl
ٲٲٲٲٲٲ	ٲٲٲٲٲٲ—Narūjaypāl
ٲٲٲٲٲٲ	ٲٲٲٲٲٲ—Parūjaypāl.

But there are some strong objections to the supposition that all these names refer to one and the same person, *viz.*, Trilocanapāla. The name Barū-jaybāl first occurs in 'Utbī's account in connection with the description of Maḥmūd's first expedition into the Ganges valley in 409 A. H.<sup>4</sup> After describing the flight of Rājapāla from Kanauj, he proceeds to give us the account of Maḥmūd's subsequent conflicts in the same expedition with the other neighbouring princes. One of these was Chand Rāī and between him and Barū-jaybāl, we are told "there had been constant fights in which many men and warriors had fallen in the field;...at last they consented to peace, in order to save further bloodshed and invasion of their respective borders. Barū-jaybāl sought his old enemy's daughter, that he might give her in marriage to his son Bhīmpāl, thus cementing the peace between them for ever, and preserving their swords within their

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS*, 1909, Part I, p. 284 fn.

<sup>2</sup> Identified by these scholars with Tarū-jaypāl or Narū-jaypāl.

<sup>3</sup> This form actually occurs in the recently published text of the almost contemporary (c. 1048 A. D.) *KZA*, p. 76. One of the MSS. of *TA*, consulted by Elliot also gives this form; see Elliot, Vol. II, p. 463.

<sup>4</sup> Note also the statement of *TA* (Trans. p. 12) that Narū-jaypāl before 410 A.H. 'had several times fled before his armies.'

sheaths He sent his son to obtain the bride from Chand Rāī who imprisoned the son and demanded retribution for the losses which had been inflicted by the father"<sup>1</sup> Now the author was here describing incidents which occurred before 410 A.H., and already by this time this Barū-jaybāl was to all appearances an independent prince and a contemporary of Rājyapāla with sons of marriageable age This difficulty was probably present in the minds of S. de Sacy and Elliot when they assumed this Barū-jaybāl to be identical with Rājyabāl or Rājyapāla.<sup>2</sup> The difference of the two names of course remains an obstacle in accepting the identification But in Arabic  $\bar{\text{b}}$  is often written in MSS. as  $\text{D}$  and can readily be mistaken for a  $\text{y}$ . It is not impossible that the initial  $\bar{\text{b}}$  was originally the Arabic preposition meaning 'to, at or with,' which was wrongly thought by the scribe to be a part of the name. The mistake thus started may have been perpetuated in all subsequent spellings of the name.<sup>3</sup> In any case if we accept 'Utbi's account as real history it seems impossible that Barū-jaybāl should be identified with the son and successor of Rājyapāla though it is not impossible that he may have been a contemporary ruler of some other dynasty. But there is another objection The Dubkhund stone-inscription of the Kacchapaghāta Vikramasimha dated in V.S. 1145 (A.D.1188) tells us that his great-grandfather Arjuna, being "anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara deva had fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla...."<sup>4</sup> A Candella inscription from Mahoba tells us that Vidyādhara "caused the destruction

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, Vol. II, pp 47-48.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 45, fn. 2 and p. 47, fn. 2, also pp 461 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This is much more probable than the suggestion that the name should be read as Pur-i-Jaypāl in the sense of 'son of Jaypāl' *Pur* is an old Persian word and is seldom used by the Persian historians in the sense of a son. It is certainly not Arabic. If the Arabic writers wanted to write 'son of Jaypāl,' they would have probably written 'ibn Jaypāl' I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr W Mirza of the Lucknow University. *KZ* (p. 76), while giving the name as Tarū-Jaypāl sometimes omits the first portion and gives the name as Jaypāl. Apparently he did not consider *Tarū* as an essential part of the name.

<sup>4</sup> EI, Vol. II, p 237, lines 10, etc

of the king of Kanauj." <sup>1</sup> These two inscriptions when jointly read leave us in on doubt that this Rājyapāla was the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of Kanauj and the same ruler whose name is spelt by the Arab writer as Rājyabāl. Thus Rājyapāla was a contemporary of the Candella Vidyādhara and the Kacchapa-ghāta Arjuna, and therefore alive at the time of Maḥmūd's second expedition against Kanauj when Nanda (Gaṇḍa ?), the father of Vidyādhara was still the Candella king.<sup>2</sup> So far as facts were available at the time, Prof. R. C. Mazumdar, I think, was right in describing as "gratuitous" the attempt to harmonise Niẓām ud-Dīn's account with the epigraphic evidence, by supposing Vidyādhara the destroyer of Rājyapāla to be the crown prince of Nanda (Gaṇḍa ?). But since he wrote I have come across the following account of these incidents in the Arabic history *Ta'rikh ul-Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athīr (died A.D. 1234): "In this year, 409,<sup>3</sup> Yamin ud-Daulah started on an expedition towards India, and he made larger preparations than he had done before. The reason of all this preparation was that when he had conquered Kanauj and its ruler, called the Rāy, had fled away .. ..and Maḥmūd returned to Ghazna, Bīdā (بدایه) the accursed, who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory and had the largest armies, and whose territory was named Kajurāha (کجوراهه), sent messengers to the Rāy of Kanauj, who was named Rājyapāl (راجیپال) rebuking him for his flight and the surrender of his territories to the Musalmans. A long quarrel ensued between them, which resulted in hostilities; and as each of them prepared to fight the other, they marched out and met and fought, and Rājyapāl was killed,<sup>4</sup> and most of his soldiers also perished; and this

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, V. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *JL*, Vol. 7, p. 74, fn.

<sup>3</sup> This date is wrong and short by one year. Though generally reliable, the Bulak Ed. of this work is not free from mistakes. Thus it has هردت for هردب on p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> The *KZ* 4, p. 76, says "In 410 A.H. Yamin ud-Daulah led an expedition against Nandā who had killed Rājyabāl, the Amīr of Kanauj, and had admonished him for running away from the armies of Maḥmūd."

success added to the mischief and refractoriness of Bīdā, and his fame spread throughout India. Then one of the rulers of India whose territory had been conquered by Yamīn ud-Daulah, and whose armies had been routed, went to Bīdā and entered his service and sought his protection. He (Bīdā) promised to restore to him his country and to protect him, but he made the coming of winter and the continuous fall of the rains an excuse. Now when this news reached Yamīn ud-Daulah he was disturbed and prepared for fight" .... [On his way from Ghazni he chastised the Afghans, passed through the narrow passes in their country, and gradually reached the Ganges and crossed it.] "After that he hastened on and on his way he heard about a king of India called Parūjaypāl (پروچيال). He fled before him and sought the shelter of Bīdā, so that the latter might protect him. Maḥmūd traversed stages after stages and overtook Parūjaypāl and his followers on the 14th of Shaban; between him and the Hindus there was a deep river.<sup>1</sup> Some of his followers crossed the river and reached the enemy, and engaged him in battle. Then he himself with the remainder of his army also crossed over, and they fought for the greater part of the day, and Parūjaypāl and his followers were defeated, a large number being slain and captured ..... Their king fled, wounded, and he did not know what to do. So he sent a message to Yamīn ud-Daulah requesting peace. But Maḥmūd refused and did not agree to any conditions except Islām, and slew innumerable of his soldiers. Barūjaypāl started to meet Bīdā, but some of the Hindus surprised him and killed him (Barūjaypāl)."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is certainly the Ribh of 'Ubbi.

<sup>2</sup> TKA, Bulak, 1874, Vol IX, pp. 115-16. The KZA simply says: "Nandā had promised to help Tarū-jaypāl and had agreed to take an army to his country. Jaypāl crossed the Ganges and came towards Bārī. Amīr Maḥmūd also crossed the river and scattered those armies. Jaypāl fled away with a few Hindus." I am indebted to Dr. W. Mirza for these translations.

The statement quoted above solves some of the problems which so long confronted the historians of India. Ibn ul-Athīr clearly says that the person who killed Rājyapāla was Bīdā of Khaḡuraho. As Ibn ul-Athīr lived within a century of the death of Maḡmūd, his statement must be accepted as more reliable than the later account of Niḡām ud-Dīn.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is apparent that the Nandā (نندا) of the latter writer was a mistake not for Gaṇḍa, as Cunningham supposed, but for Bīdā (بيدا).<sup>1</sup> Apart from other considerations the following comparison of the letters will show that Bīdā can be corrupted into Nandā much more easily than Ganda :

Bīdā. ... .	بيدا		Gaṇḍa . ....	گندا
Nandā.... ..	نندا		Nandā... ..	نندا

It is also important to remember that the name Gaṇḍa ends in a short *a* and therefore should *properly* be written as گند or گند and not with an *l* at the end.<sup>2</sup> That reduces further the resemblance of Gaṇḍa and Nandā. It can therefore be accepted that the person meant was Vidyādhara the son and successor of Ganda. Bīdā is a mistake for بیدا, the phonetic equivalent in Arabic of Vidyā, the first portion of the name of the Candella prince. As this statement of Ibn ul-Athīr agrees with epigraphic evidence, there remains absolutely no doubt that about 409-10 A.H. Gaṇḍa was already dead.

Another problem that is solved is the question about the causes that induced Maḡmūd to invade India about 410 A.H. On the authority of Niḡām ud-Dīn it was assumed by V. A. Smith that Rājyapāla was killed by an 'alliance' of Hindu states for

<sup>1</sup> It was in the middle of the 19th century, that Cunningham first suggested that Firishta's Nandā was a misreading for Gaṇḍa; see his *ASR* for 1862-63-64-65, Vol. II (Simla, 1871), p. 452. This has been accepted by most scholars. E. Hultzsch in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 219, B. Dey in the *TA* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Trans., p. 72, fn. 1; V. Smith in *JRSB*, 1881, p. 11, in *IA*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 128 and *JRAS*, 1909, Part I, pp. 278-80 and fn. 1, Dr R. C. Mazumdar, in *JL*, Vol. X, p. 74, fn. , the *CHI*, Vol. III, also apparently accepts it on pp. 21 ff and p. 665 under 1022 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> But as Dr. Barnett points out we no doubt sometimes find both راجه and راجا.

submitting to Maḥmūd. The latter says he " was furious when he heard at Ghazni of the punishment inflicted upon the prince whom he regarded as a feudatory, and resolved to take a speedy vengeance on the audacious confederates."<sup>1</sup> Smith disregarded 'Utbī, who assigned no other reason for this expedition except ambition and love of plunder. Nowhere again does 'Utbī say that Rājyapāla after he escaped from Kanauj submitted to Maḥmūd. Now Ibn ul-Athīr makes it clear that the attack on Rājyapāla by Vidyādhara was to punish the former for his flight and surrender of his territories to the ravages of the Muḥammadans, and not for becoming a feudatory of the Yamīnīs. He also makes it evident that the cause of that expedition of Maḥmūd was not Vidyādhara's attack on the Kanauj prince but because of the Candella prince's intention of attacking the territory conquered and annexed by Maḥmūd in India. The third point that appears to be solved is the question of the identification of Barūjaybāl. I have already pointed out that 'Utbī represents him to be a prince who ruled synchronously with Rājyapāla. Thus though there was no inherent objection, so far as the name Trilocanapāla was concerned, in identifying him with Barūjaybāl, this fact appears to present an insurmountable difficulty. Another difficulty is added by Ibn ul-Athīr, according to whom Parūjaypāl was killed during the expedition of Maḥmūd undertaken in 409 A.H. (410 A.H. ?), (1019 A.D.). If this is accepted Parūjaypāl cannot be the same as Trilocanapāla, who in the Jhusi inscription, dated in V.S. 1048 (A.D. 1027) ' meditated on the feet ' of Rājyapāla. As Ibn ul-Athīr tells us that Parūjaypāl was killed after the death of Rājyapāla it seems that there is left no other alternative but to regard him as a prince of a separate dynasty. I would however in conclusion draw the attention of scholars to one significant fact. After referring to the death of Parūjaypāl, Ibn ul-Athīr says: " After this event Yamīn ud-Daulah started.



towards the city of Bārī, which is one of the strongest fortresses; and he found it deserted by its inhabitants and razed to the ground. He ordered its (complete) destruction .....<sup>1</sup> Now we have already shown that certain scholars basing themselves on the statement of Bīrūnī, held that Rājyapāla after escaping from Kaṇauj set up his capital at Bārī. Though neither Bīrūnī, 'Utbī, Ibn ul-Athīr, nor any other later authority distinctly says that Bārī was the capital of either Rājyapāla or of Barūjaybāl, yet from the way Ibn ul-Athīr mentions the city of Bārī it is possible to connect him with that city. Possession of the city would tend to indicate relationship with the line of Rājyapāla. This may drive us to assume the existence of another prince between Rājyapāla and Trilocanapāla. The epithet *tat-pādānu-dhyāta* does not necessarily indicate immediate succession. Barūjaybāl may have been either a rival brother or an usurper belonging to the same family, who for a time captured the capital by taking advantage of the confusion which was then prevailing in the Gurjara-Pratīhāra kingdom.

These expeditions of Maḥmūd nearly completed the destruction of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. In 409 A.H. when Maḥmūd first invaded the Ganges-Jumna valley, Rājyapāla was still described as "the chief of all the princes of India," to whom "all submitted their necks in obedience...and acknowledged his high rank, and great power and dignity."<sup>2</sup> The degradation suffered by them by their defeat at the hands of Maḥmūd and the burning of Mathura and Kanauj is probably indicated by Ibn ul-Athīr, who when referring to the princes of India during the next expedition describes the Candella Vidyādhara as "the greatest of all rulers of India." The violent deaths of Rājyapāla and Barūjaybāl (?) only hastened the complete downfall of the

<sup>1</sup> TKA, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, p. 116 This is also found in KZA, p. 76 It says: 'Then he (Maḥmūd) went towards Bārī and found it deserted. They burnt all the temples and plundered whatever they found and from that place they marched towards the army of Nandā.'

<sup>2</sup> KY, Trans from the Persian version by Reynolds, p. 458.

Gurjara-Pratīhāras' claim to empire over the Ganges valley, real or nominal. But epigraphic evidence shows that the dynasty lingered on for some time. The existence of Trilocanapāla is revealed by his *Jhusi grant*. The inscription was discovered at Jhusi, a town on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite the city of Allahabad. It consists of 26 lines, incised on a single thick plate, and begins with the genealogy of the donor. *Pb.-M.-P.* Vijayapāladeva-pādānudhyāta *Pb.-M.-P.* Rājyapāladeva pādānudhyāta *Pb.-M.-P.* Trilocanapāladevaḥ, when in residence on the banks of the Ganges near Prayāga, having bathed in the Ganges and worshipped Śiva, granted 'Asuābhaka-Viśaye Lebhunḍāka-grāma' to 6,000 Brahmans belonging to Pratīsth(th)-āna<sup>1</sup> on the occasion of the *Dakṣinayana Saṁkīrti*. The donees belonged to various *pravaras* and were the followers of various Vedic schools. The date (V) Saṁ. 1084 (A.D. June, 1027) is given at the end.<sup>2</sup>

The find-spot of this inscription may warrant the supposition that after the plunder and evacuation of Kanauj and Bārī, the successors of Rājyapāla retired towards the eastern portion of their fast dwindling kingdom. Nothing definite is known about the successors of Trilocanapāla. The *Kara stone-inscription* however reveals the existence of a prince named Yaśahpāla, who ruled near Allahabad in (V) S. 1093 (A.D. 1037). The inscription which was obtained from the gateway of the fort of Kurrah (mod. Kara) in the Allahabad district (U. P.), consists of 17 lines of writing, and opens with the date (V) *Samvat* 1093. The epigraph records that on this date *Mahārājādhirāja* Yas(s)apāla (while encamping) here at the illustrious Kata, granted 'Kaus(s)āmba-Mandale Payalāsa-grāma' to Māthura Vikṭa (Vikāṭa?) of Pabhosa. Of the places mentioned in this

<sup>1</sup> A town situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna near mod. Jhusi, the find-spot of the grant.

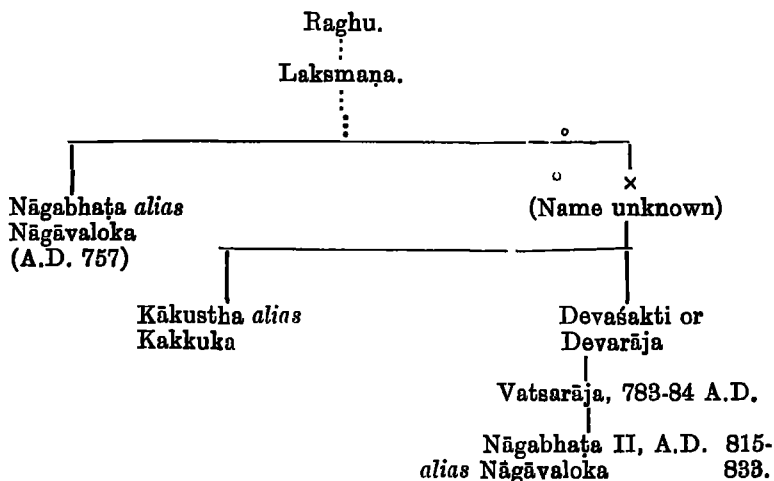
<sup>2</sup> The grant was incidentally referred to by F. Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 8 note. Kielhorn then edited it from an ink impression of the plate in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33-35. The grant is now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

inscription Kauśāmbi has been rightly identified with Kosam, near Allahabad. The village of Payalāsa has also been identified with modern Paras or Pras, some 30 miles N.N.W. from Kosam.<sup>1</sup>

The name of the prince and the date and locality of the inscription naturally raise the suspicion that Yaśahpāla was a Gurjara-Pratīhāra prince, presumably an immediate successor of Trilocanapāla. But at present there is nothing to establish definitely his relationship with the Pratīhāras and Trilocanapāla. If he was a successor of the latter, he appears to have been the last prince of the dynasty which had held Kanauj and the Ganges valley for about two centuries.

#### GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

(Known dates only given below)



<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first noticed by Colebrooke in 1809 in Vol. IX, pp. 440-41, of the *Asiatic Researches*. The article was reproduced in the *Life and Essays of Colebrooke*, Trubner, 1873, Vol. III, pp. 245-46. In 1836 Prinsep published an improved version in *JASB*, Vol. V, p. 731. Next fully edited by D. R. Sahu in *JR 18*, 1927, pp. 692-95. The same author noticed the inscription also in *ASI*, 1923-24, pp. 122-24.



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# INDEX

## A

- Abbasid**, 69, 112  
**Abbasid Caliphs**, 12  
 'Abd-Allah (Abd-ullah), coin of, 13 fn  
 'Abd al-Rahmān, coin of, 13 fn., 14 fn  
 'Abd al-Rahmān and Nasr, coin of, 13 fn  
 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Samurah, 65, 66  
 'Abd ul-'Aziz ibn 'Abd Ullāh ibn 'Amir, 67  
 'Abdullah (Abd-Allah), killed in a raid on the  
     Makrān frontier, in the reign of Mu'āwiyah,  
     7  
 'Abd Ullāh (Abd-Allah), IVāh of Sijistān, 67, 68  
 'Abd Ullāh (Abd-Allah) ibn 'Amir, 65  
 'Abd ul-Malik (Caliph), 68  
 'Abd ur-Rashīd, 86  
 'Abd ur-Rashīd Sultān Mas'ūd, 30  
**Abhaya**, king of Uraśā, 144  
**Abhayamalla**, Malla king of Nepal, 213  
**Abhmanyu**, prince (mentioned in Bhuvan-  
     var inscription of Uddyota Kesarin), 110  
     411  
**Abhimanyu**, Rāstrakūta of Mānapura, 555  
**Abhimanyu**, king of Kashmir, 78, 131, 132  
**Abhimanyu**, prince of Suvarṇapura, 408, 412  
**Abhinava-Rāghavananda** of poet Manika, 224  
**Abhiras** (of Nepāla), 187, 191  
**Ab-i-Panja** (river), 107  
**Abhiśūravāṭaka**, a village, 245  
**Abhiśeka**, 154, 191, 536  
**Abrāsa**, 13fn '1  
**Abu-'Afrā** 'Umar al Māzinī, 67  
**Abu** 'Alī Simjuri, 89  
**Abu Bakrah**, 68  
**Abu Bakr-i-Lawīk**, 79  
**A** Buddhismus latāsa az Iszlāmra, 1903,  
     23 fn. 8  
**Abu'l-Fath Dā'ūd**, prince of Multan, 26  
**Abu'l-Fazl**, 34, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 117, 179,  
     382, 383  
**Abu'l Qasām**, ruler of Tūrūn, 20  
**Abū Ma'shar**, Arab astronomer, 23, 24, of  
     Balkh, 24  
**Abu-Muslim**, 69  
**Abu 'Ubaydah ibn Ziyād**, 67  
**Acalamangala**, king of the Dards, 139  
**Achaemenian**, 55  
**Adāya** (also called **Ādisar**, **Udisar**, **Ādāya** or  
     **Uddāya**), king of Jāpnagar, 491, 491 fn. 5  
**Adbhutāsāgara**, MSS. of, 353, 354, 365, 375  
**Ad-Daibul** (same as Daibul or Daybul), 6  
**Addānaka**, 583  
**Addaka**, Cāpa prince, 583  
**Ad-Dāwar** (see **Dāwar**), 65, 66  
**Adhapattana-mandala**, 333\*  
**Adhikṛta** (officer), 376  
**Adhirāja**, 74, 119  
**Adhirāja Bhoja**, xxxvii, 74, 119  
**Ādi-Buddha**, 540  
**Ādi-Keśava**, god, 533  
     temple at Benares, 537  
     image of, 510  
**Ādikēśava-ghaṭṭa** (at Benares), 522  
**Ādisūra**, Sūra king, 320 fn 3, 320  
**Āditya**, 22  
**Ādityamalla**, Khasa leader. invasion of, 221  
**Ādityasena**, Gupta king, xxxvi, 192, 214, 238,  
     214, 275, 276, 569  
**Ādianuha**, Mahārājādhirāja, 319  
**Ādivarāṣa** and the Earth, 245  
**Ādivarāṣataṭaka** of Gangādhara, 349  
**Afghan** xxxvii, xi, 26 fn 2, 28, 605  
**Afghanistan**, 12, 25, 76, 58, 59, 74, 76, 309  
**Afra** (lām), 15  
**Āghāta** (mod Ahad), (capital of Medapāta.  
     561, 561 fn 1  
**Agrabāra**, 120, 131  
**Agramahisī** (chief queen) 243, 245, 294, 332,  
     461  
**Ahd** (covenant), 66  
**Ahavadalevi**, queen of Udayakarna, 259  
**Āhīr** (Ābhira), 191  
**Ahmad**, coin of, 14 fn  
**Ahmad-i-Sheran**, Khalj Amir, 477  
**Ahmad Niyāl-tigin**, 514  
**Almedabad** grant of Siyaka, 594  
**Ahmad** (Ahmad) Khan, officer of Ghayāth  
     ud-Din Tughluq, 217  
**Ahoms**, section of the Shan tribe; left Mau-  
     lung in c 1215, under Sukāphā establishes  
     a principality near the Dikhu valley, 264,  
     265, 266  
**Ā'in-i Akbarī**, 30, 40, 178, 265, 283, 341, 345  
     382, 497  
**Ajapāla**, defeated by Mahāśivagupta, 405  
**Ājātaśatru**, an epithet of Yudhiṣṭhira, 298.  
**Ajay** (also spelt **Adjai**), river, 343  
**Ajāmāna**, 349  
**Ajmer**, 83, 91, 597  
**Ākālavarā**, 589 etc. (see **Kṛṣṇa III**)  
**Akatā-Abatā** (see **Bhānudeva**, VI?), 497.  
 \* **Akbar** (Mughul emperor), 3, 47, 111, 180, 265  
**Akhnur**, 108  
**Akṣapāda** (Gautama), 475  
**Akṣapātala**, office, 139  
**Akṣaśālī**, 431  
**Akṣayavāṭa** at Gaya, 328  
**Al-Ahwār** (Lahore), 7  
**Alakhāna**, Gūrjara king, 72, 73, 74, 119  
**Alamkāra**, Supdt. of the **Bṛhadgāṇī**, 172



- Alamkārācakra, Dāmara, 172  
 Alānastambha (Kālahastambha ?), 443  
 Alāpa-Pattalā, 518  
 'Alā ud-Dīn (Khaljī), 38, 42  
 Al-Balamān, 9, 9 fn 2  
 Al-Bīrūnī (also spelt Bīrūnī), 8, 9 fn 1, 10, 11 fn 4, 13 fn 1, 22, 23, 24, 28, 62, 63, 64, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 90, 98, 99, 600, 608  
 Alexander, xxxii  
 Al-Faraz, coin of, 13 fn  
 Al-Hakam (or Hākīm) ibn 'Awānah (al-Kīlābī), 11  
 Al Hajjāj (see Hajjāj), 68  
 Ālhanā, Naddūla Cāhamāna, 562 fn. 4  
 Ālhanadevī, queen of Gayā Kāina, 326  
 Al Hānūth, 6  
 Al-Hind (also spelt Hind), 2, 8, 10, 65  
 'Alī (Caliph), 66  
 'Alī the Meī, guide of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, 260, 263  
 'Alī and Muhammad, coin of, 13 fn  
 'Alī and al-Nasr, coin of, 13 fn  
 'Alī ibn Hamīd al Kufī, 8 fn 2  
 'Alī Shāh, 42  
 'Alī Shīr (Jām), 41, 45  
 'Alī Shīr Qāmī, 31 fn 3, 33, 34, 38  
 'Alī Shīr Tamāchī, Jām, 40  
 Al Istakhrī (see Istakhrī), 16  
 Al-Jurz, 9  
 Al Kikan (also spelt Kikan), 1, 6, 7.  
 Al-Kīraj, 9  
 Allahabad prasasti of Hariṣeṇa, 55, 238  
 Allāh-band, 32  
 Al-Lahūm, 1, 21  
 Allon, John, 14 fn  
 Ālleśvara, son of Sāhūnera, 180  
 Al Mahdī (see Mahdī), 10  
 Al-Mahfūrah, 11  
 Al-Mahbah, 9 fn 2  
 Al-Manṣūr, Abbasid Caliph (see Mansuri), 113,  
 Al-Mansūrah (see Mansūrah), 11, 11 fn 4  
 Al-Mālibah, 9  
 Al-Ma'mūn (see Ma'mūn), 70  
 Al-Mandal, 9  
 Al-Manṣūr (Caliph), 12  
 Al-Mas'ūdī, 15  
 Almorā, 186  
 Almorā grant of Mādhasasena, 382  
 Al-Muhallab, 7  
 Al-Multan (-Multan), 11 fn. 7, 15 fn 1  
 Al Mundhur, 7  
 Al-Mu'tasim, 13  
 Aloe wood, 15, 21  
 Alor, 5, 7, 11, 31, 32, 71n 5  
 Alp-tigin, 25, 28, 79, 80  
 Al Qunduhar (see Qunduhur), 12  
 Al-Qundār, 25  
 Al-Rūr (also spelt ar-Rūr), 18, 19  
 Altai, Indian, 57  
 Al-'Utbi (see Utbi), 27 fn 2  
 Amarakantaka, 392 fn. 1, 576  
 Amaranātha, image of, 255  
 Amātya, 117, 223  
 Amḥā, queen of Kāmarūpa king Virabāhu, 246  
 Ambavādī Viśaya, 453  
 Ambuālī-Pattalā, 539.  
 Amgachī grant of Viśrahapāla III, 297, 328  
 Amida, 56  
 'Amīl, 69, 70  
 Amir, 19, 261, 262  
 Amirs of Multan, 4 fn. 3, 16, 18, 80  
 Amoghakalāśa, *biruda* of Vidyādharaḥaṇḍja, 428  
 Amoghavarṣa I, Rāṣṭrakūta king of Deccan, 286, 301  
 Amoghavarṣa II, Rāṣṭrakūta of Deccan, 581  
 Amoghavarṣa III, Baddega, Rāṣṭrakūta of Deccan, 589, 590  
 Āmṣapdikā-maṇḍala, 289  
 'Amrān ibn Mūsā (also spelt 'Imrān ibn Mūsā) Arab governor of Sīnd, 12, 49  
 'Amr ibn Laith (Layth), 75, 77, 79  
 Amṛadeva (= Mitradeva) Nayakot Thākuri, 208  
 Amṛtāpāla, Rāṣṭrakūta of Kanauj, 553  
 'Amru Nasar, 14 fn  
 Amśudatta, Ganga king 452  
 Amśuvarman, founder of the Thākuri Dynasty of Patan in Nepal, 187, 189, 190, 191, 202, 211  
 Anahilapātaka, 336, 553  
 Anahilapātana, 38 fn 3  
 Ānalladevī, Rāstrauda queen of Ālhaṇa, 562 fn 4  
 Ānandabhāta, author of Ballāla carita, 354, 470  
 Ānandadeva (son of Sīhadeva = Narasiṃha ?), Nayakot Thākuri, 208  
 Ānandapāla (also spelt Ānandapāl), Sāhī prince, 27, 72, 87, 89, 91, 94  
 Ānandamālla, king of Bhatgaon, 204, 213  
 Ānandavardhana, poet, 115  
 Ānandatiṭha, founder of the Dvāita school of Philosophy, 486  
 Anangapāla, Sāhī prince, 100  
 Anāṅgapāla, king of Delhi, (?), 535  
 Anāṅgabhinna II (also called Bhīma), Gaṇḍa king of Kalinga, 477, 478, 479, 483  
 Ananta (Viṣṇu), 451, 464  
 Ananta, king of Kashmir, 99, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 145, 208  
 Anantakīrti (Grags-pa-mtha-yas), 200  
 Anantamalladeva, Malla king of Nepal, 214, 215  
 Anantanāg, 177  
 Anantavarman Coḍagaṇḍa, 412, 413, 422, 449, 451, 462, 464, 465  
 Anantavarman Madhu-Kāmārṇava (see Kāmārṇava, VII), 472  
 Anantavratavīdhī, MS of, 214  
 Anarudra-Viśaya, 416  
 Anās, xxx  
 Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by Pargiter, 112 fn. 1  
 Anḍaja-varṇaśa, 425, 426, 432, 433, 436, 437  
 Andarkoth, village in Kashmir, 180  
 'Andhra, 438  
 Andhra-Viśaya, 299  
 Anḡa 271, 272, 301, 332, 337, 339, 528, 594  
 Angatī (?), Bhaṇḍja prince, 438

- Ang-shu-fa-ma (Amśuvarman), 187  
 Aṅguttara Nikāya, xxxii  
 Anhilwāra, 36  
 Aniruddha, preceptor of Ballālasena, 365  
 Anurāṭhkaḥma (also called Anangabhinna II),  
     Ganga king of Kalinga, 472, 475, 476  
 Anna-saṭṭra (alms house), 259  
 Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, 31  
 Anōshirvān (Sasanid Khusran I), 59  
 Ans river, 177  
 Anṣārī tribe, 30  
 Antarāla-Pattalā, 519  
 Antarvedi, (also spelt Antarvedi), 538  
 Antirigam grant of Yaśabhañja (K), 431-32  
 Antirigam grant of Jayabhañja (Q), 435-36  
 Anṭilā, a stream, 117  
 Anula grant of Lakṣmanasena, 376, 377  
 Apabhramśa (vulgar speech), 121  
 Aparāditya, Śiṣāhara prince of Koṭkana, 172  
 Aparā-Mandārā, 320, 341, 342, 343, 360  
 Apsad inscription of Ādityasena, 238  
 Apayāra, prince of Orissa, 410, 411  
 'Aqd (agreement), 66  
 Arabs, xxxvii, xxxviii, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9,  
     10, 11, 12, 14, 21, 31, 39, 64, 65, 66, 68,  
     69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 79, 112, 395,  
 Arab raids on Kashmir, effect on the latter's  
     foreign policy, 71, 72, 112 fn 1  
 Arab conquest of Sind—its result, 23-24  
 Arab garrisons in Sind, 21  
 Arab State of Multan, 17, 18, Mansūrah, 18ff  
 Arabia, 20  
 Arabic, 71  
 Arakan, 323  
 Ārāṭa, camp of victory of Mahābhavagupta,  
     400  
 Arangal, 487  
 Ardāshīr I, Sasanian king, 57  
 Ardhanaṛiśvara, god, 365, 366  
 Ardhāṅgīna, god, 348  
 Arghūns, 47 fn 3  
 Arghūn Dynasty of Sind, 47  
 Arghūn, Husain Shāh, 47  
 Arghūn, Shāh Beg, 47  
 Arideva (see Armanulladeva), 209  
 Arikeśarin, Cālukya feudatory of Govinda IV,  
     580  
 Arimalladeva, founder of the Malla Dynasty  
     in Nepal (also called Arideva), 209, 212  
 Arirāja-Aśabyaśaṅkara, *biruda* of Keśava-  
     sena, 381  
 Arirāja-madanaśaṅkara, *biruda* of Lakṣmaṇa-  
     sena, 367  
 Arirāja-Niḥśaṅkaśanra, a *biruda* of Ballāla-  
     sena, 365  
 Arivrasabhasaukara, a *biruda* of Vijayasena,  
     361, 363  
 Arjuna, epic hero, 580  
 Arjuna, Haihaya king, son of Kṛtavīrya,  
     112, fn.1  
 Arjuna, Kaccapaghāta prince, 603, 604  
 Arkasāhika, 480  
 Arkasāhikā, 425, 429  
 Armbil, city in Sind, 2  
 Armā'il (Armbil) 2  
 Aruñil, last Śūmra prince, 34, 41  
 Armudi, Nepal king, opponent of Kashmir  
     king Jayāpīda, 193  
 Ar-Rabi' ibn, Ziyād, 65, 67  
 Ar-Rashid (see Rashid), 70  
 Ar-Rukhkhaj (see Rukhkhaj), 65  
 Ar-Rūr (also spelt al-Rūr), 3, 8  
 Arsacid, 55  
 Arsavālli, 2 stone inscriptions of Coḍa  
     ganga, 467  
 Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, 550  
 Arttani-Visaya, 418  
 Arun, river, 188  
 Āryadeśa, 128  
 Āryans, xxx, xxxi  
 Ārya-tīrtha, on the bank of Bagmati, 224  
 Āryāvarta, 73, 576 fn, 577, 579  
 Ārya-Dravidian (type), 271  
 Āsata, king of Camps, 144, 145  
 Āsa, his mathematical system, 23  
 Āsamatī, Jālandhara princess, 138  
 Āśosa-mahāśabda, 593  
 Ashrafpur plates of the Khadgas, 275, 283  
 Asī (river), 368  
 Asiatic Society, Bengal, 220, 259  
 Āsui, 543, 543 fn.4, 544  
 Asmi stone pillar inscription of Mahipāla,  
     572, 579, 583-84  
 Āśoka, Maurya emperor, xxviii, xxxvi,  
     212-200, 413, 422  
 Asokaculla, 383  
 Āśphoṭacandra, Gādhavāla prince, 523, 532  
 Assam, xxxiii, xxxvii, 235, 236, 238,  
     242, 246, 248, 249, 259, 264, 265, 266;  
     Genealogical tables, 268-269 Biblio-  
     graphy, 269-70  
 Assam plates of Vallabhadeva, 259, 360, 368,  
     335  
 As-Sind, 1, 2, 4 fn 3, 8  
 Asta-gaccha-Khandala, 333, 343  
 Astasāhasikā Prajñāpāramitā, 196, 198,  
     201-02, 207, 213, 246, 263, 306, 311, 312,  
     532  
 Astor, 110  
 Astrologer, 40  
 Asurābhaka-Visaya, 609  
 Asuresa-Pattalā, 540  
 Āśvamedhasacrifice, 274  
 Asvapati, 367, 379, 381, 519, 530, 532, 541,  
     544, 546, 575 fn 1  
 Asura-Nāḍiyana, a *biruda* of Jaya-Sthiti-  
     malla, 223, 234  
 Ātavikāh, 340  
 Āthar al-Baqiya, of al-Birūnī, 24 fn.1  
 Atharvaveda, 584  
 Athinalik, State of (in Orissa), 401  
 Atiśa (Dipaṅkara Srijñāna), 197, 200, 326,  
     327  
 Atrai, (river), 261  
 Ātreya-gotra, 454  
 Atri, sage, 332, 451  
 Aṭ-Tāfin, 578  
 Āṭṭapattibhāga, 120  
 Attock, 80  
 Aurangzib, Mughul emperor of Delhi, 24, 290

Austrac, group of speech, xxix, xxx  
 Avaniśūra, Śūra king, 320  
 Avaniyvarman, xxxvii  
 Aṣanti, xxvii, 10, 285  
 Avantipura (mod Vāntipor), 115, 154  
 Avantiśvara, Śiva, 115  
 Avantiyvarman, king of Kashmir, 113, 114, 116, 117  
 Avimukta-kṣetra (of Benares), 525, 524  
 Awadh, 481  
 Ayodhyā, 349, 510  
 Ayus, mythical king, 332, 451  
 Az-Zubair (see Zubair), 67  
 Az-Zūr, 66 (see Zūr)

## B

Babai, river, 185  
 Babbāpura, 162  
 Babhruvāhana, son of Śūladeva, 178  
 Bābiniya (Jām), 41, 43, 44, 45  
 Babur, 47, 95, fn 1  
 Babur nāma, 95, fn 1  
 Babylonia, xxxi  
 Bacon, v  
 Bādā, Viṣaya of, 256  
 Badal, in Dinajpur District, 300  
 Badal Pillar inscription of Gurava Miśra (of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla), 254, 288, 291, 300, 305  
 Badan, 383  
 Baddhāpura(?), 144  
 Bāgdi (see Vāgdi), 342  
 Baghaura Nārāyaṇa image-inscription of Mahipāla I, 311  
 Baghelkhand, 589  
 Bagmati (river), 186, 191, 211, 224, 228, valley of, 211, 215, 281  
 Bagram, name of Peshawar in the time of Babar and Akbar, 85 fn 2  
 Bagula clan of the Rathore, 555 fn 1  
 Bahātiḥ (also spelt Bhātīāḥ, mod Bhera), 25, 87  
 Bahikas, 249, 250  
 Bahmanābād (sometimes spelt Brahmanābād), 7, 7 fn 4, 8, 11 fn 1  
 Bahmanura II, fn 4  
 Bahrām VI, Sasanian king, 60  
 Bahrī-mad, 9  
 Baijnath Prastastis 194,  
 Bailamān (بيلمان), 9, 9 fn 2  
 Bāj, a tax, 21  
 Balabhadra, *Mahākṣapatalika* of Kara queen Tribhuvana-mahādevī, 422  
 Bālabbhārata, (Pracandapāṇḍava) of Rājā-śekhara, 576  
 Baladeva, god, 484  
 Baladeva (or Balavantadeva), king of Nepal, 201  
 Balādhikṛta, 586  
 Balādhurī, 1, 6 fn. 3, 7 fn 5, 8, 8 fn. 2, 9, 10, 11, 15 fn 1, 18, 66, 66, 69, 112, 113, 586  
 Balādhyacandra, a Lavanya : Lord of Lahara, 175  
 Balāditya, Gupta king of Magadha, 59  
 Balāditya, Gubila Prince, 582  
 Balāditya, a prince of Kalinga, 449, 452  
 Bālagraha, in Varendrī, 255  
 Bālaprasāda, Rāstrakūṭa of Hastikūṭi, 561  
 Bālaputradeva, ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa, 293, 294, 295  
 Bālārjuna, (see Mahāśivagupta), king of Śrīpura, 393  
 Balarāma (god), 368  
 Balasore, 342  
 Bala-Valabhi, 341, 342, 342 fn 2  
 Balavantadeva (see Baladeva), 200  
 Balavarman, feudatory of Bhoja I, xxxvii  
 Balavarman, Kāmarūpa ruler, 239, 211, 242, 216, 247  
 Balavarman, king of Kāmarūpa, 237  
 Balban, Sultān of Delhi, 383  
 Bālnath Hills (Salt Range), 95  
 Balharā (also spelt Balharī) 7 fn 5, 10  
 Balharī (also spelt Balharā) (بلهري), 577, 578  
 Bali, Asura king, 271, 285  
 Balkh, 13, 24, 56, 57, 58, 60  
 Ballālacarita of Ānandabhatta, 354, 359, 364, 470  
 Ballālasena, Sena king of Bengal, 354, 361, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 375, 377  
 Balti, 110  
 Baluchis 33,  
 Baluchistan, xxix, xxx, 1, 2  
 Bamanghati grant of Rājabbhāṇja (D), 424, 427  
 Bamanghati grant of Rājabbhāṇja (E), 427-28  
 Bambārwa, 37  
 Bāmyān (also spelt Bamian), 1, 21, 59, 60, 66  
 Bamra State (in Orissa), 408  
 Bāna, author, xxxviii, 252, 275  
 Banāras (Benares, U P), 542, 547 fn 2  
 Banārasi (also spelt Parānāsī and Bārānāsī), a city in Orissa, same as Vārānāsī-Kāṭaka, 491, 491, fn 4, 492  
 Bānahāl Pass in Kashmir, 107, 108, 111  
 Bānaśālā (mod Banahāl pass), 108; castle of, 108, 170  
 Banepa, principality of (in Nepal), 228  
 Bang, country of, 264, 372, 373, 375, 379, 479  
 Bangad grant of Mahipāla I, 304, 309, 312, 315, 316, 329  
 Banhatia, 44  
 Banhatiyah (Jām), 40, 43  
 Bannah, 7  
 Bannerji, R. D., 205, 308, 416, 587, 591, fn. 1  
 Banpur grant of Dandi-mahādevī, 418-19  
 Bān Rājārgad, 312  
 Banū 'Amr, coin of, 14 fn.  
 Bany (Jām), 44, 45  
 Bappaṭadevi, mother of Cakravartman, 125  
 Bappikā, queen of Kalaśa, mother of Harṣa, 145  
 Barada, 12 fn. 2  
 Baragaon, (also spelt Bargaon), in Bihar, 295  
 Barab grant of Bhoja I, xxxvii, 292  
 Bārāmula defile, 107, 109, 113, 119

- Baran (mod Buland Shahr), 598.  
 Barani (see Zia ud-din Barani), 34, 35, 487.  
 Bargaon (also spelt Baragaon), near the town of Bihar in Bihar, 304  
 Bargaon (Mauza in Darrang, Assam), 248, 252  
 Bargaon pillar inscription of Rājyapāla, 304  
 Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla, 239, 241, 247, 248, 249, 252  
 Barhatakh, Turki Sāhi king, 62, 63  
 Bāri, last capital of the Gujara-Pratihāra, 600, 608, 609  
 Bara (river), 256  
 Baroda Gap, 9  
 Baroda grant of Karka II (Saka 734), 266  
 Baroda plates of Mularaja I, 391  
 Bar Panara, village in Darrang District (Assam), 254  
 Barbadrathas, xxxi fn 1  
 Barnadi (river), 265  
 Barnett, Dr L D., 9 fn 2, 65 fn 1, 110 fn 4, 199 fn 1, 227 fn 1, 229 fn 1, 244 fn 1, 319 fn 4, 147 fn 1, 155 fn 1, 457 fn 6, 483 fn 2, 181 fn 1, 515 fn 1, 606 fn 2  
 Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena, 320, 351, 356, 358, 360, 363-64, 365  
 Bartū (or Britū) ruler in Oudh, 517 fn 2.  
 Barujabāl (بروجييال), 600, 601, 602, 603, 605, 607, 608  
 Barwas, (mod Brouh), 6, 9  
 Basahi grant of Rājaputra Govindacandra (of the reign of Madanapāla), 507, 511-12, 517  
 Basah (ancient Vāṣāli), 210  
 Basak, Mr R G., 256, 333  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, 55  
 Basra (also spelt Bāsrah), 20, 67  
 Basrah (see Bāsra), 66  
 Baudh (also spelt Baud) State, 125  
 Baudh grant of Kanakabhaṇja (M), 132-33  
 Baudh grant of Kanabhaṇja (A), 121-25  
 Baudh grant of Kanabhaṇja (B), 125-26  
 Ba'ūrah (بؤرة), 4 fn 3, 15, 16, 578, 579 fn 1  
 Bayana stone inscription of Citralekhā (also called Ukha Mandir stone inscription of Mahipāla II?), 574, 591, 592  
 Bay of Bengal, 391  
 Beas (river), xxxii  
 Beej Ray (also spelt Biji Rai), 25, 25 fn 5  
 Beg-lur-nāma, 30, 34  
 Begmati river (Vegamati - Karatoya?), 261, 264  
 Behar (also spelt Bihar), 185  
 Behistun or Bahistān inscription, of Darius I, 55  
 Belasagun, 60, 60 fn 4  
 Belava copper plate of Bhojavarman, 256, 331-32, 333, 335, 336, 343, 358  
 Belgasun, 60 fn 4  
 Belkhara stone-pillar inscription, of Vijayakarna, 545-46  
 Benares, 24, 507, 508, 509, 512, 514, 524, 529, 543, 551, 516, 585  
 Benares College grant of Govindacandra, 537 88  
 Benares, 2 grants of Govindacandra, 516, 519 20  
 Benares grant of Lakṣmī-Karna, 595  
 Bendall, C., 186, 191, 195, 198, 200, 202, 200, 207, 208, 209, 213, 214, 215, 218, 220, 221, 223, 226, 227  
 Bendall's Catalogue (Cambridge, 1883), 198  
 Bengal, xxxv, 10, 203, 235, 247, 251, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260, 261, 263, 271, 272, (Int v), (Int ix), 273, 274, 275, 277, 278, 281, 293, 296, 303, 304, 315, 320, 323, 324, 331, 334, 336, 337, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 351, 355, 358, 359, 360, 361, 364, 372, 383, 383, 106, 415, 479, 564, 569, 570, 571  
 Bengal Asiatic Society, 7 grants of Govindacandra, 519, 538 39  
 Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of Gayādatunga, 419  
 Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyaka-pāla, 572, 579, 581, 584-85, 588  
 Bhadrēvara, Kāyastha, in charge of Grhakṭya office, 135  
 Bhadsing Deo (= Bhupālasimhadeva ?) Simraon Karnāta prince, 206 fn 1  
 Bhagadatta of Prāgyotṣa, xxxiv  
 Bhagadatta, ruler of Prāgyotṣa (Kāmarūpa), 5 fn 5, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242, 245, 246, 249, 252  
 Bhagadatta-rāja kula, 192  
 Bhagadatta rāja-kulajā (Rāyamati), 241  
 Bhagalpur, in Bihar, 273, 274  
 Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyānapāla, 247, 279, 284, 285, 288, 291, 297, 298, 299-300, 312  
 Bhāgalladevi, queen of Aniyankabhūma II, 476  
 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 199  
 Bhagavati, goddess, 202, 581  
 Bhāgīratha, 208  
 Bhāgīrathī (river), 289, 312, 375, 362, 509, fn. 5.  
 Bhagwat (or Bhugwat), fief of, 546  
 Bhāgyadevi, daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Tunga-deva and queen of Rājyapāla, 304  
 Bhagwanlal Indrajī (see Indrajī), 186  
 Bhailavata-Patṭala (Patṭalā ?), 512  
 Bhairava, 288  
 Bhakkar, 20, 42, 43, 46  
 Bhaktagrāma (mod Bhatgaon), 223, 226.  
 Bhaktā-puri (same as Bhaktagrāma, mod. Bhatgaon), 227, 227 fn.1  
 Bhaktāśālā (alma-house), 259  
 Bhakwat, fief of, 370  
 Bhallata, poet, 121  
 Bhallatāsataka, 121  
 Bhallāla, Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Dhanop, 562  
 Bhāṇḍagārika, 527  
 Bhāṇḍana-vijaya, 459  
 Bhandarkar, D. R., 564, 572, 574, 576  
 Bhandarkar, Sir R. G., 308, 564  
 Bhāṇjas (of Orissa), 423ff.  
 Bhānudeva I (also called Vira-Bhānudeva), Ganga king of Kalinga, 482, 483, 484

- hānuḥ eva II [also called Vira-Bhānudeva and Virādhivira-Bānudeva (*sic* !)], Gaṅga king of Kaluṅga, 486, 487, 495  
 Bhānudeva III [also called Vira-Bhānu and Prātāpa-vira-Bānudeva (*sic* !)], Gaṅga king of Kaluṅga, 490, 491, 494, 495  
 Bhānudeva (IV?), also called Akatā-Abatā or Matta, (last Gaṅga king of Kaluṅga), 497  
 Bhārasaha (see Sivakara I), 415  
 Bhārata war, 187  
 Bhāratiya-Nāṭyaśāstra, MS of, 213  
 Bharella Nāṭeśvara image inscription of Layahacandra, 323  
 Bhartula (same as Vartula), 141  
 Bhāskara, founder of a dynasty (Candra-vamśa) in Kāmarūpa, 259  
 Bhāskaradeva, king of Nepal founder of the Thākuri of Nayakot, 230  
 Bhāskaradyuti, see Bhāskaravarman, 237  
 Bhāskarācārya, astronomer, 221  
 Bhāskaravarman (also called Kumāra and Bhāskaradyuti), 237, 238, 239, 240, 266, 273, 310, 311  
 Bhāsvat, 503  
 Bhāsvatī, astronomical work by Satānanda, 471  
 Bhāta (Bhaṭṭa?)—putra, 425, 440  
 Bhāterā in Sylhet, 266  
 Bhāterā grants, of the dynasty of Khaivāṇa, 266  
 Bhatgaon, founded by Jayadevamalla, (see Bhaktagāma and Bhaktā puri), 204, 213, 218, 219, 225, 228, 229  
 Bhātīāh (same as Bahūtīh and Bheir), 87  
 Bhatinda, 80, 86  
 Bhartṛpaṭṭa (II), Guhila king, 587, 595  
 Bhatta, 110 fn. 4, 400, 404, 421, 428, 429, 431, 434, 437, 439, 440, 441, 446  
 Bhatta, Guhila prince, 582  
 Bhatta Bhavadeva, 255, 335, 342  
 Bhatta Gurava (same as Gurava Miśra), 300  
 Bhattaputra (see Bhātaputra), 351, 399, 407, 409, 418, 426, 434, 437, 441  
 Bhattas, crown Kashmir king Rājadeva, 175  
 Bhatta Vāmana, *Mantri* of Mahipāla I, 312  
 Bhatta Rāja, 25  
 Bhauma, one of Naraka's race, 248  
 Bhauma-kula, 414, 416  
 Bhaumāvaya, 414, 414 fn. 4, 115  
 Bhauma's race, 252  
 Bhauttas (=Tibetans) origin of the word, 110, 110 fn. 1, 112  
 Bhauttarāstrādhan, 110.  
 Bhava (Siva), 215 fn. 2  
 Bhavabhūti, dramatist, 221  
 Bhavadeva (see Bhatta Bhavadeva), 336, 342  
 Bhavadeva Cintādhurga (or 'Śrīpura king' Rāṇakesarin), 393  
 Bhavānandacandra, 118  
 Bhāvāsimhadeva (= Bhūpālasimha?), Simraon Karnāt 3 prince, 206  
 Bhera (also known as Bahūtīh and Bhātīāh), 25, 80 fn. 5, 87, 88  
 Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevi, 326  
 Bheri, 456  
 Bhikṣācāra, son of Bhoja and grand son of Harṣa, (Kashmir prince), 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170  
 Bhikṣu-saṅgha 322  
 Bhilmāl (بيلمال), 9 fn. 2  
 Bhīm, fort of, 93 fn. 2  
 Bhīm (Bhīma), Śāhi prince, 72, 77, 130  
 Bhīma, Śāhi king, 79, 130  
 Bhīmadeva, Śāhi prince, coin of, 78  
 Bhīmadeva, II, Caulukya king of Anhil-vād, 535  
 Bhīmadeva, Dāmara, 159  
 Bhīma, nephew of Kaivarta king Divvoka, 340, 344  
 Bhīma, Brahman officer of Jassaka, 174  
 Bhīmadeva, minister of Madanapāla, 351  
 Bhīmagupta, grandson of Didda, 133  
 Bhīma-Keśava (Viṣṇu), 78, 149  
 Bhīmāpāla (Sāhi prince), 29  
 Bhīmāpāla, Rāstrakūṭa of Kanauj, 553  
 Bhīmaratha, a *virūḍa* of Mahābhavagupta (Somavamsi of Kosala), 394  
 Bhīmayaśas, ruler of Magadha; Sāmanta of Rāmapāla, 340, 341  
 Bhimpāl, son of Barūjaypāl, 602  
 Bhīnmāl, 9 fn. 2  
 Bhiṣak, 422  
 Bhiṣāvaka-pura, 176  
 Bhiṣūli (or Bhiwālī), fief of, 546  
 Bhiwālī, fief of, 370  
 Bhoga, 592  
 Bhogavarman, Maukharī prince, 192  
 Bhogavati, queen of Candramukha, 237  
 Bhogi, 418, 422, 441  
 Bhogika, 415  
 Bhoi dynasty of Orissa, 498  
 Bhoja, Adhirāja, 119  
 Bhoja I, Gurjara Pratihāra emperor, xxxvii, xxxviii, 9, 73, 74, 279, 292, 293, 302, 307, 507, 507 fn. 1, 569, 586, 588, 595  
 Bhoja II, Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor, 572, 573, 575, 576, 584  
 Bhoja, son of the Kashmirian king Harṣa, 154, 155, 156  
 Bhoja, Nepal king, 198  
 Bhoja, son of Kalāśa, 159  
 Bhoja kings, 285  
 Bhoja, son of Salhaṇa, 172, 173  
 Bhojadeva, Nepal king, 199  
 Bhojadeva, Paramāra king of Mālava, 140, 199  
 Bhojadevasaṃgraha, MS. of, 220  
 Bhojavarman, Varman king, 256, 332, 333, 336, 343, 345, 358.  
 Bholabhim, king of Patṭanapura, 535.  
 Bhotta (Tebetān), 178, 179,  
 Bhotta-viṣṇu, 193  
 Bhrama, Rāṣṭroḍa prince of Kathiawar, 565.  
 Bhraṇḍa-viṣaya, 402  
 Bhukti, 337, 343, 351, 359, 363, 367, 374, 378, 379, 380, 382, 389, 394, 399, 312, 317, 320 fn. 1, 321, 322, 329, 256, 581, 584, 446

- Bhūloka-malla (see Someśvara III)  
 Bhuṅgar I, Sūmra prince, 32  
 Bhuṅgar II, Sūmra prince, 34  
 Bhuṅgar III, Sūmra prince, 34  
 Bhūpatismha, Karuṭaka of Sīmraon, 205  
 Bhutan, 235, 236  
 Bhūśūra, Sūra king, 320  
 Bhūṣana Nāga, Mahāksapatalādhākṛta of Daṇḍi-mahādevi, 418  
 Bhūtavarman (see Mahā-Bhūtavarman), Kāmarūpa king, 237  
 Bhuvanapāla, Rāstrakūṭa of Kanuḥ, 553  
 Bhuvanarāja, rebellious son of Kṣitirāja, 142  
 Bhuvanesvar (also spelt Bhuvaneswar), 410, 412, 412 fn 1  
 Bhuvanesvar, 3 stone inscriptions of Aniyankabhīma I, 475-76  
 Bhuvanesvar inscription of Narasīma II, 479, 483-84  
 Bhuvanesvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, 255, 335, 342  
 Bīdā (Vidyādhara), Candella king, 605, 606, 606 fn.1  
 Bihar (also spelt Behar), xxv, 198, 185, 373, 248, 271, 272, 274, 275, 277, 281, 293, 296, 297, 298, 301, 302, 303, 304, 315, 324 326, 337, 344, 350, 352, 361, 369, 370, 371, 372, 415, 491, 564, 560, 577  
 Bihar, city of, 370, 371  
 Bihar, modern town of, 295, 298, 301  
 Bihar, stone-image inscription of Vīrabhāpāla III, 328  
 Bihar stone-image inscription of Rāmapāla, 346  
 Bijapur stone-inscription of Dhavala, 560  
 Bijay Rāy, 25, 87, 88  
 Bijja, 100  
 Bijjala, Kalacuri ruler, 204  
 Bilhaṇa (Vidyāpaṇḍ), Kashmirian poet, 139, 141, 147, 203, fn 6, 203  
 Bilhari plates of Yuvarājadeva II, 595  
 Bimba, Sarvādhikārī of Bhukṣācāra, 161, 165  
 Bimbā, Śāhi princess, wife of Tunga, 95  
 Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, 272  
 Birbhum, 274, 343  
 Birūnī (see al-Birūnī) 8, 11, fn. 4, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 90, 94, 95, 98, 99, 600, 603  
 Bisva Sūmha, founder of the Koch Kingdom in Assam. capital Cooch-Bihār, 265  
 Bithu stone inscription of Śihā Rathada, 563  
 Black Pagoda at Konārak; built by Nara-simha I, 482  
 Black Ridge (Koh Bābā or Sīyāh kōh), 60  
 Blochmann, 261, 263  
 Bod (Tibetan = Sanskrit Bhota or Bhautta), 110 fn 4  
 Bodhgaya, 304, 197  
 Bodhgaya inscriptions of Aśoka-calla, 383  
 Bodhgaya inscription of Jayaccandra, 369  
 Bodhgaya, stone-inscription of Dharmapāla, 288  
 Bodhgaya stone-inscription of Goṇāla II, 305  
 Bodhgaya stone-inscription of Govinda-candra, 540  
 Bodhgaya stone-inscription of Mahāpāla, 312  
 Bodhicaryāvatāra, 203  
 Bodhideva, *sacra* of Rāmapāla, 257, 347  
 Bodhisattva, 290, 540  
 Bodhisattva Padmapāni, image of, 346  
 Bodhisattvāśānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra, MS of, 214  
 Bodo-Shan stock, 264  
 Boghaz-Koi, xxx, xxxi  
 Bogra District (Bengal), 255  
 Bolyāsaka (mod. Bulaasa), 109, 119, 122  
 Bombay, Presidency of, 5, 577  
 Book of Indian Eras by Cunningham, 193  
 Bonai grant of Udayavarāha, 437, fn 4  
 Brahmadatta, *Mahākṣapatalika* and *Bhogika* of Śivakaradeva, 415  
 Brahma-kṣatriyas, 354, 355, 356, 356 fn 3  
 Brahman (god), 451  
 Brahman (caste), 3, 4, 5, fn 5, 40, 62, 72, 132, 240, 278, 283  
 Brahman assemblies; their sacred fasts, 164  
 Brahman, assembly for election of a king in Kashmir, 128  
 Brahman corporations; corrupt, holds fasts as a protest, 134, 143  
 Brahmins perform the *Abhiṣeka* of Uccala, 154  
 Brahman, councillors, 195  
 Brahman *lampāṭas*, 534  
 Brahman Śāhis (see Hindu Śāhis), 72 fn. 4  
 Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva, of Halayudha, 375  
 Brāhmaṇavastu-viśaya, 428  
 Brahmanical faith, 61  
 Brahmanvādī, 356  
 Brāhmaṇī-grāma-maṇḍala, 329  
 Brahmapāla, king of Kāmarūpa, 247, 248, 252, 254, 255, 289  
 Brahmapāla, Gaṇḍādhīpa, 139  
 Brahmapuṇa, gift to Brahmins, 476  
 Brahmapuṇa (river), 243, 248, 256, 257, 263, 264, 266, 267, 271, 272  
 Brahmapuṇa valley, 235, 236, 238, 236, 256, 257, 258  
 Brahmin (same as Brahman), 5 fn 4  
 Brahmi, xxx  
 Brhadgaṇḍa (Great treasury), 172 fn.2  
 Brhagrhe (ye?) varatha *Pattalā*, 516  
 Brhadgrhokamīśvara-*Pattalā*, 536  
 Bhadrāñḍī, 512 fn 2  
 Brhadrhevamkṣāni [*sic*] -*Pattalā*, 510  
 Brhadgrhokamīśvara-*Pattalā*, 510  
 Brhatprotha grant of Umāvarman, 333-34  
 Bugge, 26  
 British Museum, 212, 302  
 British Museum coin cabinet, 14 fn.  
 Broach, 6  
 Budail ibn Tahfah, 7  
 Budaun (Vodāmayūtā), 554, 555, 564  
 Budāñ, 547 fn.2  
 Budaun stone-inscription, of Lakṣmapāla, 555, 562  
 Budd, 10, 11 fn 1, 15 fn.1

- Buddha, xxxii, 24, 210, 298, 295, 305, 312, 313, 314, 321, 322, 328, 329, 330, 351, 352, 540; (god), 451; image of 298  
 Buddhadeva, brother of Vaidyadeva, 257, 258  
 Buddharāja, Rāstrakūta of Dhanop, 562  
 Buddhasena, Sena of Pithi, 393  
 Buddhaśrī, Sthavira of the Mahāsaṅghikas at Vikramaśīlā, 198  
 Buddhism, xxxvi, 3, 24, 76, 167, 288, 317, 415  
 Buddhist, 218  
 Buddhist convent, 518  
 Buddhist monks of Sind, 298  
 Buddhist friars (Sākyā-bhikkus), 422  
 Buddhist idol, destroyed in Dakṣiṇāpāṭha, 573  
 Buddhist monastery, 293  
 Buddhist religion, 532  
 Buddhists, 39, 76  
 Buddhist temple, 11 fn 1  
 Būdīl, 108  
 Bugda grant of Mādhavavarman, 415-46  
 Bühler, 583  
 Buhār Sa'ta, Rathor Rana of Dabā, 37  
 Bukka I, king of Vijayanagar, 491  
 Bull and horseman type (coin), 76  
 Bumazu, near Mārtānda in Kashmir, 78  
 Bundelkhand, 577, 594  
 Bunji, 73  
 Buranys of the Ahoms, 264, 265  
 Burdhan-Kot (Vardhanakūṭi, north of Bogra, close to Govindaganj), 261  
 Burdwan, 274, 313  
 Burma, xxix  
 Burmese frontier, 285  
 Burnell, Dr., 550  
 Bust, 66, 67, 68, 69  
 Buṭṭika, 243, 143, fn 4

## C

- Cacca, Rāstrakūta of Dhanap, 662, 563  
 Cachar District (in Assam), 267  
 Cāhamānas, 371, 374, 541, 542, 595  
 Cāhamānas of Naddūla, 562  
 Cāhamānas of Patapgarh, 586  
 Cāhamānas of Śākambhari, 532, 562  
 Caitya, 200, 583  
 Caitya-grha, 560  
 Cālikādar, Bengali title, 551  
 Cakrabhṛta (Vijnu), 237  
 Cakradhara, 166  
 Cakrakotta (in C. P.), 470  
 Cakrapāṇi, poet; ancestor of Gaṅgādharma, 349  
 Cakraswāmin, temple at Thanagar, 94  
 Cakravartin, 125, 126  
 Chakravarti, Pandit Saradaprasad, 245  
 Cakra-vihāra, monastery of, 207  
 Cakrāyudha, ruler of Kanauj, 279, 285, 286, 287, 292, 299  
 Calamarti-gaṇḍa, 459  
 Calingae, 392 fn. 1  
 Caliph, 6, 7, 12, 13, 20, 21, 23, 25, 67, 68, 69, 70; downfall of his power in Sind, causes, 13 fn 5  
 Caḷukya (-Saulika, Śūlika or Śūliki?), 436, 438 fn. 2  
 Caḷukya, 9, 203, 204, 250, 331, 356, 367, 447, 483, 588  
 Caḷukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa, xxxiv, 200, 316  
 Caḷukyas of Vātāpi, xxxiv, 559  
 Caḷukyas, Eastern, 450, 466, 470, 487  
 Cambay plates of Govinda, IV, 306, 580, 581  
 Cambridge University Library, 196, 214, 225, 324  
 Campā (mod. Chamba), 107, 141, 144, 145, 162, 167, 163  
 Champā, Bhagalpur District, 273  
 Campāpuri (South of Patana) founded by the Malla Princes, 212  
 Campaka, officer of Kashmirian king Harsa, father of Kalhana, 155  
 Candālas, 97, 100, 116, 128, 131, 154  
 Candāla (Turks?), 98  
 Candāla, guards, 142  
 Candālā, queen of Paramardī, 151  
 Candakauśika of Kṣemiśvara, M.S. of, 316  
 Candārjuna of Saukatagrāma, 341  
 Candella, xxxvii, 175, 807, 504, 508, 538, 541, 542, 572, 581, 583, 590, 593, 594, 602, 604, 607, 608  
 Candēśvara, author of Kṛtya-ratnākara and Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi; minister of Malla Hari śiṃha of Nepal, 216; author of Dāna-ratnākara, 217  
 Chandimau image inscription of Rāmapāla, 346  
 Candra (god), 332  
 Candra, Dāmara of Lahara, 175  
 Candra (deva), Gāhādavāla king, 528, 530, 531  
 Candra, founder of the Rāṣṭrakūta line of Kanauj, 505, 553  
 Candra, Rāstrakūta Maṇḍalādhipati of Anga, son of Suvarnadeva, 565  
 Candias, a royal family of Eastern Bengal, 278, 341 ff., 344, Geographical Table, 385  
 Candradeva (sometimes called Candra), founder of the Gāhādavāla dynasty, 311, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 554  
 Candragupta, Maurya emperor, 316  
 Candragupta, Śrīpura king, 393  
 Candragupta, prince of Jalandhara, 333  
 Candra kings of Arakan, 323  
 Candralekhā, daughter of Phalguṇa, 113  
 Candralekhā, queen of Codaganga, 471, 472  
 Candrarāja, Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir king Harsa, 154, 155  
 Candrabhāgā (Chenab), 108, 169  
 Candradvīpa, 322  
 Candramukha, low-born, 136  
 Candramukha (see Chandramukhavarmān), 237  
 Candramukhavarmān, king Kāmārūpa, 237  
 Candra-mādhava, shrine of, 511  
 Candravamśa (of East Bengal), 322  
 Candravarmān, Varman king of Śimhapura, 333  
 Candravatī (mod. Candravatī) fort of, 509, 511  
 Candravatī, 3 grants of Candradeva, 508-11.

- Candrikā, daughter of Anaṅgabhimā II and wife of the Haihaya Paramardīn, 478, 488, 488 fn.1, 484
- Cāpas (Cāpa-varṇa) [of Vardhamāna (in Kathiawar), 583
- Cāpotkaṭa, 38 fn 3
- Cappadocia, 222
- Caraka, 24
- Castes and tribes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, 95 fn.1
- Cāṣeśvara stone-inscription of Aniyaukabhimā II, 476, 477-78
- Caturāṣṭi-Pattāla, 522
- Caturbhūja, author of *Haricari kāvya*, 289
- Cārudatta, Mahāsandhivigrahika of Mahāśivagupta, 404
- Caulukya, prince, 552
- Caulukyās (of Anhilvād), 38 fn 3, 336, 535, 561, 562
- Cāvaḍās, 38 fn.3, 9
- Cāvoṭaka, 38 fn.3
- Cauhan, 91
- Cedi, 593
- Cedi rulers, 588
- Census Report, Rajputana, 6 fn 1
- Central India, xxxv 587, 593
- Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 297
- Central Provinces (C P), 251, 312, 391, 392, 393, 408
- Ceylon, 22, 331
- Chach, 3, 4, 5, 5 fn 4, 39
- Chach-nāma, 3, 3fn 2, 5, 5 fn. 1, 8, 21, 37, 89
- Chakk dynasty of Kashmir, 180
- Cha-ko-sin-ti (= Śaktisīmha?), 219, 225
- Chakravarty, Mr. M., 204-05
- Chamba, 141, 145
- Chamberlain, 73, 148
- Chanda, R. P., 319
- Chandar, 5
- Chan Chub, Tibetan prince, 327
- Chanar (Chanīsar), 33
- Chand Rāj, a prince of N-India, 602, 603
- Chandwar (also spelt Chandrāwar), battle of, 542, 544, 545, 547
- Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa pillar inscription, 188, 210
- Chanīsar (Chanar), 33, 37
- Channa, tribe, 37
- Channūn, Channa chief of Bhāg-nai, 37
- Chan p'o (Champā), 273
- Charsadda, 61
- Chatīsar (probably same as Chanar or Chanīsar), 36
- Chatu inscription of Bālāditya, 582
- Chaukot, town in Nepal, 213
- Chavannes 56 fn. 1, 60 fn. 1 and 2
- Chaurasi grant of Śivakara, 415
- Chāwaras (probably the same as Cāvaḍas, Cāvoṭaka or Cāpoṭkatas), 38 and 38 fn.8
- Chenab, river, 89, 111, 119
- Chenab Valley, 108
- Chhatarpur grant of Govindacandra, 519
- Chhatīsgarh, Division, (C.P.), 391, 396
- Chukoras of Pīthi, 389, 341, 383, 564, 565; genealogical table, 387
- Chikoravama of Pīthi, 528
- Chilka Lake, 391, 413
- China, 8, 22, 60, 110, 196, 218
- Chun Hills, 235
- Chinese, 58, 61
- Chinese annals, 58, 112, 191, 222, 226, 276
- Chinese Pilgrim, 59
- Chionitae, 56
- Chitor, 4, 590, 595
- Chitral, 73
- Chittagong Hill Tracts, 235
- Chittagong plate of Dāmodara, 384
- Chota Nagpur plateau, 391
- Christians, 20
- Christian churches, 10-11
- 'Chronology of the early rulers of Nepal' by Fleet, 190
- Chu, river, 60.
- Chudda, city prefect, claimed descent from Yaśaskara, 159, his brother Radda (Samkharāja) usurps royal power, 159, 160
- Chuddā, wife of Dāmara Gargacandra, 160
- Chutias, a tribe of mixed Bodo Shan stock, 264
- Chunagarh, 370
- Cilas, 73
- Cinas, 235, 240, 249
- Cippata Jayapīḍa, 115
- Citrakṣhā, queen of Maṅgilarāja, 591
- Citrakūta, 580, 589 fn 4
- Citāmbhara, Gunga King, 452
- Citrīmatikā, queen of Madanapāla, 351
- Clay seals, of Dharmapāla, 289
- Coda, 460
- Coda-deśa, 522, 531
- Codadevī, queen of Narasimha II, 486
- Codaganga, donee of the Vizagapatam grant of Anantavarman, 466
- Codaganga (Anantavarmā), 359, 412, 449, 451, 459, 460, 462, 463, 464, 465, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 477, 483
- Colas, xxxv, 250, 318, 341, 312, 405, 450, 456, 459, 460, 470, 471, 530, 531
- Colānvaya, 413 fn 1
- Coin, seated goddess and standing iṣṭā type, 122
- Coin, Karnāta type, 148
- Coin, Suki, issued by Nayakot Thākuri Śivadeva, 207
- Coins of Anśuvvarman and Jyṇugupta, 192 fn 4
- Coins of the Gāḥadavāla Madanapāla, 515
- Coins of Govindacandra (Gāḥadavāla), 531-32
- Coins of the Mallas of Nepal, 229 fn. 1
- Coins (of the Arab Governors of Sind), 13-14 fn.
- Coins, of the Śāhis, 102-03
- Coins of Vigrahapāla III, 390
- Comilla District, Bengal, 275
- Commander-in-Chief, 78, 132, 134, 136, 141, 142, 164



'Considerations on the' History of Nepal by Indraj Bhagwanlal, 190  
 Constantinovsk, 60  
 Cooch-Bihar, State of, 235, 236, 265  
 Copper plate grant of Kāmarūpa king Dharmapāla, 254, 254 fn. 4  
 Coivée, 121  
 Cutch, 9, 9 fn. 2, 11 fn. 3, 10, 12, 13, 34, 37, 38, 39, 45  
 Cuchh (also spelt Cutch), 13 fn. 1  
 Cunningham, 56, 75, 193, 236, 340, 383, 394, 606  
 Cuttack grant of Mahābhavagupta II, 406-7  
 Cuttack grants (two) of Mahābhavagupta I, Janamejaya, 400  
 Cyavaneśvara-ghatta (on the Ganges), 511

## D

Dabra, 37  
 Dacca Candi image inscriptions of Lakṣmana-sena, 376  
 Dacca district, 275  
 Daddānava, killed by Vanapati, general of Rājārāja I, 460, 461  
 Dāhala (other forms : Dābhālā, Dāhālā, etc.), 330.  
 Dāhū, 5, 7, 7 fn 5, 9, 9 fn 2, 18.  
 Dahnāj, 9  
 Dāhūk, 19  
 Daibul (also spelt ad-Daibul and Daybul) 4, 7, 7 fn 2, 22, 29, 36  
 Daivaputra-sāhi-sahānusāhi, 55  
 Dakṣiṇa-Kosala (= Dakṣiṇa-Kosala, Mahākosala and Kosala), 403, 405, 418  
 Dakṣiṇa-kula (of the Brahmaputra?), 247  
 Dakṣiṇa-Lāta, 319  
 Dakṣiṇa-pallī, 435  
 Dakṣiṇāpāthā, 553  
 Dakṣiṇa-Rādha, 320  
 Dakṣiṇa-Siva, 556  
 Dakṣiṇa-Tosalā, 418  
 Dakṣiṇa-Tosali, 413, 416  
 Dakṣiṇātya-Kaunindra, 354  
 Dakṣiṇātya-Ksonipati, 249, 251  
 Dakṣiṇāvada (Dakṣiṇāpāthā), 577  
 Dalju (see Duluca), 178  
 Dal lake, 130  
 Dāmara, (*Upapura*), 344  
 Dāmara, 96, 101, 126, 132, 134, 138, 139, 141, 143, 146, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 173, 174, 175, use of—growth of power, 114.  
 Dāmodara, a place, south of Śrinagara, 169  
 Dāmodara, prince, 384  
 Damodarapur plates (xxxi), 238, 272  
 Dāna-ratnākara of Candēśvara, 217  
 Dānārāva, Ganga king of Kalāga, 452, 453  
 Dānaśāgara, 353, 354, 364, 365  
 Danda-bhukta, 319, 320, 321, 311, 342 fn. 1  
 Dandanāyaka, 586

Dandī mahādevī, Kara queen, 416, 417, 418, 419, 423  
 Dandpur stone-inscription of Govinda IV, 581  
 Dantidurga, Vallabharāja (Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Deccan), 577  
 Dantivarman, Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Dhanop, 562  
 Danujamādhava (see Daśarathadeva), 388, fn 1  
 Danūj Rāi (= Rājā Nāujah?), 386  
 Daraddēsa, 110, 172, 112  
 Darads, 73, 100, 110, 139, 149, 151, 150, 173  
 Daratpuri, 110  
 Darbhāṇi, Brahman minister of Devapāla, 291, 296 fn. 1, 301  
 Darhim, 70  
 Darius I, Achaemenian emperor, 2 fn 3, 55  
 Darjeeling, 185, 186, 261  
 Dārparāja, resident of Laṅkākoṇa, 459  
 Darrang District (Assam), 243 244, 254  
 Dārvābhīṣāra, 74 108, 118, 141, 169  
 Das, N. C. (brother of S. C. Das), 328  
 Das, S. C., 328  
 Dasabala (Lokanātha), 299  
 Daśakarmapaddhati, MS. of, 208, 224  
 Daśanariya-nadi (=river of Daśārṇya country?), 402  
 Dasalla, State of, 423, 436  
 Dasalla grant of Netabhaṇja (S), 436-37  
 Dasapalla grant of Raṇabhaṇja (R), 436  
 Daśapūa (mod Mandasor), 585  
 Daśapura, Western *Pathaka* of, 586  
 Daśarathadeva, Amrāja Danujamādhava, 383 fn 1  
 Daśaratha, uncle of Gaṅgādharma, 349  
 Dāsas, (Vedic), xxx  
 Dattadevi, queen of Samudravarmān, 237  
 Dattasena, Ganga king, 451, 452  
 Datta-Tārā, 540.  
 Dā'ūd, (Pādshāh of Gaur), 265  
 Dā'ūd (Abu'l-Fath) King of Multan, 27, 83  
 Dāwar, 65, 66, 67  
 Dayadāmi-Pattalā, 539  
 Dayitavisnu, grandfather of Gopāla I, 232, 233  
 Debal, 39  
 Debalpur, 8  
 Deccan, 112 fn. 1, 355  
 Deccan army, 292  
 Dēddadevi, queen of Gopāla I, 285  
 Dehanāgī-devī queen of Mahendrapāla I, 572, 573, 581  
 Dehly (usually spelt Delhi), 217  
 Delhi, xi, 43, 44, 45, 83, 91, 597, Sultāns of 29, 211, 216  
 Deoghar epigraph, 274  
 Deoli grant of Kṛṣṇa III, 301, 306  
 Deopara prasasti of Vijayasena, 205, 256, 258, 259, 355, 356, 357, 359, 361, 362-63, 375  
 Deo-Patan, 191  
 Derwish, 46  
 Devabhaṇja, father of Rājā, 431  
 Deva Bhāṭṭāraka, Mahārāja-Rājaputra, 272

- Devabali-Pattalā, 584  
 Devadhara, a Yajurvedi Brahman, 247  
 Devagrāma, close to Bāla-Valabhi, 341, 342  
 Devakhadga, Khadga ruler of Samatāṭa, 283  
 Devakunda-Visaya, 427  
 Devapāla, Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor, 572, 578, 587, 588, 590  
 Devapāla, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 279, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 308  
 Devapāla, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 197, 247, 248, 255  
 Devapāla, Rāstrakūṭa of Kanauj, 553  
 Devapāla, Yajurvedi Brahman, 254  
 Deva-Pattana (mod Deo-Patan), town in Nepal near the temple of Paṣupati, 195  
 Devarāja, Rāstrakūṭa of Mānapura 555  
 Devarakṣita, lord of Pithi, Chikora family, 388, 389, 341, 508, 561, 565  
 Devasarasa (mod Divasar), 161  
 Devasvāmī, a Śiva priest?, 179  
 Devī (goddess), 362  
 Devavatī, queen of Nārāyaṇavarman, 237  
 Devibhoga-Visaya, 407  
 Devī-māhātmya, MS of, 213, 213  
 Devīśataka, 115  
 Devī (memorial stone), 563  
 Devotpātana-nāyaka, 150  
 Dhakka, watch station, 115  
 Dhamekh great tower of, 313  
 Dhammaṭa, 145, 149  
 Dhandeśvara (Śiva), 583  
 Dhangā, Candella king, 83 fn 2, 572, 573, 582, 590, 593  
 Dhanesaramaṇa-Pattalā, 510  
 Dhankeśvara (Śiva), 563  
 Dhanop stone-inscription of Cacca, 562  
 Dhanusi, valley of, 267  
 Dhanva of Lahara, Dhamā, 114  
 Dhvanyāloka, a rhetorical treatise, 115  
 Dhara (Earth), 252  
 Dhāradatta, Mahasandhivigraha of Mahā-Śivagupta, 103, 401  
 Dharanī, 254  
 Dharanīśūra, Śūra king, 320  
 Dharanīvarāha, Cāpa prince, 583  
 Dhāśvara, a viruda of the Rāstrakūṭa  
 Dhruva, 286  
 Dharmā (= Dharmapāla), 286  
 Dharmacakra, 293, 314, 351  
 Dharmacakra-Jina, 528  
 Dharmādhyakṣa, 294  
 Dharmākhyā, Ganga King, 452  
 Dharmā Putrikā, MS of, 201  
 Dharampur inscription (of the time of Śiva-deva and Amśuvarman), 211  
 Dharmamalla, a Malla chief of Nepal, 212  
 Dharmamalla, king of Nepal, 224  
 Dharmapāla, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, xxxvi, 248, 279, 280, 282, 283, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 292, 293, 297, 299, 300, 305, 322  
 Dharmapāla, ruler of Tandra-butti (Danda-bhukti), 818, 320, 321, 312  
 Dharmapāla, Pāla (?) king of Kāmarupa, 254  
 Dharmapuri grant of Vākpatirāja, 594  
 Dharmarāja (Mānabhiṭa) Śailodbhava king, 447  
 Dharanīvarāha, Paramāra of Nov-Kot in Marwar, 561, 562  
 Dharmasetu (Varmasetu ?), king, 294  
 Dharmāśoka, 528  
 Dhaukbel, a town in Nepal, 213  
 Dhaulgiri (peak), 185  
 Dhauli edict of Aśoka, 422  
 Dhavala, Sandhivigraha of Vajrahasta V, 457  
 Dhavala, Rāstrakūṭa of Hastakupṭi, 560, 561  
 Dhekkariya, 341, 313  
 Dhenkanal, name of an elephant shaped rock in Tezpur, 213  
 Dhenkanal State, 421, 411  
 Dhenkanal grant of Ranastambha, 440  
 Dhenkanal grant of Ranastambha II (?), 411  
 Dhenkanal grant of Tribhuvana-mahādevī, 421-22  
 Dhenkanal grant (?) of Jayastambha, 442-43  
 Dhora (= Dhruva, Rāstrakūṭa king), 286  
 Dhoi, poet, author of the Pavanadūta, 369, 367, 375  
 Dhitipura, 425, 426, 435  
 Dhruva, (Nirupama) Rāstrakūṭa king of the Deccan, sometimes called Dhora, 286, 287, 577  
 Dhruvabhata, Cāpa prince, 583  
 Dhubri, 266  
 Dhulla grant of Śricandra, 322 fn 2  
 Dhurjati (Śiva), 363  
 Dhurjati, courtier of Kṣemagupta, 130  
 Dhūrta-samāgama, a Drama, 217  
 Diddā, daughter of Sambarāja, king of Lobara, queen of Kṣemagupta, 77, 78, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135  
 Diddā-Kṣema, 130  
 Diddāmatha (mod Dīd'mer), 133  
 Diddāpāla, Śāhi prince, 100  
 Diddāpura, 133  
 Diddāsvāmin (Viṣṇu), 133  
 Digarchi, 227  
 Digbhaṇḍa, Bhaṇḍa prince, 427  
 Digbhaṇḍa, son of Kanabhaṇḍa, 428  
 Digbhaṇḍa, father of Śilābhaṇḍa, 436  
 Dighwa Dibuli plates of Mahendrapāla I, xxxvii, 303, 581  
 Dijnanā-Visaya, 247  
 Dikho (also spelt Dikhu) valley, 266  
 Dikhu (also spelt Dikho), river, 236, 267  
 Dikṣā-guru, 540  
 Dī-Kṣema, legend on coins of Kṣemagupta, 130  
 Dikṣita, 404, 536  
 Dīmna, 24  
 Dinajpur (Bangad) pillar inscription of the Kamboja rulers of Gauda, 308  
 Dīnāre, 15, 82, 86  
 Dīnnāra, 100, 116 fn 1, 117, 125, 139, 148, 152  
 Dipankara Śrījñāna (Ātiśa), 326, 327  
 Dirak (Pargana), 32  
 Dirgharava, prince, 410, 411, 412  
 Dirghasi, town, 459

**Dīrghasī** stone inscription of Rājārāja I, 459-60  
**Dīrghatamas**, Brahman sage, 271  
**Dīrham** (sometimes spelt *Dīrem*), 19, 27, 27 fn 2, 65, 67, 68, 69, 91  
**Dīrham**—one million equivalent to about £23,000, 21 fn 4  
**Dīta**, 37  
**Dīvākara** (sun-god), figure of, 202  
**Dīvira** (clerk) 120, 120  
**Dīvoka** (sometimes spelt *Dīyoka*, or *Divya*), (Kaivarta king), 337, 340  
**Divya** (*Dīyoka*), Kaivarta king 332, 335  
**Dīyoka**, (also spelt *Dīvoka*), Kaivarta king, 335  
**Diwāji**, 3, 5 fn 4  
**Diwal**, 37 fn 2  
**Diw-Kot** (Damdamah, near Gangarampur, south of Dinajpur), 261, 263, 477  
**Do-ābah**, 481  
**Doab** (Ganges Jumna), 504  
**Doda-Rāuta**, 510, 510 fn 9  
**Domba**, elder son of Utkarsa, 119  
**Domba** (*Śvapāka*), 126, 127, 128, 131, 151, touch pollutes, 176  
**Don Burzug** grant of Govindacandra, 518  
**Dowson**, 5 fn 4  
**Draṇila**, 460  
**Dravida**, 291, *Drāvida*, 402, 405, 406  
**Dravidians**, xlix, xxx  
**Dravido-Mongolian** (Bengalis), 271  
**Druses**, their sacred books, 35  
**Dubkund** stone inscription of Vikramasimha, 603  
**Dūdā I**, Sūmra prince, 32, 33  
**Dūdā II**, Sūmra prince, 33, 31  
**Dūdā III**, Sūmra prince, 33  
**Dūdā IV**, Sūmra prince, 34  
**Dudakhut**, 110  
**Dudh Kosi**, river, 188, 228  
**Dudhpani** rock-inscription of Udayamāna, 318  
**Dugdhaghāta** (mod *Dudhakhut*), 110, 151, 153  
**Dulca** (Dalju), *comupati* of Karmasena—a Turk?, 178, 179  
**Durbar Library**, Nepal, 201, 212, 214, 220, 226, 228  
**Durbela**, 37  
**Durgā**, goddess, 450  
**Dīrgarāja**, Rāstrakūṭa of Betul, 557  
**Durjayā**, city in Kāmarūpa, 250, 251, 254  
**Durjayabhaṇja**, son of Solanabhaṇja, 433  
**Durlabhā**, queen of Purandarapāla, 253, 254  
**Durlabharāja**, Cāhamāna of Śākambharī, 561, 562  
**Durlabharāja**, Cāhamāna prince, 61, 113  
**Durlabhavardhana**, Kārkoṭa king of Kashmir; a southerner?, 112, 112 fn.  
**Dūtaka**, (officers), 188 fn 3, 289, 294, 296, 297, 300, 312, 329, 351, 363, 377, 380, 421, 429, 430, 446  
**Dvādaśabhiāga**, a tax, 140.  
**Dvāpara** Age, xxxi

**Dvāra**, 118, 188  
**Dvārapati**, 141, 151  
**Dvāravati** (mod *Dvārbidi*), 109  
**Dvirāja**, 196, 197  
**Dvistaneśvara**, 348  
**Dvorapavardhana**, ruler of Kauśāmbi, 341  
**Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar** (Bibliography), 388-90

o

## E

**Eastern Bengal and Assam**, 235  
**East India Company**, 77 fn 2  
**East Indian Archipelago**, 293  
**Edilpur** grant of Keśavasena, 368, 380-81  
**Edilpur** grant of Śricandra, 322, fn 2  
**Egypt**, 22  
**Ekādaśivratamāhātmya**, MS of, 214  
**Ekajātā**, 540  
**Ekāmra** (mod *Bhuvanesvar*), 483, 484  
**Ekāngas**, 123, 124, 125, 129, 132, 138, 139  
**Ekāvalī** (treatise on *Alankāra*), by Vidyādhara, 481 fn 3  
**Elephant and Lion** type (coin), 76  
**Elliot**, 2 fn 3, 3, fn 2, 3 fn 3, 3 fn 4, 9 fn 2, 20, 26, 31, 32, 34, 36, 39, 76, 77, 79, 603  
**Elphinstone**, 31  
**Encyclopaedia of Islam**, 21 fn 3  
**Ephthalite**, 59, 60, 61, 64  
**Erada-visaya**, 457, 490  
**Europe**, 76  
**E-Visaya**, 496

## F

**Fa-la na** (Varana), 61  
**Fanā**, doctrine of, 24  
**Fannazbūr**, 2  
**Fars**, 2  
**Faridpur** plates, 273  
**Fath Khān**, Jām, 41, 45  
**Fath-nāma**, 3  
**Fernao Nuniz**, Portuguese writer, 491  
**Firashita**, 25, 26, 30, 34, 35, 44, 79, 80, 83, 84, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 95, 135, 216, 597  
**Firūz I**, Sasanid king, 58  
**Firūz Bahmani**, Sultān, 497  
**Firūz**, Jām, 40, 41, 42, 47  
**Firūz Shāh** (Tughluq Sultān of Delhi), 34, 35, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 491, 493, 494  
**Fleet**, 188, 190, 394  
**Fo-li-shi**, 61  
**Fo-lu-sha** (Peshawar), 58  
**Foreign office**, Śrinagara, 134  
**Foucher**, Prof., 309  
**Fyzabad** grant of Jayacandra, 540

## G

**Gadāpāni** (Jagannātha), 368  
**Gādhinagara**, 534, 594  
**Gādhapura**, 505, 506, 507, 518, 554  
**Gagahw** grant of Govindacandra, 525, 532

- Gāhādāvālas of Benares and Kanauj, 172, 205  
fn. 1, 211, 244, 339, 341, 369, 371, 374,  
504ff., 564, 565, Genealogical table 548,  
Bibliography, 549
- Gaja-Laksmī, 376, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399,  
402
- Gajapati, 367, 379, 381, 508, 519, 532, 511,  
544, 546
- Gait, Sir E. 242, 257
- Galadanda (=Ganadanda, and Gandhata?)  
a *biruda* of Virabhadra, 434, 434 fn 3
- Gambhīrā, confluence of the Vitastā and  
Visokā, 167, 169
- Gambhīrasīha, king of Kānda, 144
- Ganadanda (=Galadanda and Gandhata?)  
*biruda* of Virabhadra, 434, fn 3
- Ganapati, king of Kāmārūpa, 237
- Ganda, Candella king, 91 fn 2, 602, 604, 606
- Ganda-gopāla, *biruda* of Vanapati, 459
- Gandak, river, 185, 186, 210, 304.
- Gandakī, river, 210
- Gandha kuti, 311
- Gandhāra (mod. Rawalpindi, and Peshawar  
districts), 59, 61, 109
- Gandhāras, 309
- Gandhāra kings 285
- Gandharvadevi, queen of Kalyāṇavarman, 237
- Gandhata, Bhāṇja prince, 425
- Ganeśa (God), 245, 256, 515
- Ganeśagumpha (at Khandagiri), inscription  
of Śāntikara, 122
- Gang, river, 514
- Gangā (Ganges river), 153, 287, 318, 359,  
368, 469, 511
- Gangā (goddess), 151
- Gangadeva, Karmālaka of Simraon, 205
- Gangādharma, poet (Vāga Brahman), 319
- Gangāditya, God, 539
- Ganga-Kula, 117
- Gangānvaya, descendants of Gāngeya, 451
- Ganga-mahādevī (or Ganga-devī; also called  
Gangāmbā or Gangāmbikā), queen of  
Narasimha III, 188, 189, 190
- Gangaridae, 272
- Gangarides-Calingae, 392 fn 1
- Gangas of Kalanganagara *Barbar branch*,  
447 ff. *Later branch*, 392, 412, 422, 421,  
449 ff
- Gangas of Kolāhala (mod. Kolar in Mysore),  
448, 449
- Gangā Sāvara, 283, fn 2
- Gāṅgavādī, 450
- Gāṅgavādī-Visaya, 119
- Gangā-Vārdhiyol, 580
- Gangā-Yamunā *Doab*, 112
- Gangā-Yamunā valley, 287, 531
- Ganges, 112, 193, 197, 227, 256, 271, 272,  
286, 288, 303, 312, 340, 344, 345, 347,  
350, 357, 358, 361, 369, 370, 383, 422,  
469, 510, 512, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520,  
521, 522, 525, 526, 527, 529, 530, 531,  
533, 537, 538, 540, 541, 544, 599, 606
- Ganges-Jumna *Doab*, xxvi, 595
- Ganges-Jumna valley, 504, 505, 514, 542,  
569, 598, 608, 642
- Ganges valley, 274, 278, xxxiii, xxxvi, 293,  
569, 609, 610
- Gāṅgeśvara, a *biruda* of Codaganga, 469
- Gāṅgeya, first Ganga prince, 451, 485
- Gāṅgeya (deva), Kalacuri king of Tripurī,  
531, 595
- Gāṅgeyadeva, Tripurī Kalacuri, 317, 406
- Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya Tripurī Kalacuri,  
504
- Gāṅgeya race, era marking the reign of, 448
- Gāṅguly, D. C., 591 fn 3
- Gāṅjādhipa, 139
- Ganjam, 273, 391
- Ganjam grant (i) of Dandi-mahādevī, 417-18,  
422
- Ganjam grant (ii) of Dandi-mahādevī, 418
- Ganjam grant of Mādhavarāja, 414, 444
- Ganjam grant of Netibhaṇja (G), 428-29
- Ganjam grant of Netribhaṇja (H), 429 30
- Ganjam grant of Netibhaṇja (I), 430
- Ganjam grant of Vidyādharaḥhaṇja (J),  
430 31
- Gaṇjāvara (treasurer), 120
- Ganupatā *Mandala*, 403
- Garga, Brahman minister of Dharmapāla,  
284, 297, 301
- Gargacandra, Dāmaṇa, 153, 160, 161, 162
- Garga Yavana, 392
- Garbhara-pura, 178
- Garh-Mandūran (mod. Bhitargarh), 469
- Garo Hills 286
- Garuda, 57, 391, 395
- Garudī stambha, 300
- Gauda, xxxiv, 192, 241, 250, 257, 258, 272,  
273, 276, 277, 278, 280, 286, 291, 307,  
308, 326, 331, 339, 342, 349, 350, 354,  
359, 364, 367, 368, 378, 379, 381, 402,  
405, 414, 513, 529, 553, 556, 557
- Gaudadhvaṇja, 316
- Gauda king, treacherously murdered by  
Lalitāditya; bravery of Gauda servants,  
277 fn 3
- Gauda nārāyana, minister of Narasimha II,  
485
- Gaudīvaḥ of Vākpatirāja, 276
- Gaudendia, 249, 251
- Gauhata, 235, 236, 252, 253, 265
- Gauhata plates of Indrapālavarman, 246,  
252, 253, 254
- Gaur, city of (in Malda district, old Lakha-  
navati), 286, 373, 374, 375
- Gauraka, Prime-minister of Sussala, 162,  
163
- Gaurī, goddess, 291, 378
- Gaurī, wife of Subhākara and Kara queen,  
417
- Gautama-gotra, 475
- Gaya, 274, 299, 302; *mokṣadūra*, 325
- Gaya inscription of Aśokacalla, 383
- Gaya inscription of Nayapāla, 348
- Gaya Narasimha stone-inscription, 325
- Gaya stone-inscription of Nārāyanapāla, 299
- Gaya stone-inscription of Vigrahpāla III,  
328
- Gaya inscription of Yaśahpāla, 347

- Gayāḍa**, Kara prince (?) (see *Gayādatunga*), 418  
**Gayāḍatunga-deva**, Tunga prince, 419, 420  
**Gayā-Karna**, Tripuri Kalacuri, 326  
**Gayā** Kṛṇadvārikā temple inscription of Nayaṣpāla, 325  
**Gayā-maṇḍala**, 328  
**Gayapāla**, chief supporter of Bhikṣācāra, 162  
**Gayā-purī**, 325  
**Gayāsadinā** (Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq), 487.  
**Gayā-Viṣaya**, 293, 294  
**Gekarnasvāmin** (see *Gokarṇeśvara*), 449, 452, 456, 458  
**Genhra I**, Sumrā prince, 34  
**Genhra II**, Sūmra prince, 31  
**Geschichte der Califen**, 13  
**Ghargāon**, on the Brahmaputra, 264  
**Ghargharā**, river, 510  
**Ghāt**, of Trilocana (at Benares), 510  
**Ghāt**, of the deity Mūnātha at Asatūkā, 513  
**Ghāt** of Adikeśava, 511  
**Ghāṭakas** (Bengal match-makers), 320  
**Ghatiyala** (also spelt *Ghatayāla*), 9 in 2  
**Ghaṭṭa**, of Kapālamocana at Benares, 519  
**Ghazna** (also spelt *Ghazni*), 61, 63, 72, 90, 604  
**Ghaznah** (same as *Ghazni*), 66 fn 3  
**Ghaznavid**, 29, 94, 95, 97  
**Ghazni** (sometimes spelt *Ghaznah*, *Ghaznayn* or *Ghaznin*), 23, 25, 27, 28 fn 2, 32, 78, 79, 81, 84, 94 90, 135, 136, 137, 596, 597, 605, 607  
**Ghaznin** (same as *Ghazni*), 61, 94, 95  
**Ghiyās ud-Dīn** (also spelt *Ghiyāth ud-dīn*)  
**Ghiyās ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh** (see *Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh*)  
**Ghiyās ud-Dīn 'Iwaz Khālī** (see *Ghiyāth ud-Dīn 'Iwaz Khālī*)  
**Ghiyāth ud-Dīn**, Sultān of Bengal, 261  
**Ghiyāth ud-Dīn-Tughluq Shāh**, 34, 216, 487  
**Ghiyāth ud-Dīn 'Iwaz Khālī**, ruler of Bengal, 479  
**Ghorband Valley**, 60  
**Ghosrawa** stone-inscription of *Devapāla*, 295  
**Ghūr**, 27, 29, 370, 542  
**Ghurak**, fort of, 27  
**Ghūrjara-rāja**, 307, 580  
**Gibbon**, 59  
**Gīḍāndā-maṇḍala**, 407  
**Gidiṣingī country**, 460, 461  
**Giles**, Di, xxxi  
**Gilgit**, 73  
**Girnar** inscription of *Rudradāman*, 550  
**Glang-Dharma** (Chinese Ta-mo). Tibetan king, 193  
**Goāl**, 191  
**Godavari**, 391, 469, 470, 471  
**Godavari valley**, 422  
**Gogra** river, 185  
**Goharwa** plates of (Lakṣmi) *Karṇa*, 595  
**Golla-Viṣaya**, 422  
**Gokarṇa**, 287 fn. 2  
**Gokarṇeśvara**, resided on Mt. *Mahendra*, 447, 449, 450, 466  
**Gokuladeva**, king of *Śrīhaṭṭa* in the *Surma Valley*, 267  
**Gokulika-maṇḍala**, 312  
**Goldziher**, 23  
**Golhana** (see *Gokuladeva*), 267  
**Gamatī river**, 509 fn. 5  
**Gondamādhinātha**, 440, 440 fn. 2, 442  
**Gongaikonda Colapuram** inscription, 530  
**Gopa**, mountains called, 593  
**Gopādri** (mod *Takht-i-Sulaimān* in Kashmir), 167  
**Gopādri**, fort of (*Gwalior*), 594  
**Gopāladēva**, brother of *Haricandra*, married *Nāyakadevī*, 221  
**Gopāla**, grandfather of *Dharmapāla*, ruler of *Kūmarūpa*, 265, 236  
**Gopāla**, lord of *Gādhīpura* (*Rāstrakūṭa*), 518  
**Gopāla I**, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 278, 279, 283, 284, 285, 291, 297, 312, 329, 351  
**Gopāla II**, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 280, 305, 306, 307, 308  
**Gopāla III**, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 282, 350, 351  
**Gopāla**, *Rāstrakūṭa* of *Kanauj*, 505, 553, 554  
**Gopālakeśava**, 123  
**Gopālapura** (mod *Gauṇipur*), 123  
**Gopālas** (of *Nepāla*), 157, 191  
**Gopālamātha**, 123  
**Gopālavarman**, king of Kashmir, 73, 75, 76, 77, 121, 122, 132, cause of his death, 123, 128 fn 2  
**Goparāja**, king of *Simhapura* in *Kālinga*, 331  
**Gorakhā pālas** (*Gurkha* chiefs), 227  
**Gorakhpur**, 395  
**Gorasanta-Viṣaya**, 456  
**Gosanthan**, peak of, 185  
**Gosalla devī**, queen of the *Gāhādāvāla* *Govindacandra*, 524, 532  
**Gotama-Gangā** (*Godavari*), 350, 469  
**Govardhana**, dignity crippled by *Jātavarman*, 332, 335  
**Govinda III**, *Rāstrakūṭa* king of *Mānyakheta*, 276, 279, 280, 286, 287, 292  
**Govinda IV**, *Rāstrakūṭa* of *Mānyakheta*, 580, 581  
**Govinda**, Brahman minister of *Aniyan-kabhīma II*, 476  
**Govinda**, *Rāstrakūṭa* of *Dhanop*, 562  
**Govindacandra**, king of *Vangāla-deśa* (E Bengal), 318, 321, 321 fn 4, 323  
**Govindacandra**, poet, 554  
**Govindacandra**, *Gāhādāvāla* king, 172, 211, 339, 369, 506 fn 2, 507, 511, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 534, 564, 565  
**Govindapāla**, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar (?), 282, 352 fn. 1, 368, 369  
**Govindapur** grant of *Lakṣmaṇasena*, 378  
**Govindapura** stone-inscription of poet *Gaṅgā-dhara*, 349  
**Govindārāja**, *Cāluṃṃṇa* prince, 58

Govindarāja, Rāstrakūṭa of Betul, 557  
 Govinda-vāṅkā, 523  
 Grags-pa-mtha-yas (Tibetan=Anantakīrti),  
 Nepal king, 200, 200 fn. 1  
 Goyara-Patila, 523  
 Goyilla-khanda, 440  
 Grāma-kāyasthas, 121, 124  
 Greece, 23  
 Greek, 55, 57  
 Grhakṛt, 120  
 Grumbates, Kusān prince, 56  
 Gudapura, a capital of Ballālasena, 364  
 Gudda-Viśaya, 446  
 Guha (or Subha)-devī-pātika, 416  
 Guheśvara-pātaka, 413, 417  
 Guhilas (=Guhilots) of Medapāta, 561, 582,  
 595  
 Guhilots (same as Guhilas), 5 fn. 1, 590, 595  
 Guhyasiddhīśāstra MS. of, 223  
 Gujarat, 9 fn. 2, 38, 47, 107, 319, 595  
 Gujrat, district Punjab, 107  
 Gukkars, 91, 92  
 Gulhara, son of Jayasimha; ruler of Lohara,  
 173  
 Gunakāmadeva, king of Nepal, 195, 196, 199  
 Gunākara-rāhula, officer of Jagadeva, 175  
 Guṇamahārjuna (=Gunārjuna II, Ganga  
 king of Kalinga), 454  
 Gunariya image inscription of Mahendrapāla,  
 302  
 Guṇakāmadeva (II), Nayakot Thākuri, 409  
 Gunārjuna I, Ganga prince of Kalinga, 452,  
 453  
 Gunārjuna II, Ganga king of Kalinga, 453  
 Guṇḍama, Ganga king of Kalinga, 453  
 Guṇḍama II Ganga king of Kalinga, 453  
 Gupta, xxiii, xxiv, xxxvi, 55, 57, 189, 191,  
 192, 238, 272, 273, 274, 275  
 Gupta (empire), 269  
 Gurais on the Kishēn Ganga, 110  
 Gurava Miśra, minister of Nārāyaṇapāla,  
 288, 291, 300, 301\*  
 Gurdaspur, 107  
 Gurjara (also spelt Gūrjara, Arabic Jurz),  
 xxxvii, 9, 9 fn. 2, 15, 72, 73, 74, 75, 118,  
 119, 251, 286, 287, 291, 292, 293, 303,  
 303, 310, 311, 402, 405, 406, 561, 574, 575,  
 579, 582, 589, 590, 592, 593, 595  
 Gūrjarādhipa, 74 fn. 8, 119, 249 251  
 Gūrjara-bhūbhujā, 74 fn. 5  
 Gūrjara-Pratibādhavaya, 592  
 Gūrjara-Pratibhāras of Kanauj, xxxvii, 4 fn.  
 3, 9, 10, 16, 17, 74, 79, 80, 285, 306, 504,  
 506, 559, 569 ff., Genealogical table, 610-  
 11, Bibliography, 612-14  
 Gūrjara-Pratibhāras, important inscriptions  
 and dates for the history of, 570 71 fn.  
 Gūrjara-Pratibhāras (of Malwa and Western  
 India), 569  
 Gurjēśvara (Gurjareśvara?), 402  
 Gūrjara-vāhita-kṣetra, 592  
 Gurkhas, 186, 194, 210  
 Gurkha conquest of Nepal, 229  
 Gutschmid, Alfred von, 58  
 Gwalior, xxxviii, 9, 91, 581, 585, 593, 597

Gwalior (fragmentary) inscription of Vajra-  
 dāman, 594  
 Gwalior inscription of Bhoja (876 A D.), 301  
 Gwalior prasasti of Bhoja (V S 933), 558  
 Gwalior Śiślabhū temple inscription of Mahī-  
 pāla, 591, 594

## H

Habbār ibn al-Aswad, 18  
 Habbārī dynasty of Maṅgūrah, 28  
 Habīb ibn al-Muhallab, 8  
 Haddālā grant of Mahīpāla I, 579, 592-83  
 Hafīf, 33 fn. 1  
 Hafīf II, 34  
 Haidara, son of Rūfāna by Kotādevī, 179,  
 180  
 Haihaya, 396, 478, 112 fn. 1  
 Haihaya-vamśa, 298  
 Hajib Tughā-tigīn, 514  
 Hajjāj (Governor of 'Iraq') 2, 7, 8, 68,  
 69  
 Hajjāj (son of 'Ubayd Ullāh), 68  
 Hājō, capital of Koch Hājō, 265  
 Haladhara, son of a Vaiśya temple watch-  
 man becomes Sarvādhikārīn of Ananta,  
 140, 141, 142  
 Halār, 12 fn. 2  
 Halāyudha, author of Brāhmana-sarvasva,  
 375  
 Hall xxx  
 Hall, F. E., 508  
 Hambīra 515, 535  
 Hamir (title), 32 fn. 1  
 Hamir (last Sūmra prince), 34  
 Hammira, 41 fn. 2, 94 fn. 4, 95, 95 fn. 3, 96,  
 98, 481 fn. 8, 513, 529  
 Hamsākoṭī, place of encampment of Vaidya-  
 deva, 256  
 Hamsī, beautiful Domba girl, 126  
 Hamūn, 32  
 Hamvīra, 554  
 Handasa (هندسا), Geometry, 24 fn. 1  
 Hapayachā Mandala, 259  
 Hara (Śiva), 439  
 Haradatta, prince of Baran, 598  
 Haradhāma(?), 329  
 Haraha inscription of Maukhari Śāna-  
 varman, 273, 438  
 Haramuk, 110  
 Haramukūṭa (Haramuk), 110  
 Harappa, xxx  
 Harchandar (Rāi), 4 fn. 3  
 Hari (god), 252, 332, 558  
 Hari, an officer of Bhīma(?), 344, 345  
 Hari, courtier of Ksemagupta, 130  
 Haribhadra, commentator, 283  
 Haricandra, a scion of the royal family  
 of Benares. marries Nāyakadevi, 221  
 fn. 2  
 Haricanta-kāvya of Čaturbhuja, MS. of  
 389  
 Harideva, Śimraon Karpāta prince, 206,  
 216

- Harigapa**, 118  
**Harigaon inscription**, 189  
**Harigosa**, *Sādhivigrahika* of Ballālasena, 367  
**Harihara** (god), 176  
**Harikāladēva** Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 34  
**Harikela**, 322  
**Harirāja**, son of Saugrāmārāja, 138  
**Harisa** (Harsa?), king of Kāmarūpa, 192, 239, 241, 242, 245, 277  
**Hariscandīa**, (Gāhadavūla king, 537, 538, 544, 545, 546, 547, fn 2  
**Harisena**, author of the Allahabad Prasasti, 55, 235  
**Harisimha**, Kaimātaka king of Tihut (and then Bhatgaon), 217, 218, 220, 221, 222, 233, 234  
**Harīth** (see al-Hārith), 6  
**Harivarmadeva**, a Varman king, 335, 342, 345  
**Harivarma**, Rāstrakūṭa of Hastikundi, 560  
**Harivijaya**, 115  
**Harīyāna** (mod. Hariyana in the Hissar district, Punjab), 653  
**Harjara**, king of Kāmarūpa, 239, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, a stray plate of, 239, 244  
**Harsa**, Candella king, 582  
**Harsa** Puspabhūti king of Kanauj, xxxiv, xvv, xvvv, xxxviii, xxxix, 190, 190 fn 2, 236, 273, 274, 114, 569  
**Harsa**, Kalaśa's son, king of Kashmir, 100, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 164, Muslim influence on, 150; heterodoxy affects his picture as handed down by tradition(?), 155 in 1, hangs bells at the Palace gates to make himself accessible to all at all time, 148 fn  
**Harsacanta** (of Bāna), 190, 252  
**Harsadeva** (= Sri-Harsa of Kāmarūpa?), 192  
**Harsadeva**, king of Nepal (Thākuri of Patan), 202, 203  
**Harsagupta**, 'Śrīputa king,' 393  
**Harsamāla** (Pāla?), father of Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa, 254, 255  
**Harsa** stone inscription of Vigrahārāja, 595  
**Harsavarman**, king of Kāmarūpa (= Harsa), 239, 241, 245  
**Harsola** grants of the Paramāra Siyaka, 489  
**Hāṭṭpēcavāpura**, city in Kāmarūpa, 243, 244, 247, 251  
**Harīyāsimha** (Harasimha), incorrect name of the Smraṇ Karnāta Harisimha, 205 fn 1  
**Hasan** Lanāgh, Sulṭān of Multan, 47  
**Hasan** Nizāmī, author *Tā' ul-Ma'āthir*, 36  
**Hastikundi** (mod. Hathundi) 559, 560, 551, 560 fn 2  
**Hathaunda-Pattalā**, 525  
**Hathia-dah**, pillar inscription of Govindā-  
 mndra, 526  
**Hayapati** (Devapāla), 573, 574, 575  
**Hazala**, 75, 109  
**Hazaribagh** district, 302, 303  
**Helmund**, 65, 70, 71, 79  
**Hemantasena**, Sena prince of Bengal, 353, 357, 362, 377  
**Hemāśva-mahādāna**, 367  
**Hemāśva-ratha**, gift of, 377  
**Heracius**, 60  
**Herambapāla** (alias of Mahipāla), 572, 573  
**Herambapāla** (father of *Hayapati Devapāla*), 572, 574  
**Herat**, 59, 70  
**Hermæus**, Greek prince, 77 fn 2  
**Herodotus**, 2 fn 3  
**Hidamba**, kings of designation of Kacchari princes, 268  
**Hidu**, 2 fn 3  
**Hill Tippera**, State of, 235  
**Himadatta**, *Sādhivigrahiya* of Ranabhaṣṭja, 425  
**Himalayas**, 73, 165, 187, 204, 286, 291, 292, 310, 588  
**Hind** (see al-Hind), 11, 65, 80, 81, 93, 94, 260, 372, 513  
**Hindamand** (Helmund) 65  
**Hindsa** (هندسة), Arithmetic, 23, 24 fn. 1  
**Hinduism**, 61  
**Hindukush**, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 54, 71, 90  
**Hindu Śāhis** (also called Brahman Śāhis), 71  
**Hindu Śāhiya** (Śāhi) 75, 99  
**Hindustān**, 81, 82, 87, 91  
**Huādevī**, Čālukya queen of Bhānudeva III, 495  
**Hiralal**, Rāi Bahadur, 12, 395, 393 fn 1  
**Hiranyaparvata** (country round Monghyr, 273  
**Hiranyapura** (mod. Ranyil), 154  
**Hiranya-vara-mahā-vihāra**, founded by Bhāskaradeva, first Thākuri of Nayakot, 201  
**Hishām** (Caliph), 9  
**Hishām ibn 'Amr at-Taghlubi**, 12, 113  
**History of Assam**, by Sir Edward Gait, 242  
**Hsien-te**, Chinese Emperor, 219, 226  
**Hsien-tsung**, Chinese Emperor, 112  
**Hung-nu**, 58  
**Ham vihāra** in Nepāla, 198  
**Hoernle**, Dr., 239, 241, 246, 247, 250, 251, 252, 254, 297, 552  
**Ho-louo-che po-tch'a** (Harsabhaṣṭa), king of Samatāya, 275  
**Hong-wu**, Chinese emperor, 218, 219  
**Harmazd II**, 56, 57  
**Ho-si-na** (Ghazna), 61  
**Hubād ibn Aswad**, 19  
**Hullishāh**, (son of Dāhir), 7, 8, 9  
**Humāyūn**, Mughul emperor, 47  
**Hun**, 58, 58 fn. 3, 59  
**Hūnas**, xxxiii, 68, 111, 291  
**Hūna** invasions, 272  
**Hundikā** (bills of exchange), 125

Huṣkapura (mod. Uskaur) in Kashmir, 124  
Hultzsch, 319, 333  
Huṣām ud-Dīn Hoshang, Malwa king, 497  
Huṣām Shāh, overthrew Nīlāmbar, the last  
Khyān king, 265  
Huṭpal (a mistake of Briggs for Ishṭpāl), 79  
Hyderabad (in Sindh), 7 in 4, 11

I

Ibn al Harī al-Bāhili, 2, 7  
Ibn Hauqal, 14, 17, 19, 20  
Ibn-Samurah ('Abd ar Raḥman), 66  
Ibn ul-Asīr (see Ibn-ul-Athīr)  
Ibn ul-Athīr, author of Ta'rikh-ul-Kamil,  
28, 604, 606, 607, 608  
Ibrāhīm ibn-Adham, a prince of Balkh, 21  
I-cha-fon-mo (Yasovarman), 276  
Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bakht yār,  
370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375  
Ilā, wife of Budha, 332  
Ilak Khān, 89, 90, 91  
I-lan-na-po-la-to (Hiranyapavata?), 273  
Ilāda (= Vātā?), 319, 319 in 4  
Iltutmish (Shams ud-Dīn), Sultān of Delhi,  
29, 36, 264, 479, 517 in 2, 551  
Imadpur image-inscription of Mahāpala I,  
314, 315  
'Imrān i Mūsa (also spelt 'Amrān i Mūsa),  
12, 49  
Incomplete grant of Ranastambha, (II?),  
442  
India of Herodotus, 2 in 5  
India office (England), 206  
Indian Museum stone-inscription of Nātā-  
yanapāla, 299  
Indian Museum stone-inscription of Vighra-  
pāla III, 336  
'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow' by  
S C. Das, 328  
Indica of al-Birūnī, 600  
Indirā, queen of Codaganga, 471, 172  
Indische Strömungen in der Islamischen  
Mystic (Heidelberg 1927-28), 23 in 3  
Indo-Aryan blood, 271  
Indoka, a Yajurvedī Brahman, 215  
Indo-Scythian, 55, 58  
Indra, god xxc, 73, 285, 298  
Indra III, Rāstrakuta of Mānyakhela, 306,  
307, 580, 581, 587, 592  
Indrabala, Śrīpura king, 393  
Indradeva (Mahā-Indra-deva), Nayakot  
Thākuri, 207  
Indrādityadeva, Sun god, 586  
Indrajī, Bhagwanlal, 186, 188, 190, 200, 206,  
216, 218, 222  
Indrapālavarmān, king of Kōmarūpa, 246,  
253, 254, 255, 256  
Indraprastha, 508, 508 in 4  
Indrarāja, king of Kanauj, 279, 285, 299  
Indrasā, mount of, 196  
Indrasthāna (Indraprastha?), 508, 508, in 4  
Indrāyudha (Indrarāja) ruler of Kanauj, 279,  
285, 287

Inducandra, prince of Jālandhara, 138  
Indus (river), 2, 29, 43, 65, 73, 80, 84, 85,  
112, 119, 137, 132, 578  
Indus valley, 14, 20, 26, 57, 137  
Inscriptions of the early Gangas of Kalinga-  
Nagara, 448-49 in  
Inscriptions and important dates for the  
history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, 570  
in 1  
Iranian, xxi  
Iranic, 55  
Irāq, 19, 22, 68  
Irrawaddy valley, 266  
'Isa ibn Ma'dān, 20  
Isānas, 314  
Isānadeva, king of Śrīhaṭṭa in the Surma  
valley, 267  
Isānasīva, Śaiva ascetic, 553  
Isanavarman, Maukhari prince, 273, 438  
Islam, effects of a policy of plunder and  
oppression on Hinduism, 23 in 2  
Island of Rubies (Ceylon), 7  
Ismā'īlīans, 26 in 1  
Issykkul, Lake, 60  
Istakhri, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 66 in 3  
Isthpāl (Istapāla?), 79  
Istapāla, 79  
Itaunja grant of Govindacandīa, 521  
Itkhori image inscription of Mahendrapāla,  
302

J

Jagad-vijaya-malla (Jagaddeva or Jagadeo?),  
336  
Jagaddala, king of the Darads, 159  
Jagaddeva (or Jagadeo) youngest son of  
Paramāra Udayāditya, 336  
Jagadekamalla, *viruda* of Yaśabhañja, 131  
Jagadeva, son of Jassaka, king of Kashmir,  
174  
Jagajjotirmalla, Malla prince of Nepal,  
author of Narapati jayacaryā-likā, 227  
Jagannātha (god), 373, 368, Temple at Puri  
built by Anantavarmā Codaganga, 471;  
completed by Amṛyākabhinna II, 478;  
idol of, 373, 493, 494, in 1  
Jagarsom (Cakrasvāmin), temple at Thane-  
swar, 91  
Jagatsimha, Karnātaka prince of Simraon  
marries Nāyakadevi and usurps the  
crown of Nepal, 221, 222  
Jagattunga, Tunga prince, 419  
Jagattunga II, son of Kṛṣṇa II, 304  
Jāhiz, author, 578  
Jahāl (Rār) 4 in 3  
Jaischand (Jayaccandra), 543  
Jaipur, 4  
Jain, 10  
Jaina Harivarmā, 279, 285  
Jainism, 356  
Jaisar, son of Jajji, Solanki chief Māniktara,  
37



- Jaisalmer, 9, fn.2, 31  
 Jaisiya (Jayasimba), 7, fn.5  
 Jantugi, Yādava ruler, 204  
 Jājalladeva II, Kalacuri, of Tuṣṭimāna, 470  
 Jāj-nagar, 177, 479, 480, 481, 487, 491, 492, 493, 491, 497  
 Jalam ibn Shaibān, 22, 28  
 Jālandhara, 138  
 Jākaladevi, Cālukya queen of Narasiṃha II, 483  
 Jalalabad, 295  
 Jalpaiguri, district of, 235  
 Jām (title of chiefs of Thatta), 31, 35, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 41, 45  
 Jambugrāma, camp of victory of Keśavasena, 381  
 Jāmsūd, 33, 39  
 Janaka, officer of Paramānuka, 171  
 Janakabhū, 345, fn 1  
 Janakacandra, Dāmara, 137  
 Janakasimba, City Prefect of Sussala, 161, 165  
 Janamejaya, (see Mahābhavagupta, a Somnātsi of Kosala), 394, 410  
 Janibigha inscription of Jayasena, 383  
 Jankī, son of Samhī; ruler of a part of Kashmir 137, on the correctness of the name see 137, fn 5  
 Jantāvura, (Jyantāvura?), capital of Kāmārgava I, 453, 453, fn 1  
 Jārūsandha, king of Magadha, 272  
 Jurejas, 33, 35, 39  
 Jāruṭha-Pattala, 539  
 Jāsata, king of Campā, 162  
 Jasodhan Akia, chief of Minnagar, 37  
 Jassaka, king of Kashmir, 174  
 Jassarāja, father's cousin of Ananta, 143  
 Jātaka, MS on Astrology, 207  
 Jāta kaiman, 537, 545  
 Jātavarman, Varman king of E Bengal, 256, 331 332, 331, 335  
 Jateśvara (see Kāmārnava VII), 172  
 Jats, 33  
 Jaunpur, 497  
 Jaunpur stone-pillar inscription of Vijayacandra, 533  
 Javana (Yavana), 479  
 Java, island of 293  
 Jawāmi'ul-Hikāyat, 77  
 Jayābhāṭi-devī, queen of Śivaṅkara, 416  
 Jaya-Bhadramalla, according to some chronicler ancestor of Jaya-Sthitimala, 223  
 Jayabhaṅga, son of Rājabhaṅga, 435  
 Jayacandra (see Jayacandīa), Gāhadavāla king of Kanauj and Benares, 205, fn 1  
 Jayacandra, (also spelt Jayacandra), Gāhadavāla king, 205 fn 1, 369, 533, 534, 535, 536, 540, 541, 542, 547, 551, 552, Kāśīka (lord of Kāśī), 540  
 Jayadeva, poet, author of Gitagovinda, 575  
 Jayadeva Paracakrakāma, Licchavi king of Nepāla, 192  
 Jayadeva (probably same as Jayadevamalla), Nepal king, 213  
 Jayadevamalla, Malla king of Nepal, 204, 213, 214  
 Jayadeva, king of Nepāla, 195  
 Jayadeva Paracakrakāma, Nepal Licchavi king, 241  
 Jaya-jyotirmalladeva, king of Nepāla (Sūryavamśa), author of Siddhisāra, a work on Astrology, 221, 224, 225  
 Jaya-Jyotirmalla, king of Nepal.e (Sūryavamśa prabhava Raghuvamśavataṃśa Māneśvarīvara-labdha-prasāda) 225, 226  
 Jayakāmadeva (also known as Vijaya, Jaya and Jayadeva), king of Nepal, 200  
 Jayākhyasamhitā (also called Jñānalakṣmī) MS of, 209  
 Jayamāla (also called Virabāhu?), 246, 247  
 Jayamāsara, son of Sāhamera, 180  
 Jayanāga, ruler of Karnasauvarṇa, 273  
 Jayānandadeva, father of Nepal king Jayarājadeva, 220  
 Jayānkondān, poet; author of Kalingattu Parani, 470  
 Jaya-Nipendramalla (a son of Jakṣamalla?), king of Nepal, 227, fn 5  
 Jayanta, king of Puṇḍravardhana, 278, 278, fn 1  
 Jayantarāja, son of Nepal king Jaya-jyotirmalla, 225  
 Jaypāl (Jayapāla), Śāhi king, 72, 81  
 Jayapāla, son of Vākpāla, cousin of Devapāla, king of Bengal and Bihar, 247, 249, 255, 291, 297, 299  
 Jayapāla (Jayapāl), Śāhi king, 25, 26, 72, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, imprisoned by Mahmūd at Man-yazid, 87, fn 1  
 Jaya-Pārthivendramalla, king of Nepal, 229, fn 1  
 Jayāpāda, (Vinayāditya) king of Kashmir, 113, 116, 277, 278, 280  
 Jayapāladeva, (Pāla?) ruler of Kāmārūpa, 255  
 Jayāpīḍapura (same as Jayapura), 180  
 Jayapura (same as Jayāpīḍapura), 180  
 Jayasāna son of Kalāśa, 146, 148  
 Jayarājadeva (son of Jayānandadeva), king of Nepal, 220, 221  
 Jayārmalla Malla, king of Nepal, 215  
 Jayārjunamalla, king of Nepal, 220, 221  
 Jayarudramalla (son of Jayatungamalla), Malla king of Nepal, 215  
 Jayarudramalla, Malla king of Nepal, 218, 221, 222  
 Jayasāha (śiha? = simha) malladeva, Malla king of Nepal, 214  
 Jayasena, Sena of Pīṭhī, 383  
 Jayasena I, Ganga king, 452  
 Jayasena II, Gaṅga king, 452  
 Jayasimha, Velāvitṭa, 122  
 Jayasimha-Siddharaja, Cālukya king, 336  
 Jayasimha, a brave Kashmirian general, 896  
 Jayasimha, son of Sussala; king of Kashmir, 101, 159, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173  
 Jayasimha II, Cālukya, prince of Mānyakheta, 356

Jayasinha, ruler of Danda-bhukti, 341, 342  
 Jayasinha (see Jaisiya), 7, fn.5  
 Jayasinha, king of Danḍabhukti, 319 fn 6  
 Jayasi(?)malladeva, father of Arimalladeva 209  
 Jayasimbadeva, Tripurī Kalacuri, 326  
 Jayasimharāma, Kārṇātaka king of Nepal, 224  
 Jayastambha, son of Raṇastambha II (?), 442, 443  
 Jaya-Sthitimalladeva (Sthitimalla), king of Nepal, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226  
 Jayaswal, Mr K P, 205, fn 1  
 Jayatāri, leader of the Khasas and Magars, 215  
 Jayatavarman, *amātya* of Jayasthitimalla, 223  
 Jayavardhana, Śaila prince, 417, fn.1  
 Jayavardhana II, Śaila king, 276  
 Jayendra-vihāra, 127, 130  
 Jaynagar image inscription of Madanapāla, 351-52  
 Jayagar inscription of Palapāla, 251, 352, fn.1  
 Jēja, Rāstrakūṭa of Pathanī, 558, 559  
 Jenkins, Major, 242  
 Jessaraja, 153  
 Jētavana-mahāvihāra, 522  
 Jews, synagogues of, 20  
 Jhana stone-inscription of Sallakṣaṇasimha (?), 504  
 Jhelum district, 57, 107  
 Jhelum (river), 25, 87, 97, 107, 137  
 Jhūsī grant of Trilocanapāla, 504, 598, 607  
 Jiavai (Jiavati) *Pattalā*, 533  
 Jiavati-*Pattalā*, 511, 512  
 Jina, Buddha, 305, 321, 528, 560, 561  
 Jinduraja, Commander-in-chief of Ananta, 142  
 Jiṣṇu, father of Vāmaṇa, a courtier of Kṣema-gupta, 130  
 Jisnugupta, Abhira prince of Nepal, 191, 192  
 Jitānkūśa, Gaṅga king of Kalinga, 453, 454  
 Jitavīrya, Gaṅga king, 452  
 Jivadā, queen of Prālammbha, 242, 245  
 Jivarakṣā, daughter of Jaya-Jyotirmalla and wife of Jaya-Bhairava, 225  
 Jivitagupta (III), later Gupta ruler, 276  
 Jiya, chief of Jham or Hemakoṭ, 37  
 Jizya (capitation tax), 21  
 Jñānalakṣmī (also called Jayākhyasambhūtā), 209  
 Jñānavajra, 197  
 Jodhpur, 4, 9 fn 2  
 Jonarāja, 110, 111, 173, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179  
 Journal Asiatique, 190  
 Journal of Manchester Oriental Society, 193 fn.4  
 Jumna (river), 271, 286, 370, 569, 593, 596, 608  
 Jūn (i.e., Jumna), 601  
 Jūnā, Jam, 40, 41, 42

Junayd (sometimes spelt Junaid), Arab governor; evil effects of his policy, 9, fn. 2, 11 fn.2  
 Junayd (ibn Abdur-Rahamān), 11  
 Junaydī, general of Iltutmish, 36  
 Junzah, 67  
 Jura inscription of Kṛṣṇa III, 589  
 Jurwas, chief city of the Kabul district in the time of Ya'qūbī (9th century, A. D.), 66 fn 3  
 Jurz (see al-Jurz), 9, 9, fn. 2, 10, 15  
 Jyotirmalla, king of Nepal (see Jaya-Jyotirmalla), 199, 224

K

Ka'aba of Shamans, 514  
 Kabākānān, 20  
 Kabul (also spelt Kābul), 7, 21  
 Kābul 57, 59, 63, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 74, 79, 595, used to indicate the district, 66 fn.3; its chief cities, 66  
 Kābulistān, 78, area indicated, 66 fn 3  
 Kabul river, 60  
 Kābul Shāh, 67, 70  
 Kābul, style of building, 67  
 Kabul Valley, 56, 64, 70, 70  
 Kacchhapaghātā, 591, 594, 603, 604  
 Kachh (also spelt Cutch), 30, 32  
 Kacchola-*Pattalā*, 527  
 Kāchhāra, kingdom of, 267, 268  
 Ka chu-wōn(?)'k'i-lo (Kajangala), 273  
 Kadambas, xxxiii, 566  
 Kadphises, Kuṣān king, 62  
 Kāhnuradeva, son of Mathana (Mahana), 340, 563  
 Kaikānān, 3, 4  
 Kailāsa, 250  
 Kailāśakūṭa-bhavana, palace constructed by Amśuvarman, 189  
 Kaingoda, 446  
 Kaivarta, caste, 243, 243 fn 1, 364  
 Kaivartas, kings of N. Bengal, 337, 340, 344, 315, 347, 358, Genealogical table, 287  
 Kājnāg Range, 109, peak, 109  
 Kajangala (country round Rajmahal), 273  
 Kajjala, Turuṣka chief, 176  
 Kajurāha (Khajuraho), 601  
 Kaka-Visaya, 300  
 Kakkarāja, Rāstrakūṭa of Lātā, 559  
 Kalacuri, 204, 256  
 Kalacuris (of Gorakhpur), 317, 395, 594  
 Kalacuris of Kalyāna, 395  
 Kalacuris of Tripurī, 281, 317, 326, 327, 330, 331, 334, 393, 395, 396, 401, 406, 504, 508, 530, 531, 594  
 Kalacuris of Tumāna (usually called 'of Ratnapura'), 395, 478  
 Kalahastambha Vikramāditya, 439, 448  
 Kālgakūcārya-Kathānakā, 55  
 Kālāhāra, 589, 590, 593  
 Kalang, river, 267, 276  
 Kālāpāhār (Ilāhābād), general of Sulaymān Karrānī, 265

- Kālapriya (=Mahākālā), of Ujjayini, 580  
 Kālāśa, lord of Vallāpura, 144  
 Kālāśa, son of Ananta; king of Kashmir, 100, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150  
 Kālāsāka, 431  
 Ka-la-tu (Karatoya?), 236  
 Ka-leng-ka (=Kālīnga), 413  
 Kālēśvari, goddess, 407  
 Kālha, ruler of Kālīñjara, 153  
 Kālha plates of Sodhadeva Gunāmbodhi, 594  
 Kālhana, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78, 95, 95 fn 1, 97, 98, 107, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 169, 161, 164, 165, 166, 169, 170, 173, 175, 175 fn 3, 176, 193, 276, 277  
 Kālhanikā, chief queen of Kashmirian king Jayasimha, 173  
 Kālī river, 185  
 Kālīdāsa, xxxv, 247  
 Kālīkālā-Vālmīki (Sandhyākara Nandī), 346  
 Kālīkā, xxxvi, 276  
 Kālīkā Purāṇa, 235  
 Kālīla, 24  
 Kālīndī, 593  
 Kālīnga, 192, 241, 271, 277, 326, 334, 345, 353, 359, 368, 392, 392 fn 1, 402, 405, 413, 445, 447, 449, 450, 452, 453, 456, 459, 460, 470, 486 fn 5, 491 fn 4, 576  
 Kālīṅganagara (mod Mukhalingam), 392, 422, 424, 443, 443 fn 2, 449, 457, 458, 461, 462  
 Kālīngapatam (also spelt Calingapatam), 445 fn 2, 453, 454 fn 1, 459, 462  
 Kālīngattu Parani, Tamil poem of Jayan-kondān, 470  
 Kālīñjar, (in C I), 83, 91, 597  
 Kālīñjara (also spelt Kālīñjara), a frontier State of Kashmir, 153, 153 fn 2, 154  
 Kālīñjara (see Kālīñjara), 161  
 Kālīyuga-Rāmāyaṇa (Rāmācarita), 346  
 Kallār, Brahman Vazīr of Lagatūrmān, 62, 72, 75  
 Kallār-Lallīya, 76  
 Kalunjur of Firishṭa (=Kālāñjara), 153 fn 2  
 Kalyāṇa, city of, 331, 395  
 Kalyāṇadevi, daughter of Jayanta, married Jayapīda, 278  
 Kalyāṇakakāśa, a *biruḍa* of Rānabhañja-deva, 429  
 Kalyāṇapura (mod Kalampūr), 168  
 Kalyāṇavarman, king of Kāmarūpa, 237  
 Kalyāṇavarman, author of Śāilīvalī, 214  
 Kāmadeva, Vājasaneyaka Brāhmana, 253  
 Kamalavardhana, 128  
 Kalyāṇa, capital of the later Cālukyas, xxxiv, 209  
 Kāmākhyā, 253, 252  
 Kāmākūta, mountain in Kāmarūpa, 244  
 Kamalā (goddess), 348  
 Kāmala-devī, queen of Narasimha III, 490  
 Kamalū, Śālu king, 72, 74, 75, 77, 79  
 Kamaluka (Kamalū), 73, 77, 123  
 Kāmārpaṇa I, Ganga prince of the Mysore branch; founder the Kālīnga line, 449, 452  
 Kāmārpaṇa II, Ganga king of Kālīnga, 458  
 Kāmārpaṇa IV, Gaṅga kṛg of Kālīnga, 453  
 Kāmārpaṇa V, Ganga king of Kālīnga, 453  
 Kāmārpaṇa VII (also known as 'Ananta-varman, Anantāvarma-Madhu-Kāmārpaṇa, Kumāra and Jateśvara), 468, 469, 472, 473, 535  
 Kāmārpaṇa, 235, 236, 238, 240, 241, 246, 247, 248, 251, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260  
 Kāmārpaṇa-maṇḍala, 256, 257  
 Kāmasūha, one of the murderers of Simha-deva, 177  
 Kāmata, a later name of Kāmarūpa, 265  
 Kamauli, village near Benares, 256  
 Kamauli, 8 grants of Govindacandra, 515, 516, 517, 519, 520  
 Kamauli, 6 grants of Jayacandra, 36-537  
 Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, 255, 282, 284, 347, 350, 533  
 Kāmboja, 290  
 Kāmboja Kings of Bengal, 308, 309  
 Kāmboja-saṃgha, 309 fn 2  
 Kāmeśvara (Śiva), 244  
 Kāmeśvara Ṭhakkura, founder of the Sa-guṇā dynasty of Mithilā, 247 fn 3  
 Kampaṇādhīpati (Commander-in-chief), 128  
 Kampaṇeśa, 154  
 Kāmṛd (Kāmarūpa), 260, 261, 262, 264, 272, 373, 477, 479  
 Kanta (Karmanta), near Comilla, 275  
 Kamvara (Kumāra), 563  
 Kanadastambha (Kalahastambha?), 443  
 Kanakabhañja, son of Durjayabhañja, 433  
 Kanakapura, 133  
 Kanaka-tuṣṭi-purusa, 363  
 Kanakaśrī, teachers at the vihāra of Vikramaśīlā, 197  
 Kanarese districts, 577  
 Kanauj, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii, 2 fn 3, 4, 3, 4, 4 fn 3, 9, 15, 16 fn 2, 79, 80, 83, 91, 112, 137, 171, 273, 277, 285, 286, 287, 292, 299, 340, 341, 504, 505, 507, 508, 514, 515, 546, 551, 552, 554, 564, 569, 574, 579, 590, 591, 592, 593, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 604, 607, 608, 609, 610  
 Kāñcānastambha, Sulikī king, 442, 443, 448  
 Kāñcī, xxxiv, 402, 405, 406  
 Kānda, territory on Kāśmīr border, 144, 162  
 Kandahār (Qandahār), 66 fn 3  
 Kandahar, 4, 12 fn 2, 19, 47, 178, 578  
 Kandarpa, in charge of the *gate* during Harṣa's reign, 148, 149, 151  
 Kandarpa, officer of Kālāśa, 144  
 Kangra, 62, 118, 194  
 Kanik (Kaniṣka I), 62  
 Kaniṣka (I), xxxiii, 55, 63  
 Kaniṣka-mahā-vihāra, 295  
 Kanik-cañya, 62

Kannauj (Kanaui), 601  
 Kanojiya-Rathora, 564  
 Kan-t'o-lo (Gandhara), 59, 61  
 Kānthikā-sthali, 583  
 Kāntipura; founded by Gunakāmadeva  
 (mod. Katmandu), 195  
 Kanyakubja, 124, 276, 509, 520  
 Kanyakubja, 504, 520, 532  
 Kānyakubja, xxxiv, xxxvi, 203 fn. 1, 285,  
 320, 306, 532, 534, 546, 5 69, 593  
 Kapālamocana-ghatta at Benares, 519  
 Kapardaka-Purānas, 367  
 Kapateśvara, a sacred spring in Kashmir,  
 140  
 Kapilendra (alias Kapileśvara), founder of  
 the Sūrya-vamśa in Orissa, 497  
 Kāpisa, 60, 61  
 Kapivansu, Mahā-sandhivigraha of Viśva-  
 rūpasena, 379  
 Karachi, 3  
 Karakhtai, 60  
 Kara-kula, 411, 421  
 Karan, Jām, 40, 41  
 Karaṇa, 381  
 Karanika, 516, 517, 518, 519, 525  
 Kara stone-inscription of Yaśahpāla, 504,  
 609-610  
 Karas of Tosali 413ff, 421, 441, 449, 450,  
 455, 451  
 Karhad plates of Kīrṇa III, 588  
 Karnāta, 117, 148, 161, 402, 405, 406  
 Karapyanām agrani, 317  
 Karatoya river, 235, 236, 238, 240, 248, 261,  
 264, 265, 273, 309, 345  
 Karim ud-Din Laghri (Fakhr-ul-Mulk), 481  
 Karka II, his Baloda grant (śaka 734),  
 286  
 Karkarāja, Rāśtrakūta of Pathari, 558, 559  
 Kārkoṭas of Kāśmīr, xxxv, 61, 71, 72, 74,  
 112, 113, 114, 118, 120, 277, 569  
 Karkotaka Nāga, 112 fn 1  
 Karkotaka Nāgas, were in the Deccan and  
 Māhīmatī, 112 fn 1  
 Karmakriyākānda, MS of Somasambhu,  
 212  
 Karmanasa (river), 370, 547  
 Karmanta (mod. Kamta near Comilla, capital  
 of the Khadgas), 275  
 Karmānta, 323  
 Karmasena, 178  
 Karmasimhadeva Simraon Karnāta prince,  
 206  
 Karṇa (= Lakṣmī-Karṇa), 507  
 Karṇa king, of Anga, 212  
 Karṇa, epic hero, 100, 354, 355  
 Karnabel stone-inscription of Jayasimhadeva,  
 326  
 Karṇāha (mod. Karnāv), 109  
 Karpakesari, ruler of Utkala, 319 fn.6, 341,  
 342  
 Karna district, 10, 301, 377  
 Karna river, 185  
 Karnasuvarṇa (portions of Nadia, Burdwan  
 Burhum & Murshidabad), xxxiv, 266,  
 273, 274

Karnāta, 147, 203, 206, 221, 222, 331, 335,  
 357, 360, 558, 559  
 Karnāṭas, 316, 317  
 Karnāṭa-cūdamanī (an epithet applied to  
 Harisimha), 216  
 Karnāṭaka dynasty of Bhatgaon (Nepal):  
 founded by Harisimha when the latter  
 was driven out of Simraon by the  
 Muslims, 216-217ff  
 Karnātakas of Tirhut and Nepal (Sūrya-  
 vamśi), 204, 216, 222, 331  
 Karnāṭa-Ksatriyas, of Rādhā (Senas), 331,  
 335  
 Karnāṭa-kula-lakṣmī, 203  
 Karṇya (= Lak-mī-Karṇa), 326, 327  
 Karpuramañjali of Rājasekhara, 577  
 Karra, 491  
 Karṇa, 563  
 Karuṇākara, Pallava, feudatory of Kulottunga,  
 470  
 Kasaloda-Vijaya, 399  
 Kashmir, xxxvi, 3 fn. 3, 4, 44 fn 3, 12, 27,  
 13, 61, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 89,  
 90, 95, 99, 101, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111,  
 112, 113, 115, 118, 119, 120, 122, 125,  
 130, 131, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143,  
 144, 145, 147, 151, 153, 158, 154, 156, 157,  
 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 167, 169, 171, 175,  
 176, 177, 179, 180, 194, 277, 569, 578;  
 Genealogical tables, 181-83, Bibliogra-  
 phy, 183-84, Valley of, 95  
 Kāśi, 305 fn. 1, 271, 276, 277, 314, 368, 508,  
 537  
 Kāśipāra, rulers of, 517  
 Kāśipāra-pathaka, 581  
 Kāśirāja, 541  
 Kāśmīra, 107, 111 117, contained 66,063  
 villages, 111  
 Kassa (Cutch), 7 fn.5  
 Kāstha maṇḍapa-nagara (mod. Katmandu),  
 195 fn 3, 237 fn 5  
 Kāsthavāta (mod. Kāstwar), 107, 111, 144,  
 115, 160, 175  
 Kāstūrī-devī, queen of Anangabhiṃsa II,  
 479  
 Kāstūrīkāmōdinī, queen of Coḍagaṅga,  
 471, 472  
 Kāśyapa (rasi), 5 fn.5  
 Kāśyapa, sage; in his family the Bhañja-  
 vamśa, 433  
 Katak, Sarkār of, 341  
 Kataka-bhukti-vijaya, 446  
 Katalog der Deutschen Morgenländischen  
 Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1881, Vol. II, 205  
 fn 1  
 Kātāsīn (= Kātāsinghab), 480, 480 fn.3  
 Kātthehālī-Pattalā, 509, 509 fn 5, 510  
 Kathiwar, 4, 10, 12 fn. 2, 39, 285, 302, 570,  
 579, 583, 594  
 Kāṭī-Pattalā, 516  
 Katmandu (= ancient Kāntipura). Its name  
 • derived from a big *kaṣṭhamandapa* built  
 by Hariharasimha Mallā at Kāntipura,  
 195, 195 fn. 3, 196, 204, 209, 213, 221,  
 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229

- Katmandu inscription of Jayajyotirmalladeva, 221  
 Katmandu inscription of Pratāpamalla (N.S. 769), 205, 216  
 Katmandu Library, 209  
 Katwa, in Burdwan, 343  
 Kauriala (river), 185  
 Kauśāmba-mandala, 609  
 Kauśāmba-pattalā, 541  
 Kauśāmbī, 313, 610 (in U P)  
 Kauśāmbī (in Bengal), 333, 341, 343, 344, 360  
 Kauśumbā in Rajshahi, 311  
 Kautilya, author of Arthasāstra, 550  
 Kautsa, Sage; birth of Virabhadra (ancestor of the Bhāṇjas) in the Hermitage of, 434  
 Kavikānthāvarana of Ksemendia, 116  
 Kavaratna, Pandit Dhreśvara, 217 fn 1  
 Kāvya-devī, wife of Śūra, (minister of Avantī-varman), 115  
 Kayangala, *Maṇḍalpti* of, 341  
 Kāyasthas (caste), 265  
 Kāyastha (office), 100, 121, 123, 135, 157, 307, 398, 399, 400, 404, 407, 440, 522, 526, 540  
 Kāyasthas, oppression of, 153  
 Kedaradeva (god), 348  
 Kedarāmīra, minister of Devapāla, 291, 298, 301  
 Kedāra-tīrtha, 287 fn 2  
 Kedarpur grant of Śricandīa, 323 fn 2  
 Kelat (also spelt Kelat), 1, 20 fn 2  
 Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II, 359, 468, 469, 473, 474, 475, 477, 478, 182, 185  
 Kerala, 250, 578  
 Keralēsa, 219, 251  
 Kesari, royal names ending in, 393, 408, 409, 410, 413 fn 1  
 Kesari-vamsa, of the Madaya-pāṇi, 410, 412  
 Kesure-Pattalā, 517  
 Keśava, a Brahman from Tīlgarta, a minister of Ananta, 140  
 Kaśavadeva (*alias*), Kipurāja-Gopī-Govinda, king of Śribhatta in the Surma Valley, 267  
 Keśavasena, Sena prince of Bengal, 354, 368, 380, 381, 382  
 Kesu-sena (Keśavasena), 383  
 Keu-mo-lo P'o-se kie-lo-la-ma (Kumāra Bhāskaravarman), 236  
 Khaḍgas, of Samataṭa; 274, 275, genealogical table, 381  
 Khādi-viśaya, 363  
 Khadpu, a town in Nepal, 213  
 Khafīl, Śūma prince, 33  
 Khagān (Khan), 60, 61 fn 3  
 Khaira, 33  
 Khair ud-Dīn, Malik (Jām), 41, 42, 43  
 Khajuraho, xxxvii, 101 fn.1, 572, 573, 574, 582, 606  
 Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga, (954 A.D.), 307, 572, 573, 574, 590, 593  
 Khakkas, 107  
 Khalifa, 8, 17, 19, 20  
 Khalifah, 372  
 Khalimpur, village in Malda, 288  
 Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla, 278, \* 282, 284, 285, 288-89, 290  
 Khalj, 261; Amīrs, 477, tribe of Ghūr, 370, Khalj, 42  
 Khanda, a territorial division, 397, 400, 402, 409, 417, 427, 428, 430, 434, 435, 437, 439, 440, 441, 442, 495  
 Khandadeulī grant of Narendrabhaṇja (0), 434  
 Khandala, 313, 344  
 Kharāj, land tax, 21  
 Khārī, 116 and 116, fn 2, 117, 125  
 Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva III, 470  
 Kharvāna (*alias* Navagīrvāna?), founder of the kingdom of Śribhatta in the Surma Valley, 267  
 Khaśas, 107, 108, 109; (in Nepal), invasion of, 215, invasion (under Adityamalla), 221  
 Khātā-Visaya, 425, 426  
 Khāsikas, 153  
 Khen (see Khyān), 265  
 Khjunga (mod Khiching?), 423, 427  
 Khijunga-kotta, 434  
 Khijjala, 435  
 Khijjali, 423, 431  
 Khijjali-deśa, 431  
 Khijjali-Mandala (mod Koonjhar state), 423, 423 fn.1, 425, 425 fn.2, 434, 436, 437  
 Khijjaliya-gada-Visaya, 425 fn 2, 435  
 Khijjamī (Khijjali?), 437, 437 fn 3  
 Khommāna (II), Gubila king, 587  
 Khopasi inscription, 188  
 Khotan, 59  
 Khri lde Srong btsan (also called Ral-pa-can), Tibetan Emperor, 198  
 Kshāyathiya Kshāyathārākā, 55  
 Khūrāsān, (also spelt Khurasan), 1, 21, 22, 57, 64, 65, 69, 70, 90, 91, 94  
 Khurdābhī, 14  
 Khurda grant of Mādhavarāja (II), 445  
 Khusrāu I, 59, 60  
 Khusrāu (Amīr; poet), 23  
 Khusrāu Malik Tāj-ud-Daulah, Yamīnī king, 536  
 Khutba, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26  
 Khvadavayaka (or Khedavayaka), 77  
 Khwāja Ahmad, Vazīr of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazni, 153 fn 2  
 Khwāja Jahān (Malik Sarwar) Shārqī king of Jaunpur, 497  
 Khyān (or Khen) kings, 265  
 Kia-mo-leu-po (Kāmarūpa), 236  
 Kia-pi-shi, 60, 61, 62, 64, 71, 74  
 Kiāla of the Kāfirs, 514  
 Kielhorn, 111, 246, 247, 285, 291, 297, 300, 304, 318, 348, 394, 572, 574, 576  
 Kie (ka)-lo-na-su-fa-la-na (Karpasavarṇa), 274  
 Kikāp (also spelt al-Kikān), 1, 7, 12  
 K'i-h-pa-pu, Tibetan king, grandson of Srong-btsan sgam-po, 192

- Kimidi, 460, 461  
 Kinnari-grāma (= Narasimhapura) 495, 495 fn 4  
 Kinchinjunga, 185  
 'King of Kings' title of Iranic origin, 55  
 Kinnauj (Kanauj) 4, 512  
 Kinnauj-i-Shergarh, 547 fn.2, 555  
 Kī-pin, 56  
 Kira, 101, 285, 572, 574  
 Kira] (see Kī-Kira)], 9, 9 fn 2  
 Kirāta, country, 188  
 Kirātas (of Nepāla), 187, 188, (of Kāmarūpa) 235, 240, 249  
 Kirkpatrick, Colonel, 186, 200, 218, 227  
 Kirtu, ruler of Baddhapura (?), 144  
 Kirtimalla, king of Nepal, 224  
 Kirtipura, town in Nepal, 207  
 Kirtirāja (Kacchavaha), 91 fn 2  
 Kṣīrāṣṭrā, Lohara prince, 112  
 Kishen Ganga, 109, 110, 112, 141  
 Kisanganga, (Kishen Ganga), valley, 73  
 Kishah, 65  
 Kishtwar, 107  
 Kisipidi inscription, 188  
 Kistna, xxxiv  
 Kitāb-i-Yamīnī, 87  
 Kitāb ul-Hind, 9 fn 62  
 Kī-to-lo, 58  
 Kiz, 20  
 Kizkanān, 20  
 Koch, 309  
 Koch-Bihār (modern Cooch-Bihar), 265  
 Koch Hājo, Koch kingdom, rival of Koch, 265  
 Koch Kingdom founded by Bisvasimha, 265  
 Kodāla, place of residence of Śūlki kings, 439, 441, 442, 443  
 Kodāla-mandala, 443  
 Kodālaka (?)-Mandala, 443  
 Kodāla-pāṭaka, 443  
 Kodāla(?)-Visaya, 441  
 Kōṅḥoṣa, Kāyastha (officer), 397, 398, 399  
 Kokalla I, Kalacuri of G P (Tripuri), 545  
 Kolāhala, city of (mod Kolar), 448  
 Kolāhalapura, in Gangavādī-Visaya (Mysore), 449  
 Kolāhala, (Anantavarman), Ganga prince of Mysore; founded Kolāhalapura, 449, 452  
 Kolu-vartani-Visaya, 458  
 Komarti plates of Candavarman, 313  
 Kommi-devi (also called Kommi-devamma), queen of Narasimha III, 488, 489, 490  
 Konārak, 482  
 Kōṅgada, 402, 405  
 Kōṅga-pattala, 537  
 Kongeda (= Kōṅgōda), 444  
 Kōṅgōda (also spelt Kungada), 418, 440  
 Kōṅa-kōṅa, Sun temple of (= Konārka = Konārak), built by Narasimha I, 482  
 Kōṅgōda-Maṇḍala, 418, 444, 446  
 Koṅkula-khaṇḍa, 442  
 Kōnsar Nāg, Lake, 108  
 Koṅṭarāvanga-Visaya, 432  
 Korāṇḍā-Visaya, 427  
 Korni grant (ii) of Anantavarman Cōḍaṅga, 463  
 Kosādhyaksa, 73, 123  
 Kosala (also Mahā-Kosala and Dakṣiṇa-Kosala), 393, 394, 395, 396, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 407, 408, 409, 460  
 Kosala (also spelt Kosala), xxxii; Uttara-Kosala, 508  
 Kosala (also spelt Kosala, Dakṣiṇa-Kosala), 192, 241, 277, 319, 400, 403, 404, 405  
 Kosalā (Kosala?), 402, 418  
 Kosulas, 271  
 Kośalai-nāḍu, 318, 319, 341, 405  
 Kosala-rājya khanda, 409  
 Kosala-sākhagadyanḥā-Visaya, 406  
 Kosamba-pattala, 538  
 Kosi, river, 186  
 Kōṣṭhasvara, Dāman, 171  
 Kōṣṭhadevi, daughter of Rāmacandra wife of Rūcāna, 179, marries Udayanadeva 179, reigns as queen, 156, 180; marries Sāhamera, 180, imprisoned by Sāhamera, 180  
 Kotah, State of, 563  
 Kot Kangra, 62 fn.3  
 Kot āṭavi (= Kot-des in Saikar Kaṭak in Orissa), 341, 360  
 Koti-homa, 322  
 Koti-Pattalā, 510  
 Kōṭiśvara (god), 458  
 Kōṭi-tīrtha (at Vārāṇasī), 527  
 Kōṭivarsa-Visaya, 351  
 Kotta, place of residence of Ranabhaṇḍya, 427, 431  
 Kottabhaṇḍa, Bhaṇḍya prince, 427, 434  
 Kōṭivarsa-Visāya, 312, 329  
 Koṭṭa-nigraha, 556, 556 fn 1  
 Kramarājya, 111, 141, 152, 153  
 Kramavarta (mod Kāmelankoth), 115  
 Kūṁilā-Visaya, 294  
 Kṛtavīrya, Haihaya prince, 112 fn.1  
 Kṛttivāsa, god, 537  
 Kṛṣṇa (god), 33, 38, 245, 382, 484, 533  
 Kṛṣṇa II, Rāṣṭrakūṭa King of Mānyakheṭa, 304, 306  
 Kṛṣṇa III, Akalavarṣa Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Mānyakheṭa, 301, 306, 587, 588, 589, 592, 595  
 Kṛṣṇā (mod Kishen Ganga), 109, 110  
 Kṛta Age, xxxi, fn 1  
 Kṛtya-cintāmanī of Capdeśvara, 216  
 Kṛṣṇagiri-Visaya, 444  
 Kṛtya ratnākara of Capdeśvara, MS. of, 204 fn. 4, 216  
 Kṣatriya, 60, 61, 62, 101, 176, 202, 278, 283, 354  
 Kṣatriya (also spelt Kṣātrīya), 101  
 Kṣetrāja sons, 271  
 Kṣaṁmināyaka, 345  
 Kṣema, a barber organised the Pādāgra office under Ananta in Kashmir, 140  
 Kṣemagaurīśvara (Śiva), 130  
 Kṣemagupta (Kanakavarṣa), 77, 78, 130, 131, 131 fn.3  
 Kṣemaṅkaradeva, Kara king, 415  
 Ksemendra, 108, 115, 116, 121, 214  
 Ksemīśvara, author of Caṇḍakauśika, 316  
 Kṣaṇṭhikā, grandmother of Cakravarman, 125

**Kṣṭipāla**, (*alias* Mahipāla I), Gujara-Pratihāra emperor, 572, 573, 576, 576, 581, 582, 588, 592  
**Kṣṭisūra**, Śūra king, 320  
**Kṣīti-tanaya-nrpati-vamśa**, 244  
**Kṣuṣa**, Brahman officer of Jassaka, 174  
**Kudopālī** grant of Mahābhavagupta II, 407-408, 409, 411  
**Kūch** (see Kūch)  
**Kujavati**, 311  
**Kulacandra**, feudatory of Kanauj (?), 598  
**Kuladevi**, queen of Brahmapāla, 249  
**Kulastambha**, *alias* (?) Ranastambha (Śūlki king), 433 fn.1, 438, 442  
**Kulapañjikas** of Ghatakās, 320, 364  
**Kulinism** in Bengal, 364  
**Kulottunga I**, Cola king, 470, 471, 531  
**Kulūtas**, 576, 576 fn.1  
**Kumār**, 15  
**Kumāra** (see Kāmārava VII), 472  
**Kumāra**, king of Kāmārūpa - belongs to the line of Śālastambha, 239, 244  
**Kumāra**, a name of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmārūpa, 5 fn 5, 237  
**Kumāra** (office), 380, 392, 408, 485, 550  
**Kumāradevi**, grand-daughter of Mahana and daughter of the Chikkora Devarakṣita, queen of Govindacandra (Gāhadavāla), 339, 528, 529, 532, 564, 565  
**Kumārādhirāja**, 408, 412  
**Kumārājīva**, translated Mātreyā Vyākaraṇa into Chinese, 306  
**Kumārāmātya**, 275  
**Kumārāpāla**, Pāla King of Bengal and Bihar, 281, 282, 347, 350  
**Kumaun**, 185  
**Kumurukela** grant of (N) Śatrubhaṅga, 433 34  
**Kumbheśvara** (śiva), 228  
**Kūch** (Kūch), a race of people, 260  
**Kundala**, circular dykes, 11C  
**Kungada** (also spelt Kōṅḍā), 413, 418  
**Kungada-Mandala** (also spelt Kōṅḍā-mandala), 413, 418  
**Kuntala**, 576, 576 fn 1, 577  
**Kurmsing Deo** (=Karmasimha Deva?), Śūrasena Karnāṭa ruler, 206 fn 1  
**Kuṣṭhara-ghata-varṣa**, 308  
**Kung-Yu-t'o** (or Kung-gu-t'o, or Kung-Ya-t'o = Kungada), 413  
**Kuriah** (mod. Kara), fort of, 609  
**Kuru kings**, 285  
**Kurukṣetra**, 162, 187, 235  
**Kuru-Pāṇḍava War**, 187  
**Kuśa** (son of Rāma), 224  
**Kuśa-vihāra**, 236  
**Kuśān**, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63  
**Kuṣāṇa** (Int.) v, iii  
**Kuśān Malkā** 56 fn., 257  
**Kuśān Malkān Malkā**, 56, 57  
**Kuśān** (also spelt **Kuśān**), 56, 56 fn.4  
**Kuśika** (Kānyakubja) 508, 508 fn.4  
**Kuśasthala** (Kanauj), 580  
**Kuśuinabhāra**, Kara king, 417, 421  
**Kuṭi**, Pass of, 228

**Kutb-ud-din** (Qutb-ud-Din) Sulṭān of Delhi, 543, 544

## L

**Labdar** of Dakṣiṇpāra in Kashmir, 177  
**Lacchukeśvara Mahādeva**, 592  
**Ladākh** (also spelt Ladaḥ), 110  
**Lagatūrmān** (Turkī Śāhi king) 62, 63, 72  
**Lagantol** fragmentary inscription, (dated in 535), 188 fn 3  
**Lagantol inscription** (dated in 119), 192, 193  
**Laghu-bhārata**, 364  
**Laghman**, 60, 596  
**Lahara** (mod. Lār) 114, 154, 160, 161, 175, 179  
**Lahore**, 7, 80, 82 fn 4, 89, 94, 137, 138, 514  
**Lahūr** (or Lāhūr) of al-Birunī (=Lohara = Lohkot), 137  
**Lajjā**, Harhaya queen of Vigrahapāla I, 298  
**Lakhamandal prāsasti**, 393  
**Lakhan-or**, 477, 481  
**Lakhanapāla**, Rāstrakūṭa of Kanauj, 505, 552, 553, 554, 564  
**Lakhanavati**, 260, 261, 264, 372, 373, 374, 479, 480, 481, 497  
**Lakhmaṇiah**, Rai 372, 373, 374  
**Lakhnauti**, Sarkār, 345  
**Lakhnauti** (see Lakhaṇavati), 372, 374, 383, 494  
**Lakhimpur District** (Assam), 264  
**Lākhyā** (river), 236  
**Lakṣmaṇa**, image of, 486  
**Lakṣmaṇa**, Chamberlain (Pratihāri) of Jayasimha, 170, 171, 172  
**Lakṣmaṇadeva**, Brahmar adopted as son by Kashmir king Rāmadeva, 176  
**Lakṣmaṇa,āja**, Kalacur king of C.P. (Tripuri), 401, 595  
**Lakṣmanasena** Sena king of Bengal, 260, 352, 353, 354, 365, 366, 367, 369, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 541  
**Lakṣmī**, goddess, 291, 362, 513, 531  
**Lakṣmīdevī**, queen of Anantavarmā Coda-ganga, 462, 471  
**Lakṣmīdevī**, queen of Bhānudeva II, 487  
**Lakṣmīkāmadeva**, king of Nepal 194, 198, 199, 200  
**Lakṣmīkāmadeva** (II), Nayakot Thākuri, 209  
**Lakṣmī-Karna**, Tripuri, Kalacuri, 266, 281, 327, 334, 335, 336, 406, 504, 505, 507, 530  
**Lakṣmīśūra**, Śūra king, 320, 330  
**Lakṣmī Śūra**, ruler of Aparā-Mandāra 341, 342  
**Lakṣmī-varma-vihāra**, 199  
**Lakṣmyavasthāra-stotra**, MS. of, 214  
**Lāla** (Rāḍha), 333  
**Lālāṇḍu Kesari**, 410, 412 fn.1  
**Lālāṇḍu Kesari** cave inscription of Uddyota-kesari, 410  
**Lalṭabhaṭa**, Kara prince, 417, 421, 422

alīṭādiṭya (Muktāpīḍa), king of Kashmir, xxxvi, 72, 74, 112, 113, 114, 116, 277  
 Lalita-Pattana (mod Patan), 195 fn.1, 202, 223  
 Lallā, courtesan, 128  
 Lalliya Sāhi, 73, 75, 76, 77, 118, 123  
 Lama, Buddhist title, 219  
 Lamaṇḍa, mountains of, 228  
 Lamghān, 25, 60, 80, 83, 84  
 Lan-po (Lamghān), 60, 61  
 Lar grant of Govindacandra, 369, 526, 529  
 Lāṭa, 319, 402, 405, 406, 558, 559  
 Lāṭa Cājukya, 9  
 Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), 238, 246, 250, 254, 275  
 Lauhitya-Sindhu, 244, 245, 252  
 Laukika Era, 117, 132  
 Lava (Son of Rāma), 224  
 Lāvāda-Visaya, 404  
 Lavanyas (Dāmaras), 152, 174, 175, 179, 180  
 Lavata, 120  
 Layahacandra, Candra king, 321 fn.4, 323  
 Ledari river (mod Lādār), 177  
 Lévi, Sylvain, 186, 187, 188, 190, 192, 193, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202, 203, 209, 210, 211, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 227 in 5, 317, 328, 414, 415  
 Licchavis (Sūryavamāṇi) of Nepal, 188, 189, 191, 207 fn. 3, 211  
 Licchavi era of Nepal, 188, 189  
 Licchavis of Varsālī (mod. Basarh in Bihar), xxiii, 210  
 Lādār, river, 177  
 Lingāyāta sect, 350  
 Lingarāja temple at Bhuvanesvar, 412 fn.1  
 Lingzi Thang plains, 107  
 Lo-mo (= lama), 219  
 Lohada-deva, Singāra feudatory of Govindacandra, 524  
 Lohara, identified with al-Birūnī's Lahūr (or Lauhūr) and Lohkot of Firishta, 78, 97, 98, 107, 108, 109, 130, 134, 137, 138, 142, 144, 146, 148, 152, 154, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 171, 173, 174, 537  
 Lohara court at Śrinagar, 100  
 Lohara kings, 109  
 Loharakotīa, 110  
 Loharin (or Loran), 78, 97, 108  
 Lohkot (see Lohara and Lauhūr), 136, 137  
 Lokakāla, 194  
 Lokanātha Daśabala (Buddha), 284  
 Lokanātha, Kūṁḍāmātya, 275  
 Lokeśvara, Bodhisattva, 540  
 Lokeśvara Khasarpana, 196  
 Lolabhāra (= Loṇbhāra), Kara king, 417, 418  
 Lolārka, temple of the god at Vārānasi, 527  
 Loṇabhāra (see Lolabhāra), 417, 418, 420, 421, 422  
 Loṭhaka, son of the Dāmaras Prthivihara, 173  
 Loṭhana, brother of Śaḥaṇa, 160, 161, 170, 171, 172  
 Loṭhkaśmaṭha, 138  
 Lun-tsang-so-lung-tsan, first king of Tibet, 191  
 Lupattarā-Khaṇḍa, 397  
 Lūtā disease 100, 131 fn.2, 131

M

Machhlisshahr grant of Govindacandra, 526  
 Machhlisshahr grant of Hariscandra, 544-46  
 Maccu Oalingae, 392 fn.1  
 Madana, (Rāstrakūṭa) king of Kanauj, 505, 518  
 Madana, Commander-in-chief of Harsha, 148  
 Madanacandra, (also known as Madanapāla), Gāhadavāla king, 528  
 Madanadevī, queen of Rāmapāla, 347, 351  
 Madanapāla, uncle of Saṃgrāmapāla, prince of Rājapuri, 144  
 Madanapāla (also called Madanadeva and Madanacandra), Gāhadavāla king, 511, 511 fn 5, 513, 515, 531  
 Madanapāla, Rāstrakūṭa of Kanauj, 515, 553, 554  
 Madanapāla, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 258, 259, 281, 282, 345, 347, 350, 351, 352, 358, 360, 368, 369  
 Madanapara grant of Viśvarūpsena, 361, 365, 367, 368, 376, 379-80, 381, 382  
 Madana-śankara *virūḍa* of Lakṣmanasena, 376  
 Madanavarman, Candella king, 530, 593  
 Madavala (?)—*paṭṭala*, 521  
 Madavarāja, 111, 128, 152, 151, 157, 166  
 Madhamagar grant of Lakṣmanasena, 255, 367, 376, 378  
 Mādhas, of gold, 495  
 Mādharadevī (Mahadevī), queen of Śubhakarā I, 416  
 Mādhavagupta, Gupta prince of Magadha, 275  
 Mādharāja II, (Sanyabhūta) Śailodbhava king, 414, 444, 445  
 Mādhasasena, Sena prince of Bengal (?), 196, 354, 354, 382  
 Mādharavarman (also called Mādhavendra, Sanyabhūta II and Śimivāsa), 445  
 Mādhavendra, *ahas* (see Mādharavarman), 445  
 Madhukāmārava, Gangā king of Kalinga, 453  
 Madhukēśa (Īśa-Śiva), temple of, at Nagara, 453  
 Mādhu Sen (Mādhasasena ?), 382  
 Madhyadeśa, 363  
 Madhyamarāja I, Śailodbhava king, 446, 447  
 Madhyamarāja II, Śailodbhava prince, 417  
 Madhyamarāja III, son of Traillopanabha, Śailodbhava prince, 447  
 Madia Pāṇi, 410, 410 fn.1, 412, 412 fn.1, 478, 497  
 Madra kings, 285  
 Madra-land, 169  
 Madras Museum grant of Vajrahasta V, 358  
 Madras Presidency, 391, 392, 447  
 Māga Brahman, 349  
 Magadha, xxxii, xxxiii, 197, 251, 255, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 281, 284, 301, 326, 327, 333, 338, 340, 349, 369, 370



- Magadhas, 271  
 Magadhādīpa (= Pithīpati), 338  
 Magadha-vīṣaya, 346  
 Magaha (= Magadha?), 137  
 Magars (in Nepal), invasion of, 215  
 Magians of temples, 11  
 Mahābhārata, 235, 240, 351  
 Mahābhavagupta, I, Janamejaya (Somavamsi of Kosala), 391, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 406, 411, 412, 419  
 Mahābhavagupta II, Bhimaratha (Somavamsi of Kosala), 394, 406, 407, 408, 409, 411  
 Mahābhavagupta III (?), Somavamsi of Kosala, 408, 409, 412  
 Mahā-Bhūtavarman, king of Kāmārūpa, 237  
 Mahābodhi by Cunningham, 353  
 Mahābodhi, 258, 295, 326  
 Mahādandanāyaka, 586  
 Mahādeva (god), 259, 4 faced figure, 2-8  
 Mahādevī (chief queen), 213, 215, 116  
 Mahāgauri, 311  
 Mahā-Indra-deva, Yuvārāja of Nayakot, Thākuri-vivadeva, 207  
 Mahākāla (see Kālapriya) of Ujjayinī, 508, temple at Ujjayinī, 586  
 Mahākāyastha (officer), 462  
 Mahākosala, (see Kosala) 392, fn 1  
 Mahākāpatalaka, 401  
 Mahākāpatalika, 415, 418, 422, 536, 515  
 Mahākāpatalādhikṛta, 415, 118  
 Mahākāsālī, 462  
 Mahālakṣmīvata, MS of, 211  
 Mahā-mahādevī, 363  
 Mahāmahantaka, 381  
 Mahā-mahattaka, 538  
 Mahāmāndālīka, 310, 375  
 Mahāmantri, 335  
 Mahāmānri (Festilence), 215  
 Mahana (Mathana), Rāstrakūta prince of Anga, 338, 339, 564, 565  
 Mahana, (Mathana), Rāstrakūta ruler of Anga, 528, 529  
 Mahanadi, river, 319, 401, 402, 403, 404, 406, 132, 435, 491 fn 1, 494 fn 2, 577; valley of, 391, 395  
 Mahānāyaka, 531  
 Mahānpati, 438, 413  
 Mahāntāprakāsa-Vīṣaya, 289  
 Mahāpadma, accession of, xxxi fn 1  
 Mahāpadma (mod. Wular Lake), 110, 116, 117, 173  
 Mahāpandita, 522  
 Mahāparvata, a mountain, 419  
 Mahāpātra, 485, 195  
 Mahāpratibhāsa, 340, 565  
 Mahāpratibhāsa-mukhiya, 159  
 Mahāpurohita, 516, 533, 536  
 Mahārāja, a feudatory title, 415, 425, 428, 437 fn 4, 410, 413, 444, 591, 586  
 Mahārājādhirāja, one of the technical titles of sovereignty, 201, 212, 221, 223, 224, 227 fn 5, 229 fn 1, 238, 243, 245, 246, 247, 249, 251, 256, 289, 293, 300, 305, 306, 322, 333, 311, 342, 343, 316, 347, 349, 351, 352, 366, 367, 377, 378, 396, 397, 398, 399, 408, 416, 417, 420, 439, 443, 444, 457, 461, 509, 513, 515, 516, 519, 536, 544, 574, 577, 579, 583, 587, 588, 589, 590, 592, 593, 594, 595, 598, 609  
 Mahārājaputra, 511, 512, 513, 523, 524, 525, 526, 533, 534  
 Mahārājñi, 358, 512, 517, 523, 527  
 Mahāsāmanta, 189, 244, 375, 426, 428, 432, 436, 437, 441, 444, 586  
 Mahāsāmantādhīpati, 289, 583  
 Mahāsāndhivigraha-prativaddha-kāyastha, 397  
 Mahāsāndhivigrahika, 364, 379, 404, 440  
 Mahāsābda, 583  
 Mahāsāndhivigrahin, 398, 399, 400, 403, 404, 459  
 Mahāsāngikās, 193  
 Mahāsenagupta, later Gupta ruler, 238  
 Mahāsivagupta, Yayāti (Somavamsi of Kosala), 391, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 411  
 Mahāsiva, Tivara-deva or Tivārāja, (Śrīpura king), 393  
 Mahaso-Pattalā, 536  
 Mahasōya-Pattalā, 526  
 Mahattaka, 512, 513, 516  
 Mahattama, 400  
 Mahāvamsa, 338, 331  
 Mahā varāha, 254, 522  
 Mahāsivagupta, Bālajuna, Śrīpura king, 393, 394, 395  
 Mahāyāna, 313, 325, 415, 532  
 Mahdi (Caliph), 70  
 Mahela, queen of Kashmir king Lakṣman-deva, 177  
 Mahendia, mountain (Mahendragiri), 447, 449, 450, 452, 459  
 Mahendra, Naddūla Cāhamāna, 561, 562  
 Mahendra (Indradeva), father of Nayakot, Thākuri Ratnadeva, 202  
 Mahendra (= Indrarāja) of Kannauj, 285  
 Mahendragiri, 447, 450, 466, 531  
 Mahendrapāla I, Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor, xxxvii, xxxviii, 301, 302, 303, 307, 509, 570, 572, 575, 584, 585, 588  
 Mahendrapāla II, Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor, 572, 573, 585, 588, 590, 591, 594  
 Mahendrasaras (or Madanasaras), a tank in Nepal, 207  
 Mahendravarman, king of Kāmārūpa, 237  
 Mahen-jo Daro, xxx  
 Mahēśvara, 363  
 Mahicandra (also called Mahāla, Mahiyala, Mahala and Mahītala), Gādhavāla prince, 506, 506 fn 4  
 Mahidevī (also named Mahādevī), queen of Mahendrapāla I, 572, 573, 573 fn 1, 584, 585  
 Mahimān, grandson of Parvagupta, 181, 182  
 Mahindaka, Sāndhivigrahika of Dharanivarāha, 583  
 Mahipala; Kacchapaghāta prince, 591, 594  
 Mahipāla I (also Kṣitipāla, Vināyaka-pāla, and Herambapāla), 307, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 586, 590, 593

- Mahipāla** (II Gurjara-Pratihāra prince?), 574, 592
- Mahipāla I**, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 278, 279, 280, 281, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 321, 324, 329, 342, 406
- Mahipāla II**, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 281, 335, 337
- Mahīsa(ndra?) pāla I**, Gurjara-Pratihāra king, 583
- Mahīṣi**, 383, 379
- Māhismatī**, 112 fn 1
- Mahmūd** (Yamini Sultān of Ghazni), 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 35, 36, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99, 135, 136, 137, 514, 542, 596, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 604, 605, 607, 608
- Mahoba**, (ancient Mahotsavanagara), 603
- Mahodaya**, xxxvii, 292, 301, 306, 573, 577, 580, 581, 581, 585, 588
- Mahrat** (*Mahāratha*), 4, 5 fn 1, 6
- Mahṭas** (= *Mahattakas*?) minishari of Orissa, 493
- Maitreya**, A. K., 297, 310, 334
- Maitreya Vyākaraṇa**, MS. of, 306
- Maṇumdar**, D: R C, 9, 315 fn 3, 330, 335, 604
- Makrān** (also spelt Mukrān), 36
- Mālā** (necklace), 86
- Malabar**, 9 fn 2
- Mālava**, 140, 482, 587
- Mālava**, river of, 598
- Mālavikāgnimitram**, 196, 197, 199
- Mālayadevi**, daughter of Udayin and chief queen (*agramahisī*) of Śāmalavarman, 332, 336
- Malaya**, 310, 316, 367
- Malda district**, 288
- Malher** inscription of Jājalladeva II, 470
- Malhi** (or *Malhīrā*), king of Kanauj, 514, 515 515 fn.1
- Mālībāh** (see *al-Mālībāh*), 9, 9 fn ?
- Malik**, 17, 19
- Malik Fīrūz** (see *Fīrūz*), 42
- Malik Husām ud-Dīn Āghūl-Bak**, 370
- Malik Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn Yūzbak-i-Tughrl Khān**, 264
- Malik Ratan** (see *Katan*), 41
- Malkān Malkā**, 55 fn 2, 56
- Malla**, father of Uccala and Susala, 153, 154
- Malla**, general of Kalaśa 144
- Mallas of Nepal**, 204, 209 ff, 211, 212, 213, 215, 216, 221, 222, 227, their coins, 229 fn.1
- Malladatta**, (also spelt *Mallādatta*), *Mahā-saṁdhivigraha*n of Mahābhāvagupta I, 393, 399, 400
- Malladeva**, son of Nānyadeva, Kāṇṇātaka prince, 205 fn.1
- Malladeva** (Rāṣṭra), father of Tribhuvanamahadevi, 421
- Mallakara**, tax, 211
- Mallakosha**, Dāmara, rival of Gargacandra, 162, 163, 165
- Mallapuri**, in Nepal; situated beyond the Gandakī, 210.11
- Mallārjuna**, nephew of Loṭhana, 171
- Malla tribe**, 210
- Malwa**, 9 fn.2, 326, 497, 569, 594, 590
- Mammata**, Rāstrakūta of Hastikupāi, 560
- Ma'mūn** (son of Rashid), 70
- Man**, 15
- Māna** (or *Mānānka*), Rāstrakūta of Mānapura, 555, 556
- Mānabhrta** Dharmarāja (*Saṁlodbhava* prince), 417
- Mānadeva**, Sūryavamsi Licchavi king of Nepal (198 A D ?), 188, 189, 210, built the monastery of Cakra-vihāra, 207
- Mānadeva**, Nayakot Thakuri of Nepal, 207, 208
- Managoli inscription**, 291
- Mānagūha**, royal residence of the Licchavis; built by Mānadeva, 189
- Mānagupta**, great-grandfather of Jisnugupta, 191
- Manahali grant of Madanapāla**, 345, 347, 350, 351
- Mānapura**, 555, 556
- Manbhūm**, 313
- Mānara** (= *Maniāri* ?)-*Pattalā*, 539
- Mānas of Bihar** (Hazaribagh district) 348ff ; Genealogical table, 387
- Mānavanyāyasastra**, MS of, 223
- Manda inscription of Gopāla III**, 351
- Mandal** (see *al-Mandal*) 9, 9 fn 2
- Maṇḍala**, xxxvii, 259, 289, 294, 312, 320 fn 1, 322, 323, 329, 333, 351, 356, 367, 402, 103, 101, 406, 107, 409, 413, 117, 418, 119, 420, 423, 125, 426, 433, 131, 136, 437 fn 1, 110, 443, 446, 452, 609
- Maṇḍalādhipati**, 341, 565
- Mandaleśa**, 128, 133
- Mandalika**, 407, 474, 159
- Māṇḍapikā** (mod. *Mandu*), 586
- Mandārā**, a village, 256
- Mandāra** (= *Sarkār Mandāran* ; head quarters Garh-Mandaran, mod *Bhitargarh*), 360
- Mandāran**, Sarkār of, 469
- Mandasor**, 587
- Mandor**, 9, fn 2
- Mandu**, 587, 590
- Maner plates of Govindacandra**, 369, 520, 529
- Māneśvarī** (goddess); Jaya-Jyotirmalla's devotion to her cult. She continued to be the guardian of his line, 223, 224, 225
- Mangalajathi-Pattalā**, 521
- Mangalarāja**, Kacchapaghāta prince, 591
- Mangapāda**, Kara prince, 417, 418, 420
- Maniāri-Pattalā**, 520
- Ma'n ibn Zā'idah**, 69
- Manidhara**, ruler of the Darads, 163
- Maṇika**, poet, 224
- Mānik Bai**, 32
- Manipur**, 235
- Maṇḍuśri-mūla-tantra**, 200
- Maṅkha**, poet; brother of Alaṅkāra, 172 fn.2

- Mānkīr** (= Mānyakheta), 577, 578  
**Maṅkuna-devi**, Cāṇḍika queen of Rājaraṇja III, 477  
**Maṅṣūr**, Abbasid Caliph, 60, 118.  
**Mansūr** (Arab governor ?), coin of, 13 fn 5  
**Mansūr** (samanid Amir), 79  
**Mansurab**, 11, 11 fn. 4, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23 fn 1, 28 fn. 2, 29; coins of, 19, number of villages dependent on, 17  
**Mansūr ibn Jamhūr**, 18  
**Mantri**, 114, 124, 129, 312, 329, 553  
**Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour L' Histoire de L' Islam**, 8 fn. 6  
**Mānyakheta** (Malkhed), 10, 551  
**Man-Yazid** (in Khurāsān), Jayapāla imprisoned at, 87 fn. 1  
**Maqāmāt**, (system of stations), 24  
**Mārada-vīśaya**, 403  
**Mārasimha**, Ganga prince of Kalinga, 452, 453  
**Marbal Pass**, 111  
**Margan Pass**, 111  
**Mārtānda**, (in one MS. spelt Mārtanda), 78, 146  
**Marū** (lands), 310, 316  
**Maru-Māra**, 9 fn 2  
**Maṣnavī** (see Mathnavī) ?  
**Maṣ'ūd I**, Yamīnī Sultān, 36, 251, 514  
**Maṣ'ūd III**, Yamīnī Sultān, 514, 554  
**Maṣ'ūdi**, 2 fn 3, 4 fn. 3, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 579, 578  
**Maṣ'ūd ibn Sa'd ibn Salmān**, poet, 514  
**Ma-ta-na-lo-mo** (= Matismha ?), 219  
**Mātā-pitr-pādānuḍhyāta**, 415, 417, 421, 425, 426, 428, 429, 432, 433, 436, 437, 439, 441, 458, 463  
**Matha**, 193, in Kashmir for students from Āryadeśa, 128  
**Mathana** (also called Mahana), Rāstrakūṭa chief of Aṅga, maternal uncle of Rāmapāla, 337 fn. 1, 338, 339, 340, 341, 347 564  
**Mathanadeva**, Gurjara-Pratihāra feudatory of Vijayapāla, 592, 593  
**Mathara-vamsa**, 407  
**Mathematics**, 22  
**Mathnavī** (= Maṣnavī) of Amīr Khusrāu entitled *Nuh Sipihr*, 23  
**Mathura**, 598, 608  
**Matismha**, Karnāṭaka ruler of Bhatgaon, 218  
**Matsya kings**, 285  
**Mātsyanyāya**, 278, 282  
**Matsyendranātha**, cult of the Yātrā, of, 192, 196  
**Mau** stone-inscription of Candella Madanavarman, 530, 593  
**Maudūd Shāh**, Sultān of Ghazni, 33  
**Maukharis**, xxiv, xxxvi, 192, 273, 274, 438  
**Maṇuāditya** (god), 348  
**Maurya**, xvii, xxxix, 5, fn. 1, 9, 111, 272, 413, subclan of the Paramāra, 6  
**Māvuraya**, Sandhivigrahaṇ of Anantavarma Codagaga, 462  
**Māyā**, wife of Suddhodana, 295  
**Mayagalasimha**, ruler of Uchhāla, 341, 343  
**Mayurbhanja State**, 423, 427, 434  
**Mayuraśarman**, a Brahman, founder of the Kadamba Dynasty, 356  
**Mayūra-vamśa**, 437 fn 4  
**Mazumdar**, Bengali title, 551  
**Mech** (see Mej)  
**Meds** (same as Mids), 18  
**Medapāta** (mod Mewar), 561  
**Media**, xxxi  
**Medini Mall**, forest of, 228  
**Meghadūta**, MS of, 220  
**Meghamañjari**, queen of Sussala, 167  
**Megheśvara** (Siva), 474  
**Mej** (Mech), a race of people, 260  
**Mekala**, 392 fn. 1  
**Mekalas**, 576, 576, fn 1  
**Meohar** stone inscription of Govindacandra, 540-41  
**Merpādī** inscription of Rājendra Cola, 318  
**Merv**, 60  
**Mesopotamia**, xxxi  
**Mid** (also spelt Med), 7, 12  
**Midnapore**, 342  
**Mihraṇ** (Indus), 8, 16, 19 33, 578  
**Mihrut** (same as Mahrat), 5 fn 4  
**Minsev**-collection of St. Petersburg, 202  
**Ming**, annals of the, 218  
**Minhāj ud-Dīn**, 75, 80, 263, 354, 370, 372, 374  
**Minnagar**, 37  
**Mir Jumla**, general of Aurangzib, 264, 266  
**Mirkhond**, 59  
**Mirmand** (sometimes spelt Marmand), 9, 9 fn 2  
**Mir Ma'sūm**, 8, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 41, 43, 45, 46  
**Mirpur**, 32  
**Mir Tāhir**, 31, 39, 38, 44, 46, 47  
**Mithilā**, 217 fn 3, 360, 364, 368  
**Mithradates**, II, 55  
**Mitradeva** (= Amṛadeva), Nāyakt Tākuri, 208  
**Mirza**, Dr. M. W., 68, fn 1, 603 fn 3  
**Mirza Kalichbeg** Firdūnbeḡ, 3  
**Mitra**, Dr. R. L., 267  
**Mleccha** (Muslim), 10, 139, 152 172, 173, 178, 317  
**Mleccha** (Kīrāṭas and Cīnas), 235, 239, 249, 252  
**Mlecchādhinātha** (Śālistambha), 239, 240, 252  
**Mo-cho**, 64, fn. 3  
**Monghyr**, 273, 290, 294, 298, 304, 347  
**Monghyr grant** (of Devapāla), 284, 288, 290, 293-94, 296, 308  
**Mongolia**, 193  
**Mongolian** (type), 271  
**Mongolian people**, 249  
**Mori**, 6  
**Moris** (Mauryas), 5 fn 1  
**Morya**, 6  
**Mrgāṅka** (a name of Śuśhtavarman), 237  
**Mrgavātī** queen of Paṇḍu, 125  
**Mu'āwīyah** (Caliph), 6, 7, 66  
**Mubārak**, Chamberlain of Jām Tughlaq; usurps the throne for 3 days, 40, 41, 45

Mudgagiri, 293, 290, 369, 526  
 Mudita-kuvalayāśva, 206  
 Mudita-Kuvalayāśva, 222 fn 1  
 Mudrārāksasa, MS. of, 220  
 Mugdhatunga, Tripuri Kalacuri, 396, 401  
 Mughal (also spelt Mughul), 77  
 Mughuls, xxvii, emperor of Delhi, 266;  
     hordes of, 211  
 Mughlī ud-Dīn Tughril (see Mughlīth ud-  
     Dīn Tughlīl)  
 Mughlīth ud-Dīn Tughril, 383  
 Muḥallab (See al-Muḥallab), 7  
 Muhammad (son of Iltutmish Sulṭān of  
     Delhi), 264  
 Muhammad, coin of, 13 fn 5  
 Muhammadans, 74  
 Muhammad 'Afi, 77  
 Muhammad and Naṣr, coin of, 11 fn  
 Muhammad Ghūri, 512  
 Muhammad ibn Bakht-yar, 3, 18, 198, 260,  
     261, 262, 263, 264, 353, 477, 516  
 Muhammad ibn Qāsim, 2, 1, 5 fn 3, 8, 15  
     fn.1, 93  
 Muhammad-i-Shaman, Khalij Amir, 177  
 Muhammad Tughluq, 37, 13, 156, 517  
     fn 2  
 Muhammad Tūr (capital), 32, 31  
 Muhammad Yūsuf, 31, 32, 33, 34  
 Muhatampur, 32, fn 2  
 Mu'in ibn Ahmad, 20  
 Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muhammad ibn Sām (Ghūri),  
     29, 36  
 Mukhalīngam, 418  
 Mukhalīngam, stone-inscriptions of Rāja-  
     cāya II, 4, 474  
 Mukhalīngam, 3 stone-inscriptions of Kāmār-  
     nava VII, 472-73  
 Mukhalīngam, inscriptions of Anantavarmā  
     Codayaṅga, 27, 462-68  
 Mukrān (sometimes spelt Makran), 2, 3, 4,  
     6 fn. 8, 7, 19, 20  
 Mukṭākana, 115  
 Mukta, cook of Haisa (Kashmirian king), 153  
 Mukundadeva Haricandra, Telugu king of  
     Orissa, 498  
 Mukundadeva, Somavamsī king of Katak ?  
     (Orissa), 535  
 Mukundasena, leader of the Khasas and  
     Magars, 215  
 Mulāhida, 26, 26 fn 4  
 Mularāja I, Caulukya of Anahilapūṭana, 561,  
     594  
 Mulla Hamīd, 33  
 Mullik Tublgha, father of Ahmad (Ahmad)  
     Khan, 217  
 Multai grant of Nandarāja, 556  
 Multan, 1, 2, 4 fn 3, 6, 7, 11 fn 1, 16 fn 2,  
     17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 29, 36, 37, 67,  
     80, 87, 88, 89, 95, 113, 578; temple of, 16  
 Multan (idol), 15; Arab policy, 15-  
 Mundas, xxix  
 Muner, 369, 370  
 Muñjarāja (Vākpati), Paramāra king\* of  
     Mālava, 561  
 Muntakhab ut-Tawārikh, 31

Muqaddasi (sometimes spelt Mukaddasi), I,  
     21  
 Muraṭha, (god), 513  
 Murakas, of grain, 458  
 Murala, 576, 576, fn 1  
 Murārī, God, 558  
 Murasīma (mod. Murasīngā in Patna State):  
     camp of victory of Mahābhavagupta I,  
     397, 399  
 Murūj ul-Zahab (sometimes spelt Murūj ul-  
     Dhahab), of Mas'ūdi, 578  
 Murgotten, 9 fn.2, 68  
 Murshidabad, 271  
 Murtigana, Śaiva ascetic, 553  
 Musaladhara (Balarāma), 368  
 Mu-to pi (Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya), 277  
 Muzafarabad, 109  
 Mymensing, District of, 235, 286  
 Mythic Society—its Quarterly Journal, 24

## N

Nadagam grant of Vajrahasta V, 417, 454,  
     457-58  
 Naddūla (mod Nadol), 562  
 Nadia, 274, 342  
 Nāga, Town Prefect of Harṣa, 155  
 Nāga Vāsuki, 196  
 Nāgabhaṭa (I, *alias* Nāgāvaloka I), Gurjara-  
     Pratībhāra king, 9  
 Nāgabhaṭa II (*alias* Nāgāvaloka II), Gurjara-  
     Pratībhāra king, 279, 280, 286, 287, 292,  
     559, 591  
 Nāgadadeva, Mahāksapatalīka and Bhogī  
     of Tribhuvana-mahādevī, 422  
 Nāgalatā, beautiful Domba girl, 126  
 Nāgamalla, son of Jayabhadramalla, 222  
 Nāgananda, MS. of, 215  
 Nāgapāla, brother of Somapāla chief of Rāja-  
     purī, 163  
 Nagar, river, 360  
 Nagara (= Kalīnganagara ?), *pura* built by  
     Kāmārṇava II, 153, 453 fn.3  
 Nagara-bhukti, 291  
 Nagarabāra (mod Jalalabad district), 61, 295.  
 Nāgarī, inscriptions in, 57  
 Nagarkot (mod Kot-Kangra) 62, 63, 93.  
 Nāgarjunadeva, king of Nepal, 201.  
 Nāgas, xxxiii  
 Nāgāvaloga II (Gurjara-Pratībhāra Nāga-  
     bhata II), 558-59  
 Nāgavamsā, 345 fn 5  
 Nāgavamsī (Sindas) of Bastar, 470  
 Nagna-Bhaṭṭāraka, devotee of Śiva, 563  
 Nagpur Museum grant of Mahābhavagupta  
     Janamejaya, 399  
 Nahar, 68  
 Nahusa, mythical king, 362  
 Nāhahī grant of Ballālasena, 361, 364, 366  
     367  
 Na-kie-lo-ho (Nagarabāra), 60  
 Nākkajoṣī, 243, 243 fn-3  
 Nāla, town in Nepal, 213  
 Nālandā, 294, 295, 305, 312, 346  
 Nālandā copper plate of Devapāla, 293, 294-95

- Nalandā image inscription of Devapāla, 295  
 Nālandā stone-inscription of Mahipāla I, 313  
 Nālandā Vāgīśvarī stone-image inscription of Gopāla II, 305  
 Nalandara (Nālandā), 284  
 Nāmgamā, queen of Vajrahasta V, 459  
 Nāma-Karna, 537, 545  
 Nanda (Jām, *alias* Nizām ud-Dīn) 41, 46, 47  
 Nandā (mistake for Bidā), 601, 604, 606, 606 fn.1  
 Nanda Devi, (peak), 185  
 Nandanah, fort of, 95, its location, 95 fn 1  
 Nandan Sar, Lake, 108  
 Nandarāja (*alias* Yuddhāsua), Rāstrakūta of Betul 556, 557  
 Nandas (of Magadha), xxxiv, 272, 316  
 Nandi, Sandhyākara (see Sandhyākara Nandi), 346  
 Nandigupta, king of Kashitir, son of Abhimanyu, 132  
 Nandigupta, grandson of Diddā, 133  
 Nandini-Pattalā, 523  
 Nandivāra-Pattalā, 522  
 Nangā Parvat Mount, 110  
 Nannadeva (or Nannesvara), Śrīpura king, 393  
 Nanna-Nārāyana, temple of, 289  
 Nānya (see Nānyadeva), 359, 361  
 Nānyadeva, founder of the Karnātaka dynasty of Mithila and Nepal, 203, 205 fn 1, 205 fn 2, 206, 212, 215, 253, 281, 353, 360, 364, inscription of, 205, fn 1  
 Nānya mandala, 322  
 Naptha, 539  
 Naraka, mythical king of Kāmārūpa, 5 fn 5, 197, 236, 237, 245, 246, 248, 249, 252, 251  
 Narakānvaya 252  
 Narapāl, 367, 379, 508, 519, 541, 544, 546  
 Narapatijayacaryā-tikā, MS of, 227  
 Naranārāyana, Koch king, 265  
 Narasimha, father of Arikesarin, Cālukya feudatory of the Rāstrakūtas of Mānyakheta, 307, 530  
 Narasimha (same as Narondrasimha), Nayakot Thākuri, 208  
 Narasimhadeva (= Nisimha), Simraon Karpatā prince, 206  
 Narasimha I (also known as Nisimha, Vira-Narasimha and Pratāpa-Vira-Narasimha), Gangā king of Kalunga, 479, 482, 483  
 Narasimha II (also called Nrsimha, Anantavarman Pratāpavira-Narasimha, Vira-Narasimha, Vira-Narasimha-iśuta and Pratāpa-Vira-Narasimha), Gauga king of Kalunga, 359, 468, 483, 484, 495  
 Narasimha III, (also called Nrsimha; his titles are Pratāpavira, Virādhivira, Pratāpa-Virādhivira), Gangā king of Kalunga, 487-90  
 Narasimha IV (also called Nrsimha, Vira-Narasimha and Caturdasabhuvanādhipati), Gauga king of Kalunga, 486, 495, 497  
 Narasimhapura Vijaya-Narasimhapura, 495 fn.4  
 Narasimhārjuna, chief of Kayangala, 341  
 Navasapatam grant of Vajrahasta V, 456-57  
 Naravāhana, ruler of Dārvābhisāra, 118  
 Naravāhana, minister of Abhimanyu, 132  
 Naravarman, Paramāra king of Mālava, 159  
 Naravarman (Paramāra ?) 169, 169 fn 2  
 Nārāyana (god), 5 fn 5 311, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 591  
 Nārāyana, king of Śrīhaṭṭa in the Surma Valley, 267  
 Nārāyana Deva, 5 fn.5  
 Nārāyaṇadatta, Sandhivigrahika of Lakṣmanasena, 377  
 Nārāyanapāla, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 247, 254, 279, 280, 284 285, 288, 289, 291, 294, 300, 303, 304, 308  
 Nārāyana Shāh, Bāgula Rathor prince of Mayuragiri (in Nasik district), 555, fn 1  
 Nārāyanavarman, king of Kāmārūpa, 237  
 Nārāyanavarman, Mahāsāmantādhipati of Dharmapāla), 289  
 Narbada xxxiv, 577  
 Narendrabhaṇḍa, son of Prthivībhāṇḍa, 434  
 Narendradeva, Licchavi king of Nepal, 192  
 Narendradeva, king of Nepal; a successor of Rāghavadeva, 195  
 Narendradeva, Nayakot Thākuri of Nepal, 208  
 Narind, 12, 12 fn 2  
 Naro-Jaypāl, 91 fn.4  
 Nauū-Jaypāl, 601, 602  
 Nasr, coin of, 13 fn 5  
 Nasik, 314  
 Nāsir ud-Dīn (Sabuk-tigin), 81  
 Nāsir ud-Dīn Qabācha, 3, 29, 36, 37, 42  
 Nasr (son of Darhim), 70  
 Nasī, father of Abul-Fath Dā'ūd ruler of Multan, 26  
 Nasrpur, 32, 33  
 Natesa Śiva 323  
 Nāthalladevi, queen of (Jaya)-Ranamalla, 228  
 Nātyasāla, 459  
 Nātyasāstra of Bharata, MS. of, 213  
 Nāujah, 14ā, 383  
 Naukuhsava-bhaksasādhani, 243, 243 fn 1  
 Naurajjaka, 243, 243 fn 2.  
 Nausāri, 9  
 Nausari grant of Indra III, 581  
 Navagrāma-pattalā, 522, 525  
 Navamuni cave inscription of Udyotakesarin, 410, 411  
 Navanagar, 39  
 Nava-sāgara Bhagavatī, Yātrā in honour of, 202  
 Navasāri, 9  
 Nawāsa Shāh (Sukhapāla), son of Śāhi Anandapāla, 89  
 Nāyakadevi, daughter of Jayarudramalla: Queen of Nepal. Marries Haricandra, Gopāla and Jagatsimha one after the other, 221, 221 fn 2, 222  
 Nayakot (in Nepal), 200, 202  
 Nayanadevi, queen of Sthitavarman, 237

- Nayanakeli-devi, queen of Govindacandra, 517, 532
- Nayapāla, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 197, 255, 281, 324, 325, 326, 327, 335
- Nemi (sage), 187
- Nepal, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 202, 204, 206, 207, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224, 226, 274, 281, 299, 331, 353, 359, bibliography, 233-31, dynastic history, 185-234, genealogical tables of 220-232
- Nepālā, 185, 189, 201, 213, 227
- Nepālā-deśa, 214
- Nepal Era - founded by Rāghavadeva 193
- Nepālā-khanda, 221
- Nepālā-mandala, 198
- Neṭabhañja, son of Vidyādharaḥhañja, 436
- Neulpur grant of Śubhakarā I, 414
- Netrbañja Kalyāṇakalasa (son of Rana-bhañja), 428, 429
- Newari character, 200
- Nicholson, 24
- Nidar Bhīm, 95
- Nidayastambha, son of Jayastambha, 413
- Nidhanpur (Sylhet) inscription of Bhāskara varman, 237, 240, 266, 309
- Nidrābala, 341, 344, 345, 358
- Nigali Sagar (also called Nighlva) epigraph (of Asoka), 186 fn.5
- Nighlva (also called Nigalisagar) pillar of Asoka, 212
- Night-soil, Kāyastha trader of, 135
- Niśāṅkaśankara, a *biruda* of Ballālasena, 363, 365
- Nihsankamūha, *biruda* of Udayakarna, 239
- Nilab (Indus), 81
- Niladhvaṇja, first Khayan king overthrew the last Pāla king of Assam, 265
- Nilāmbar, the last Khayan king of Assam, 265
- Nilāśva, Dāmara, 135
- Nile, 578
- Nilgund stone-inscription of Amoghavarṣa, 301
- Nilkantha, mountains of, 228
- Ni-p'o-lo (Nepālā), 187
- Niṣbhayadeva, king of Nepal, 196, 198
- Nirṣtavarman (Pangu), 124
- Nirvāṇa, 24
- Nirvaṇa Era, 383
- Niśāṅkamalla, son of Goparāja, 331
- Niśvāsākhya-mahātāntara, MS of 201
- Niyāl-tigin (see Ahmad Niyāl-tigin)
- Nizāms, 189
- Nizām ud-Dīn (Jām), also called Nanda, 40, 41, 45, 46
- Nizām ud-Dīn (author), 25, 26, 28 fn 1, 29, 33, 34, 36, 91, 92, 95, 98, 136, 137, 371, 373, 601, 604, 606
- Nov-kot (in Marwar), 562
- Nowgong district, 246
- Nowgong copper plate grant of Balavarman, 239, 241, 242, 243, 246
- Nrāmha, Karnātaka of Simraon, 205
- Nūdiāh, city of, 372, 373, 374, 375, 383
- Nudiār, city of, (Nūdiāh), 373, 374
- Nuh Siphir (nine scales), 23
- Numkum peaks, 110
- Nyāyaratna, Pandit Kamgati, 378
- O
- Obrzycko, 76
- Odāmolomādāna-khanda, 496
- Odda cuntry, 460, 461
- Odda-Viśaya, 318, 319
- Odrivisa (Orissa), 278, 291
- Odra, 392 fn 1, 192, 241, 413 fn.7, 277
- Odra-deśa, 403
- Odra-Viśaya, 420
- Ohind, 180
- Ojha, Rai Bahadur G. H., xl.
- Olā-Mandal, 9 fn 2
- Onavala-Pathaka, 523
- Ongā, river, 393, 398 fn.1.
- Ongā-tata-Viśaya, 398
- O po-kin, 61
- Orissa, xxxiii, xxxvii, 251, 273, 341, 342, 361, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 401, 408, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 419, 438, 444, 477, 483, 494, 697, genealogical tables of its rulers, 499-501, bibliography, 502-03
- Orissa plates of (K) Vidyādharaḥhañja, 425, 428, 429
- Orya, kingdom of (Orissa), 191
- Osā fragmentary stone inscription of Vatsa II ? 591
- Ota (Odra), 413 fn 7.
- Otantapura (Odanṭapura), 281
- Ou K'ong, 109
- Oxus valley, 55, 56, 58, 59, 64
- P
- Pabhosa, 609
- Paḍmaññāṇī, a dictionary by Bhallaṇṇa, 121
- Padma, 'lord of the Gate' of Jagadeva, 175
- Padmapura (mod Pāmpar), 126
- Padmarāja, a creditor of Ananta, 140
- Padmasena, Mahāksapatalika and Bhogī of Dandī-mahādevī, 418
- Paharpur, xxxvi, mound at, 289
- Paharpur pillar-inscription, of Mahendrapāla I, xxxvii, 303
- Pahlavi, Sassanian, 57
- Pahto, 31
- Paikor pillar-inscription of Vijayasena, 362
- Paithan plates of Govinda III, 276
- Pāja, Śāhi *rājaputra*, 100
- Pālaka, king of Kāmarūpa, 239
- Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar, xxxvi, 197, 198, 247, 267, 272, 559, 570, 579, 278ff.; origin 282ff.; genealogical tables, 384-85
- Pālas of Kāmarūpa, 249, 254, 256, 265
- Pālaka, king of Kāmarūpa, 247

- Palapāla, Pāla ruler of Bengal and Bihar (?), 282, 352 fn.1
- Pālī, a village near Ratanpur (C. P.), 396, 401
- Pālī-dhvaja, banner, 558, 559
- Pālī grant of Govindacandra, 523
- Palyas, 309
- Pallava, xxi, xxxiii, xxxiv, 470
- Palpa (in Nepal), 215
- Pampa, Kanarese poet; author of Vikramārjuna-vijaya, 307, 580
- Pampa-Bhārata or Vikramārjuna-vijaya of Pampa, 307 fn.2
- Pañcācandra, son of the Dāmara Gargacandra, 169
- Pañcagavya (mod Panjabbar), 177
- Pañcakula Brahmana, 243
- Pañcāla, 235, 508, 552
- Pañcāla-desa, 512
- Pañcāladhārū (mod Pir Panisāl pass), 108
- Pañcāla-viśaya (in Orissa), 415
- Pañcānana (god), 376, 378
- Pañca-viśayādhipati, 459
- Pañcamahāśabda, 407, 419, 426, 432, 436, 437, 437 fn 1, 439, 440, 442, 456
- Pañcaraksā, MS. of, 208, 213, 227 fn 5, 229 fn 1, 324, 330
- Pañcatantra, 24
- Pandala-pattalā, 526
- Pāṇḍava, 187, 354
- Pāṇḍavakulādīpālābda (Kali Yuga), 267
- Pāṇḍava-vijaya, MS. of, 228
- Pāṇḍu, lineage of, 893
- Pāṇḍu (Nirjitarvarman), king of, Kashmir, 124, 125
- Panjabbar, 177
- Pan-jūr, 2
- Pannūn Channūn, 37
- Parabala, Rāstrakūṭa chief of Pathari; father-in-law of Dharmapāla, 288 518, 559
- Paracakra-kāma, a *brūda* of the Nepal king Jayadeva, 192, 241
- Paramabhattacharaka, a technical title of paramount sovereignty, 201, 207, 212, 223, 221, 225, 247, 249, 252, 254, 256, 293, 300, 305, 306, 311, 312, 313, 322, 333, 35, 363, 366, 367, 377, 378, 379, 381, 3 6, 397, 398, 399, 402, 408, 416, 417, 457, 461, 463, 509, 513, 515, 516, 519, 536, 544, 545, 583, 598, 599, 592, 598, 609
- Paramādī (see Paramardīn, Haihaya prince), 483
- Paramardī (also Paramādī) king of Karnāta, 147, 151
- Paramardī, Candella king, 541
- Paramardīn, Haihaya prince (also called Paramādī), 478, 483, 484
- Paramādītyabhakta, sectarian title of solar worship, 584, 585
- Parama-mahājana, 346
- Paramamahāśvara, a Śaiva sectarian title, 245, 256, 361, 363, 365, 366, 397, 402, 407, 408, 419, 425, 428, 429, 437, 439, 410, 111, 412, 443, 457, 458, 459, 461, 509, 513, 515, 519, 544
- Parama-nārasimha, a Vaiṣṇava sectarian title, 376, 378, 379
- Paramāṇṇika, son of Jayasimha, king of Kashmir, 173
- Paramāra, 6, 140, 159, 199, 336, 482, 562, 574, 589, 594
- Paramasaugata, a Buddhist sectarian title, 284, 288, 293, 300, 311, 312, 313, 322, 346, 351, 415, 437 fn.4
- Parama-saura, a sectarian title of solar worship, 367, 379
- Parama-tathāyata, a Buddhist sectarian title, 415
- Paramavaishnava, a Vaiṣṇava sectarian title, 256, 311, 333, 376, 377, 426, 432, 433, 435, 463, 584
- Paramavaishnavī, a Vaiṣṇava sectarian title, 421
- Parameśvara, one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty, 201, 207, 208, 212, 214, 220, 223, 224, 225, 226, 243, 217, 219, 252, 254, 256, 281, 293, 299, 300, 305, 306, 311, 312, 313, 322, 333, 346, 351, 356, 366, 377, 379, 381, 396, 397, 398, 399, 408, 416, 417, 420, 429, 463, 509, 513, 515, 516, 519, 536, 541, 544, 583, 586, 588, 589, 592, 593, 598, 609
- Paramopāśaka, a Buddhist sectarian title, 325, 346, 415, 532
- Pargiter, xxi, xxvi fn 1, 373 fn.2, 112 fn 1
- Parihāsakeśava (Viṣṇu), 154
- Parihāspura, 122, 153
- Parikṣit, Ganga king, 452
- Parikūḍ grant of Madhyamarāja (I), 446
- Parlakimedi grant of Vajrabhāṣa V (?), 458-59, 459 fn 1
- Parnotsa (mod Punch), 97, 108, 112, 131, 143, 163
- Parasang (one=8 miles), 18, c
- Parshāwar (Purusapura), 85 fn 2
- Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II, 572, 585-87, 590, 591, 594
- Pārtha, king of Kashmir, 124, 125, 126, 127
- Parū-Jaypāl, 601 fn.1, 602, 603 fn 3, 605, 607
- Parvagupta, minister of Unmattāvanti; king of Kashmir, 127, 129, 131
- Parvagupteśvara (Śiva), 130
- Pārvatān (mountain tribes), 227
- Pārvatī, the Solankinī, 563
- Pārvatī, (goddess) brass image of, 301
- Pāśaladevi, daughter Jayapāni, a friend of king of Gauda, wife of Gaṅgādhara, 349
- Pāścīma-chhapana-pattalā, 538
- Pāścīma-khanda, 439
- Pāścīma-Lankā, 408, 408 fn 3
- Īśupata-ācārya-pariśad, 300
- Paśupati, temple of (in Nepal), 195, 196, 207, 225
- Paśupati inscription (153+595=748 A.D.), 241
- Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva, 277
- Paśupati temple (Katmandu) inscription of Jaya-Jyotirmalla, 225

Paśupati-sthāna (in Nepal), 214  
 Paśuprekṣa, Somavamsi king of Nepal, 188  
 Pātaka, 252, 516, 517, 518, 521, 522, 525, 526, 538, 539, 545  
 Pātaka (of land), 322, 363  
 Pātala, grandson of Parvagupta, 131  
 Pātaliputra, 289, 290, 527  
 Patan, town in Nepal, 121, 191, 195, 196, 200, 202, 204, 213, 221, 225, 227, 228  
 Patan inscription of Dharmamalla (N S 523), 225  
 Pāter (Pātra), Brahman ministers of Orissa, 493  
 Pathaka, 516, 523, 534, 536  
 Pathari, in Bhopal, 238  
 Pathari stone-pillar-inscription of Parabala, 288, 557  
 Pataikella grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja, 413  
 Patiala, 80  
 Patkar Hills, 235, 264  
 Patn (= Patan in Nepal), 200  
 Patna, city in Bihar, 274  
 Patna, State of (in Orissa), 397, 398, 401, 402, 404, 405  
 Patna grant (i) of Mahābhavagupta I, Janamejaya, 397-98  
 Patna grant (ii) of Mahābhavagupta I, Janamejaya, 398-99  
 Patna grant (i) of Mahāśivagupta, 402  
 Patna grant (ii) of Mahāśivagupta, 404  
 Patna grant (iii) of Mahāśivagupta, 404-05  
 Patna Museum grant of Rānabhaṇḍa, 435  
 Patna Museum plates of Someśvara, 413 fn 1  
 Patta, officer of Harṣa, king of Kashmir, 154  
 Pāṭṭadaka stone-inscription, 204  
 Paṭṭala (Paṭṭalā?), 512  
 Paṭṭalā, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 515, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 533, 536, 537, 538, 539, 541  
 Paṭṭalikā, 528  
 Paṭṭa-mahādevī, a title of the wives of paramount sovereigns, 351, 517, 527  
 Paṭṭa-mahisī, a title of the wives of paramount sovereigns, 476  
 Paṭṭanapura (Anhilvād), 535  
 Paulomī, 294  
 Pavanadūta of Dhoyi, 361, 367, 374, 375  
 Pebha inscription of Bhoja I, 222  
 Persia, 59, 60  
 Persian, 20, 55, 57  
 Peshawar, 27, 58, 61, 63, 84, 85, 88, 89, 92, 295  
 Peshwas, 189  
 Petavyāllaparāja, Śailodbhava king, 447  
 Paṭṭapāla, 413  
 Phalgugrāma, camp of victory of the Senas, 379  
 Phalguṇa, Sarvādhikāra of Abhimanyu, 131, 132, 133  
 Phalgunātha (god), 348  
 Pham-mthā, 197  
 Phulwara (Rohtasgarh) inscription of Vijayacandra, 534  
 Pīṇakapāni (Śiva), 245

Pīrey, 81  
 Pir Pantisāl, range, 78, 107, 108, 109, 111; pass, 108, route, 115, 118, 154, 166  
 Pittharāja, Śāhr prince, 100  
 Pithi (= Magadha), 258, 338, 339, 339 fn 1, 340, 383  
 Pithu, 33  
 Poll-tax, 211  
 Po-lo-men (India), 193  
 Polytheists, 66, 67  
 Posen, 76  
 Postans, Lieut., 3 fn 4  
 Potā(?) - Viṣaya, 399  
 Povā-Viṣaya, 400  
 Prabhākaraśekhara, mantri of Gopālavarman and paramour of his mother Sugandhā, 73, 76, 122, 128  
 Pracandapāndava of Rājasekhara (see Bala-bharata), 576  
 Prācyas, 271  
 Pradhān, 222 fn 1  
 Pradyotas, beginning of the, 222 fn 1  
 Pradyumna (see Pradyumna-Kāmadeva), 201  
 Pradyumna-Kāmadeva (also known as Pradyumna), Nepal king, 201  
 Pradyumneshvara-Śiva, temple of, 361, 362  
 Praetorians, 124  
 Pragaibha, (Ibha?) Ganga king, 452  
 Prāgyotisa, 222, 235, 236, 242, 244, 245, 246, 248, 250, 251, 252, 291  
 Prāgyotisa, Bhukti of, 256, 257  
 Prāgyotsādhipati, title of, Kāmarūpa rulers, 251, 252, 254  
 Prāgyotsāpura, 236, 251  
 Prabhāsa, a Brahman, 255  
 Prājāpati Nandī, father of Sandhyākara Nandī and Sandhyagrābika of Rāmapāla, 347  
 Prajñākara, commentary of, 202  
 Prājyabhāta, chronicle of, 111  
 Prālamba, king of Kāmarūpa, 239, 241, 242, 243, 245, 247, 248, 251  
 Pramara (Paramāra), 31  
 Prāpācāya, 522  
 Prapitāmaheshvara (Śiva), 328  
 Prasādhana-devī, queen of Vināyakapāla I, 585, 586  
 Prasa, 272  
 Pratāpacakravartin, a title of Harṣa, 151  
 Pratāpādabhavala, Jāpālādhipati, 534  
 Pratāpamalladeva, Malla king of Nepal, 216  
 Pratāpasimha, ruler of Dekkariya, 341, 343  
 Pratihāra (officer), 117, 349, 416, 418, 512  
 Pratibhāra, (Gurjara) 222, 223, 224; kings of, 4 fn 3, Mahodaya (Kanaṇ), 573  
 Pratukara, 120  
 Pratindhi (officer), 175  
 Pratigṛhāna, 609  
 Pratigṛhāna-bhukti, 581, 584  
 Pratyanta-nripati, 238  
 Prayāga, officer of Paramānuka, 174  
 Prayāga, devoted personal servant of Harṣa, 146, 155



Prayāga, 277 609  
 Prāyopaveśa, 167  
 Pre-Dravidians, **xxix**  
 Prinsep, 410  
 Pithusena, one of the ancestors of the Senas, 355  
 Pithvibhāṇja, son of Ranabhaṇja, 434  
 Pithvīcandra, 118  
 Pithvīhara, powerful Dāmara, 163, 165, 166, 167  
 Pithvī-mahādevī, queen of Codaganga, 471  
 Pithvīnārāyana, Gurkha king of Nepal, 229  
 Pithvipāla, king of Rājapura, 131  
 Pithvirāja, officer of Rāmādeva, 176  
 Pithvirāja II, Cāhamāna king, 511  
 Pithvirāja-Rāso, 535, 541  
 Pithvirikā, queen of Gāhadavāla Madanapāla, 512, 515  
 Prints (Painotsa = mod Punch), 97  
 Puai (Paiamar, Paramāra), 31  
 Pulakesi, 583  
 Pulakesin Avantijanaśāyaya, 9  
 Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo, 85 fn 2  
 Pūmja, *Rānaka*, 407  
 Punch, 78, 97, 131, 103  
 Pundra, 271, 272, 276, 277  
 Pundra *bhukti*, 322, 333, 334, 337, 313  
 Pundravardhana, city of, 278  
 Pundravardhana (N Bengal to the West of Karatoya), 238, 273  
 Pundravardhana-*bhukti*, 337, 351, 339, 363, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 317, 289, 312, 323, 327, 329  
 Punjab, **xxiii**, **xxxv**, **xxxvii**, 1 fn 3, 10, 15, 57, 58, 60, 71, 76, 79, 80, 88, 90, 91, 99, 107, 108, 109, 112, 113, 118, 137, 138, 140, 333, 302, 570, 579  
 Punjab Hill States, 108  
 Pulindasena, creator of the ancestor of the Sailodbhavas, 415  
 Pun na-fa-tan-na (Pundravardhana), 273, 236  
 Puran, river, 32  
 Purāna, 187, 199, 235, 365, 392 fn 1  
 Purānas (coin), 377  
 Purandarapāla, son of Kāmarūpa king Ratnapāla, 253  
 Purānic legends, 5 fn 5  
 Puranigudam, on the Kalang (in Nowgong District), 216  
 Puri plates (i) of Narasimha, IV, 486, 487, 490, 495 96  
 Puri grant (ii) of Narasimha IV, 496  
 Puri grant of Rāṇastambha (I), 139-40  
 Puri grant of Rāṇastambha II(?), 411  
 Puri Jaypāl, 603 fn 2  
 Puruṣacandra, Candia king, 322  
 Puroha-*Pattalā*, 521  
 Purohita, 512, 516, 586  
 Purohita, corporation of, 149  
 Pururavaa, mythical king, 451, 332  
 Purusaparikṣā of Vidyāpati, 205 fn 1  
 Purushavar (Peshawar), 62  
 Puruṣottama (Puri), 471  
 Puruṣottama, Sena prince, 382

Pūrva-*Viśaya*, 439  
 Puṣpadatta, king of Kāmarūpa, 237  
 Puṣpabhūti (of Thanesar and Kanauj), **xxiv**, **xxxv**, **xxxvi**, 236, 569  
 Puṣyagupta, Vaiśya Rāstriya of Candragupta, 550  
 Puṣyananāda (mod. Pusāna), 166  
 Puṣyavarman, ruler of Kāmarūpa, 237, 239, 240

## Q

Qanbalī, 2  
 Qandābīl, 12  
 Qanīl, 2  
 Qannazbur, 2  
 Qanūj (Kanauj) 578  
 Qarmāṭian, 28, 26 fn 4  
 Qarmāṭian heresy, 35, 22, 22 fn 4  
 Qassah (= Cutch?), 11, 11 fn 3  
 Quraish, 17, 19  
 Quraishite, 14, 18, 28  
 Qundubar, 12, 12 fn.  
 Quṣḍār (also spelt as Quṣḍār), 20, 25, 27  
 Qutayba, 8, 61, 69  
 Qutb ud-Din Aibak, (sometimes spelt Kutb ud Din), Sultan of Delhi, 29, 372, 554

## R

Radda, brother of Chudda, 159  
 Raddi (or Reddi), 550  
 Rādha, 319, 320, 364, 402, 105  
 Rādhā, 272, 321, 331, 333, 335, 337, 312, 314, 355, 357, 358, 305, 180  
 Radhan (see Sanjar), 46  
 Radhanpur grant of Govinda III, 286  
 Rādhaṇaphanvallikandra (mod Rairkhol State), 397  
 Rāghava, Gaṅga king of Kalinga, 353, 359, 360, 361, 472, 535  
 Rāghavadeva, king of Nepal, 193, 194, 195, 212  
 Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya, 316  
 Raghoh plates of Saila Jayavardhana, 276, 447 fn.1  
 Raghu, lineage of, 576  
 Raghudeva, nephew of Naranārāyana, 265  
 Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa, 247  
 Rahan grant of prince Govindacandra (of the time of Madanapāla), 506 fn 2, 512-13  
 Rāhib, river (mod Ramganga), 600, 601, 601 fn 1, 602, 605 fn 1  
 Rabūk, 19  
 Rāj Dan (Jām.), 41, 45  
 Rairkhol State (Orissa), 397 fn.4  
 Rāi Dynasty of Sind, 8  
 Rāi Lakhmaṇīah (see Lakhmaṇīah), 353, 373  
 Raipur district (C P.), 393, 408  
 Rāis (see Rāi Dynasty), 6  
 Rai Unar, Jām. (see Unar), 42

Raiwan grant of Govindacandra, 522  
*Rājā*, 202  
*Rājābhāṣya*, son of *Ranabhaṣya*, 427, 428  
*Rājabhata*, king of Samatata, 275, 283  
*Rājabhāṣādi-vamśa*, 283  
*Rājadeva*, son of Jagadeva, king of Kashmir, 175  
*Rājādhirāja*, a technical title of paramount sovereignty, 207, 208, 212, 214, 220, 225, 226, 241, 432, 463, 583  
*Rajadiraja*, 55  
*Rājagṛha*, 346  
*Rājagṛha-viśaya*, 293, 294  
*Rājalladevi*, daughter of *Nāyaka-devi* and *Jagatsimha*; marries *Jaya Sthitumalla*, 221, 222, 224, 226  
*Rājanaka* (*Rājan* and), 129, 132  
*Rājapāla* (see *Rājapāla*), 304  
*Rājapuri* (mod *Rajauri*), 108, 112, 131, 134, 142, 144, 149, 151, 153, 161, 162, 165, 169, 176, 177  
*Rāmaputra*, 272, 459, 475, 511, 537  
*Rāmaputras* (of Lunar race), 353, 357, 366  
*Rājārāja*, king of Samatata, 275  
*Rājārāja*, son of Ananta, 139  
*Rajaraja*, 55  
*Rājārāja I*, Ganga king of Kalinga, 159, 160, 461  
*Rājārāja II*, Anantavarmā, Ganga king of Kalinga (also known as *Rājendra*), 472, 474, 475  
*Rājārāja III*, Ganga king of Kalinga, Anantavarmā, 476, 477  
*Rājārāṣṭra* (*Śiva*), 161  
*Rājasekhara*, dramatist and author, xxxv, 572, 576, 577, 578, 579  
*Rājasundarī*, daughter of the Cola king *Rājendra* and queen of Ganga *Rājārāja I*, 460, 461  
*Rājatarāṅginī* (of Kalhana), xxxvii, 10 fn 4, 72, 111, 276  
*Rajataraja*, 55  
*Rajavadana*, able and disaffected officer of *Jayasimha*, 172  
*Rājyābāl* (*Rājyapāla*), 603, 604  
*Rājendra Coladeva*, Parakramavarman, 250, 279, 318, 341, 405, 406, 450, 456, 461, 581  
*Rajmahal*, 273  
*Rājī* (queen), a title of the wives of the paramount sovereigns, 212, 325, 379, 519  
*Rajor* stone-inscription of *Mathanadeva*, 592  
*Rajput*, 5 fn 1, 6, 30, 39, 167  
*Rajputana*, xxxiii, xxxv, 28, 38, 587, Western, 39  
*Rajput States*, xxxix  
*Rajput tribes*, origin, 62 fn 2  
*Rajshahi*, 290, 344  
*Rājyamati*, daughter of the *Kāmarūpa* king *Harṣadeva*, and queen of Nepal ruler *Jayadeva*, 241  
*Rājyapāla*, *Pāla* king of Bengal and Bihar, 280, 304, 305, 308

*Rājyapāla*, Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj, 83 fn 2, 91 fn 2, 251, 504, 595, 598, 599, 599 fn 1, 600, 601, 603, 604, 606, 607, 608, 609  
*Rājyapāla*, (Gāhadavāla princes), 525, 526, 532  
*Rajyapala*, *gauraraja*; son of *Devapāla*, 294, 296  
*Rājyapāla*, a son of *Rāmapāla*, 317  
*Rājyapālapura*, 526  
*Rājyapura*, (mod *Rajor*)  
*Rakhetra*, stone-inscription of *Vinūyakapāla*, 579, 581, 585  
*Rala* (na)stambha, 440  
*Rālha-devi* (also called *Rālhanadevi*), queen of *Madanapāla* (Gāhadavāla), 512, 512 fn 2, 515, 520, 525  
*Rālhana-devi* (see *Rālha-devi*), 520, 523  
*Ral-pa-can* (see *Khi lde srong btsan*), Tibetan emperor, 193  
*Rāma* (god), 224, image of, 486  
*Rāmabhadra*, Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor, 292  
*Rāmascaura*, probably a relative and officer of *Sūhadeva*, 179  
*Rāmacarita* (kāvyi) of *Sanḍhyākara Nandī*, 258, 282, 283, 320, 327, 330, 335, 337, 343, 345, 350, 358, 360, 529, 564, 565  
*Rāmādeva*, relative of *Prabhākaradeva*, 123, 129  
*Rāmādeva*, son' of *Samgrāmadēva*, king of Kashmir, 176  
*Rāmādevī*, *Cālukya* queen of *Ballālasena*; mother of *Lakṣmanasena*, 367  
*Ramalavva-viśaya*, 428  
*Rāmānuja*, xxxvi  
*Ramkaran*, Pandit, 562  
*Rampal* grant of *Sri-candra*, 321-22  
*Rāmapāla*, *Pāla* king of Bengal and Bihar, 257, 258, 280, 281, 282, 284, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 350, 351, 353, 360, 361, 514, 529, 530, 564, 565  
*Rāma's* bridge, 291  
*Rāmasimha*, *Karnāṭaka* of *Simroan*, 205  
*Ramathas*, 576, 576 fn 1  
*Ramauti*, in *Sarkar Lakhnauti*, 345  
*Rāmāvatī*, city of, 345, 345 fn 2, 348, 351  
*Rāmāyana*, 346  
*Ramgaya* inscription of *Mahendrapāla*, 302  
*Rām Rāi*, 33  
*Ranabhaṣya*, son of *Satrubhaṣya*, 429, 432, 437  
*Ranabhaṣya*, son of *Sandhaṭa* (*Bhaṣya* prince), 425  
*Ranabhaṣya*, father of *Digbhaṣya*, 428  
*Ranabhaṣya* (son of *Digbhaṣya*), 427, 434  
*Ranabhaṣya*, son of *Silabhaṣya*, 426  
*Ranabhlita*, *Sailodbhava* king, 445, 446  
*Ranajitamalla*, king of *Bhatgaon*, 229  
*Rānaka*, 301, 399, 400, 402, 403, 404, 406, 407, 418, 426, 432, 433, 436, 437, 513, 545 fn 4  
*Ranakesārīn I* (see *Bhavadeva Cintādurga*), 393, 409  
*Ranakesārīn II*, *Sripura* king, 393, 409

- Ranakṣobha, Śaṣṭodbhava prince, 447  
 Raṇamalla (son of Yaksamalla), king of Banepa, 228  
 Rāna (?). *Pattalā*, 524  
 Ranārṇava, Ganga king of Kalinga, 453  
 Rānās of Sind, 37, 42  
 Ranastambha, *alias* (Śūlki king) Kulastambha, 438, 439, 439 fn 1  
 Raṇastambha II, son Kalahastambha, 441, 442  
 Raṇasūra, a ruler of Nepal, 213, 321 fn. 3  
 Raṇasūra, ruler of Takkana-lāḍam, 213 fn 1, 318, 321  
 Raṇasūra, king of Bengal, mentioned by the Kulapaṇḍitās, 320  
 Ranavaṇkamalla (see Harikāladeva), 388  
 Rangpur, 235  
 Ran Mal, 33  
 Rannādevi, daughter of Parabala and queen of Dharmapāla, 288, 569  
 Rantbil (see Ratbil), 15  
 Rāpadī (or Rāvaḍī)-Visaya, 524  
 Rapson, Prof., xxix, 57  
 Rapti river, 185  
 Rashid (Caliph), 70  
 Rashid ibn 'Amr, 7  
 Rāstra, 550, 551  
 Rāstika, 550  
 Rāstrakūṭa, officer, 550  
 Rāstrakūṭas origin of, 550 51  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Bihar (Anga), 338, 564ff. Genealogical table, 387  
 Rāstrakūṭas of C. P. & C. I., 555ff  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Betul, 556ff.  
 Rāstrakūṭas (Rathadās) of Bithur, 559, 563ff  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Deccan (Mānyakheta), xxxiv, xxxvii, 10, 279, 287, 292, 303, 304, 307, 311, 551, 556, 557, 558, 569, 577, 579, 580, 581, 582, 588, 590, 593, 594, 695  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Dhanop, 559, 562ff  
 Rāstrakūṭas, Gujarat branch, 551  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Hastikundi, 569, 560ff  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Kanauj, 551  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Kathiawar, 565  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Mānapūra, 555ff  
 Rāstrakūṭas (of N India), 288, 505, 551ff. Genealogical tables, 566 67, Bibliography, 568  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Pathari, 557ff  
 Rāstrakūṭas of Rajputana, 559ff  
 Rāstrapāla (officer), 550  
 Rāstrapati, officer, 550  
 Rāstraudas, 550  
 Rāstrauda-vamśa, 562  
 Rāstrauda-vamśa-mahākāvya of Rudrakavi, 555 fn 1  
 Rāstraudha, prince of Kanauj, 555 fn 1.  
 Rāstriya (officer), 550  
 Rāstroda, 560  
 Rāstroda-vamśa, 565  
 Rctan, 41  
 Ratbil (same as Rutbil, Rantbil and Zunbil); a title; not Arabic, possibly Turkish, 67, 68, 69, 70  
 Rāthadās, 550  
 Rāthoda, 563  
 Rathor (sometimes spelt Rathor), 37, 505, 563, of Jodhpur, 551, 552, 564  
 Ratnadeva, Nayakot Thākuri, 208  
 Ratnadeva II, Kalacuri of Tummāna, 470  
 Ratnadeva III, Kalacuri of Tummāna, 470  
 Ratnādevi, queen of Balavarman, 237  
 Ratnākara, poet; author of Haraviṇaya, 115  
 Ratnamalla (son of Yaksamalla), king of Katmandu, 228  
 Ratnakīrti, teacher of the Vihāra & Vikramasīlā, 197  
 Ratnapāla (also called Śrī-Varāha), king of Kāmarūpa, 239, 241, 242, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254  
 Ratnavardhana, son of Sūra, 115; *Pratihāra* of Avantivarman, 117  
 Raṭrakas, 550  
 Ratta, 550  
 Rāuta (Rājaputra?), 523, 534, 538, 540, 545  
 Raverty, 36 fn. 3, 477  
 Ravi, xxix, 118, 119  
 Rawalpindi, 109, 112  
 Rāyabhaṇḍa II, son of Virabhaṇḍa, 431, 435  
 Rāyabhaṇḍa I, son of Devabhaṇḍa, 431  
 Rāyamalla (son of Yaksamalla), king of Bhatgaon, 228  
 Rāyārīdeva, *alias* Triḷokyasīmha, king of Kāmarūpa, 259, 260, 360  
 Raychaudhuri, Dr H C, xxxi fn 1, 5 fn 5, 275 fn 1, 360  
 Rayipadu stone-inscription of Coḍagaṇḍa, 464  
 Razān, 67  
 Ren grant of Govindacandra, 522-23  
 Reva, river, 291  
 Rgveda, x, x  
 Rib'i ibn al Kas, 66  
 Rithana, officer of Kashmirian king Jayasimha, 173  
 Rincaña (Rin-chen). a Tibetan (Bhoṭṭa); usurps throne of Kashmir, 178, 179  
 Ripurāja-Gopi-Govinda (see Keśavaḍeva), 267  
 Rishikulya, river, 423  
 Risley (Sir Herbert), 271  
 Rohini, wife of Candra, 332  
 Rohitāḡi(rī) [= Rohtas gadh?], 322, 419.  
 Rohri, 3, 7 fn 4  
 Rohtasgarh, 419  
 Romans, 56  
 Ronanki stone-inscription of Anantavarmā Coḍagaṇḍa, 462  
 Royal Asiatic Society's grant of Vijayacandra, 533 34  
 Royarā-visaya, 426  
 Rṣabhanātha, first Tirthaṅkara, 561  
 Rnbies, 86  
 Rudrakavi, author of Rāstrauda-vamśa-mahākāvya, 555 fn.1  
 Rudamaṇvayālini-*Pattalā*, 523  
 Rūdhabbhārādībi (Corvée), 121  
 Rūdoka, brother of the Kaivarta king Divvoka, 340  
 Rudra (Śiva), 246

Rudradāman, Western Ksatrapa, 550  
 Rudradeva, king of Nepal, 196, 198  
 Rudradeva, Nayakot Thākuri, 208  
 Rudramāna, ruler of Magadhā, 349  
 Rudrapāla, Sāhi prince; friend of Ananta;  
 married Asamatī, d of Rudrapāla, of  
 Jālandhara, 99, 138, 139  
 Rudras, 423  
 Rudrasīkhara, ruler of Tulakampa, 311,  
 343  
 Rukhkhāj, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69  
 Rumminder epigraph (of Aśoka), 186 fn.5  
 Runn of Cutch, 9  
 Rūpāh, 87  
 Rupyā (coin?), 439  
 Rutbil (same as Ratbil, Rantbil and Zunbil),  
 65

**S**

Sāban tar (= Sāwantara = Sāmanta Rāy?),  
 481  
 Sābhā, of scholars, 172 fn 2  
 Sabuk-tigin (Malmūd), Amir of Ghazni, 25,  
 26, 27, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 493, 596  
 Sachau, 11 fn 4  
 Saciva, 518  
 Sacy, S. de, 603  
 Sa'd (Zamindar), 32  
 Sadāsena, Sena prince, 382  
 Sadāśiva (god), shrine of, 139, 363, 376, 379  
 Sadāśivadeva (see Śivadeva), Nayakot Thā-  
 kurī ruler of Nepal, 203, 281  
 Sadāśiva-mudrā, 363, 366, 380, 381  
 Saddharma-Pundarika, MS of, 19<sup>1</sup>, 201  
 Sādhana Samuccaya, MS of, 212  
 Sādhu Saharana, a Vapika, 310  
 Sadiya (Vidarbha), 261  
 Saduktikaināmā, of Śrīdhuradāsa, 319,  
 368, 366, 374, 375, 382  
 Saffarids, 13, 35, 70, 77, 79  
 Sagara, mythical king, 298  
 Sagara, milk-brother of Ananta, 138  
 Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription of Bhoja I,  
 279, 286, 302  
 Sagastān, 65  
 Sāhamera (Shāh Mir) Samsadīna (= Sams-  
 ud-Din), 177, 179, 180  
 Sahaṇa, fort of, 175  
 Sāhānusāhi, 55 fn 3  
 Sāhasamalla, Son of Goparāja, 334  
 Sāhasāṅka, 361, 366  
 Sahasija (?), Mantri of Vighrapāla III,  
 329  
 Sahasralinga (god), 348  
 Sahasramāṅgala, a noble of Kashmir, 161  
 Sahasrārjuna, 588  
 Sajastān, 65, fn 1  
 Sāhasi I, 3, 4  
 Sāhasi II, 3, 4 fn 4, 5 fn 1  
 Sāhis of Afghanistan (Kabul) and Punjab—  
 Turki, 71, 72, Hindu or Brahman, 25, 26,  
 27, 55, 55 fn 3, 56, 59, 61, 63, 64, 72, 73,  
 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86,

87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 36, 97, 98, 99, 100,  
 101, 101 fn 1, 112, 119, 123, 130, 138,  
 139, 140, 151, 595, 596, coins of, 102-03;  
 Genealogical tables, 103; Bibliography,  
 104-06  
 Sāhi kings of Kīna, 572  
 Sāhi-Sāhānusāhi, 58  
 Sāhība, 33  
 Sāhiputāh, 99, 138  
 Sāhitya Parisat grant of Viśvarūpasena,  
 380  
 Sāi capital of the Sammas, 39  
 Sa'id (Sa'id ibn Aslam ibn Darā?), 2  
 Sailavāna (= Sailodbhava dynasty?), 447  
 fn 1  
 Sailodbhava, ancestor of the Sailodbhavas,  
 445, 446  
 Sailodbhavas, 414, 111ff.  
 Saila dynasty, 276, 277  
 Sailendra dynasty (Vamā) of Java, 294  
 Sailendra king of Yavabhūmi, 293  
 Sainyabhita, *biruda* of Mādhavarāja II, 444,  
 445, 446  
 Sainyabhita II, *biruda* of Mādhavavarman,  
 415, 446  
 Saistān, 65 fn 1  
 Saivism, 179, 356, 415  
 Śākambhari, capital of the imperial Cāhamā-  
 nas, 535  
 Saka-Pahlava, 22411  
 Saka *Sāmantas*, styled Sāhi and their em-  
 perors Sāhānusāhi, 55 fn 3  
 Sakas, game birds of, 250  
 Sakas (= Muslims?), 139, 481 fn 3  
 Saka-stāna, 65 fn 1  
 Śakkarakottam (Cakrakotta, Cakrakūṭa), 470  
 fn 3, 470 fn 1  
 Sakrasing Deo (= Śaktisimhadeva?), Simraon  
 Karnāta ruler, 206 fn 1  
 Śaktisimha, Karnātika of Simraon (Tirhut),  
 205  
 Śaktisimhadeva, Karnātika ruler of Bhat-  
 gaon, 218, 226  
 Śākya-viksu, 299  
 Sāla, king of Champā (see Sālavāhanadeva),  
 141  
 Sālāddanāga, *Dūtala*, 368  
 Sālāh ud-Din, Jām, 40, 41, 45, 47  
 Sālānatunga, Tunga king, 419  
 Sālāstambha, ruler of Kāmarūpa, 239, 240,  
 241, 242, 244, 245, 246, 252  
 Sālāsthala, battle of, 139  
 Sālāvāhanadeva (see Sāla), 141  
 Sālhana step-brother of Uccala, 160, 161,  
 171, 172  
 Sālīh, 8  
 Sālīh, son of Darhim, 70  
 Sālīmā, 11ver, 444  
 Sālimpur, Mauza in the Bagra district, 255  
 Sālimpur stone-inscription of Jayapāla, ruler  
 of Kāmarūpa, 255  
 Sālārā Vismaya, Turuška (Muslim?) chief,  
 165  
 Salmān (see Ma'sūd ibn Sa'd ibn Salmān),  
 514, 515

- Salt Range, 25, 87, 333  
 Sām = Jām = Jāmahid(?), 83, 38 fn 5  
 Samāh, the sons of, 28 fn 4  
 Samālā (mod. Hamal), 109, 168  
 Sāmalavarmanadeva, Varman king, 332, 333, 336  
 Sāmānd (Sāmanta), 77, 723  
 Samānids (also spelt Sāmānids), 13, 25, 70, 76, 79  
 Sāmāta, 124, 129, 339, 340, 341, 358, 361, 428  
 Sāmānta, Sāhi ruler, 72, 76, 77, 123  
 Sāmānta-caḥka, 358  
 Sāmāntas (Sāmānta-caḥka), of Rāmapāla, 339, 340  
 Sāmāntasena, Sena prince, founder of the Sena Dynasty in Bengal, 353, 355, 356, 362, 363, 366, 378  
 Samāra (sometimes spelt Sāmra), 31, 31 fn 3  
 Samearavaman, a rival of Śankaravaman, 118  
 Samatāṭa (Bengal delta between the Hughli and Hill Tippera), 272, 273, 274, 275, 300, 315  
 Samatāṭiya-nala, 363  
 Sām̐ba, son of Kīṣṇa, 38  
 Sām̐ba, governor of Chach at Debal, a Samma (?), 39  
 Sambalpur, district of, 101  
 Sambalpur tract, 391, 394, 395  
 Sambhu (god), 251, 362, 376  
 Saṃbhuvardhana, *Gṛhakṛtya* of Cakṛavartin, usurps throne, 126  
 Sāṃdhivigraḥika, 583  
 Saṃgha (Buddhist), 522  
 Saṃgiāma, a Dāmara, 96, 126, 130, 132  
 Saṃgrāmacandra, Lord of Lahur, 177  
 Saṃgrāmadeva (Vakīāṅghri), son of Yaśasvara, 129  
 Saṃgrāmadeva, son of Rājadeva, king of Kashmir, 175, 176  
 Saṃgrāmapāla, the minor prince of Rājapuri, 144, 149, 153  
 Saṃgrāmarāja, nephew of Diddā king of Kashmir, 91 fn 4, 95, 134, 135, 138, 153  
 Saṃhūtāpātha, MS. of, 226  
 Sāmra (also spelt Samāra), 31  
 Sāṃkarsana, metallic image of, 295  
 Sāṃkata, 123  
 Sammaga-Visaya, 466  
 Samma-nagai, 39  
 Sammas (tribe), 31, 35, 36, 40, 42, origin of 38, a branch of the Yadu race (Tod), 38, held Hindu faith, 38, then heterodoxy, 38, Hindus or Buddhists, 39, of Cutch, 33, owners of land in Sind, Gujrat and Rajputana, 38, their conversion to Islam, 39, thieves, 38  
 Saverāja (joint ruler), 215  
 Sām̐rāja, 454, 459, 593  
 Samrāt, 410  
 Samsāradevi, queen of Jaya-Jyotirmalla, 225  
 Samsadina (Sams ud-Dīn), see Sāhamera, 180  
 Samudrā, queen of Rāmadeva, 176  
 Samudradatta, Mahākṣapaṭalādīkṛta of Subhakaradeva, 415  
 Samudragupta, Gupta Emperor, 55, 57, 189, 238  
 Samudravaman, king of Kāmarūpa, 287, 238  
 Sāmūi (also called Sāi, Samūiya and Samma-nagai), 89  
 Samūiya, 39  
 Samvaivādi-maṇḍala, 402  
 Samvā-Visaya, 461, 463  
 Samvedin, Ganga prince, 451  
 Samvedya, Ganga prince, 451  
 Saṃyogitā, daughter of Jayacandra, 535, 541  
 Sāṃdānā-Visaya, 400  
 Sāṃdhivigraḥika, 351, 434  
 Sāṃdhivigraḥika, 347, 367, 377, 430, 431, 557  
 Sāṃdhivigraḥin, 335, 407, 427, 457, 462  
 Sāṃdhivigraḥiya (hika?), 425  
 Saṃdhyākara Nandī, author of *Rāmacarita*, 258, 337, 346, 564  
 Saṃjā (Jām), commonly called Rāḍhan, 40, 46  
 Sanga, Town in Nepal, 213  
 Sangachok (in Nepal), 228  
 Saṃgata(?), king of Uraśā, 144  
 Sāṅgho-po-lo (Simhapura), 61  
 Sanir, son of Dhamrāj Kureja Samma Rānā of Tung, 37  
 Sanjan giant of Amoghavarṣa, 286, 287  
 Sanjar (Jam), 41  
 Sanknāt (also spelt Saknāt), 373  
 Sanku, Saiva teacher, xxiiv  
 Sankarī, 252  
 Sankaradeva, king of Nepal (Thākuri of Nayakot), 201, 202, 203  
 Sankaradevi daughter of Mahana and queen of Devarakṣita, 339, 528, 565  
 Sankaragaurīśa (Śiva), 121  
 Sankarapura (mod Patan in Kashmir), 121  
 Sankaravaman, king of Kashmir, 72, 73, 75, 117, 118, 119, 124  
 Sankha, 456  
 Sankhagṛāma, 341  
 Sankhajotivālyā-maṇḍala, 440  
 Sankharāja (see Chudda), 159  
 Sankosh (mod Gadadhar) river, 265  
 San Kosi river, 185  
 Sanku, town in Nepal, 195  
 San-mo-ta-t'a (Samatata), 274  
 Santal Parganas, 303, 304  
 Sāntikara, son of Laltabhāra (Kara king), 422  
 Sāntipātaka, a village, 256  
 Santovard-khaṇḍa, 402  
 Pao, 55  
 Paonanopao, 55  
 Sapt-Gaṇḍaki, 185  
 Sapt-Kosi, 185  
 Sarabhapura kings, 395, 396  
 Sardi, 109  
 Sāradvaja, Gaṅga king, 452

- Sarandip, 27 fn 2  
 Sarkār, 341, 345, 469  
 Sarnath, xxxiii, 197, 293  
 Sarnath stone-inscription of Kumāradevi  
 (queen of Govindacandra), 29, 339, 528,  
 564  
 Sarnath stone-inscription of Mahīpāla I,  
 313, 316  
 Saruvārāṇavalā-Pathaka, 516  
 Sarvadatta, *Sandhivigraha* of Satrubhaṇja,  
 434  
 Sarvādhikāra (Prime-minister), 131, 140,  
 162  
 Sarvādhikārin, 164  
 Sārvali of Kalyāṇavarman, MS of, 214  
 Sarayū, river, 510  
 Sassanian, 56, 57  
 Sassanids, 55 fn 2, 58, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64  
 Sāsānika Kāyastha, 437  
 Saśānka (moon), 431  
 Saśānka, Gauda king, 273, 311, 311  
 Saśānka-rāja, (same as Saśānka) Gauda King,  
 444  
 Śāstī, H P, 214, 336, 312, 263  
 Śaṣṭhacandra, military officer of Jayasimha  
 (king of Kashmir), 173  
 Śātānanda, author of Bhāsvatī, 471  
 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 271  
 Śātavāhanas, xxxiii  
 Śatdhara inscription, 189 fn 1  
 Śatī-Nāyakadevi (see Nāyakadevi), 221  
 Śatrap (of Sijstān), 65, 66, 70  
 Śatrapas of Ujjayinī, xxxiii  
 Śatrubhaṇja, successor of Angatī (?), 493  
 Śatrubhaṇja, Bhaṇja king (son of Silabhaṇja),  
 425, 426, 429, 436, 437  
 Śattvabādhāprasāmana, MS of, 212  
 Saugata, 290  
 Saugata-Parivrajaka, 522  
 Saulikas (= Śūlās), 138  
 Saurāṅga, Ganga King, 152  
 Saurāṣṭra, 4 fn 2, 9  
 Saurāṣṭra-maṇḍala, xxxviii  
 Saurī Nārāyaṇa, 509  
 Sāvāja, Gurjara-Pratihāra chief, 592  
 Śāvasthī (Śrāvastī)-maṇḍala, 109  
 Scytho-Sasanians, 57  
 Seated goddess and standing Rājā type, coin,  
 122  
 Seistan (ancient Sīstān), 33  
 Seka-nirdeśa Pañjikā, MS of, 202  
 Semetic, 596  
 Sena dynasty of Bengal, 203, 205, 320, 312,  
 314, 316, 352ff., chronology of, 353-51,  
 origin of, 351ff., Somavamsa, 367, Genea-  
 logical table, 386; Bibliography, 388ff  
 Senāpatī (a caste name), 196  
 Senādhyaṅga, 241  
 Senas, Jaina teachers in Dharwar, 355  
 Senas of Pithī, 383; Genealogical table, 387  
 Seng-chi, Chinese traveller, 275  
 Seng ha-pu-lo (Sinhapura), 333  
 Seta, Rathadā Kūṃvara of Bithu, 563  
 Set Mahet grant of Govindacandra, 521-22,  
 531  
 Set Mahet stone inscription of Vidyādhara  
 (of the reign of Gāhadavāla Govindacan-  
 dra), 505, 507, 518, 554  
 Setrām (see Seta), 561  
 Seybold, Prof Ch, 75, 76  
 Shādhīpūr, 116  
 Shahabadpur, 74  
 Shāh Alam, 77 fn 2  
 Shāha Mir (شاہ میر) see Sāhamera, 177,  
 156  
 Shāhānshā, 55, fn 2  
 Shāhiya (Shāh) of Kabul, 62, 75  
 Shāh Qāsim Khān, 31  
 Shāhpur image inscription of Adityasena,  
 171, 192  
 Shaik Ibn Sūmar Rāja Bal, 36  
 Shaikh Hamīd Lodi, 25, 26, 28, 31  
 Shākapur, 32  
 Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, author of *Ta'rikh-i-  
 Firūzshāhī*, 39, 42, 43, 491, 194  
 Shams ud Din, 36  
 Shams-ud Din Ilyās Shāh, Sultān of Bengal,  
 490-91  
 Shan race (or tribe), 219, 266  
 Shāpur II, 56  
 Shāiqī king of Jaunpur (Hōshang), 497  
 She-kie-lo (Śākala), 117 fn 2  
 Shegadh stone inscription, 563  
 Shihāb-ud-Dīn, king of Kashmir, 43  
 Shikarjong (also spelt Shakar Dzong), 227  
 Shukapur, 1  
 Shiraz, 2  
 Shirahi, 68  
 Shu-to-lo, 3  
 Sialkot, city, 108, district, 107  
 Sidau (ancient Siddhapatha), 108  
 Siddhāhimbā-Visaya, 434  
 Siddha-patha (mod Sidau or Būdī), 108  
 Siddhisāra, a work on Astrology by the  
 Nepal king Jyotīmalla, MS of, 225, 226  
 Sigurodha-Pattalā, 513  
 Sihadeva, probably the same as Narasimha  
 = Narendrasimha; Nayakot of Thākuri,  
 208  
 Sihapura (in Iālā), 333  
 Sihapur (in Kalinga), 331  
 Sihā (Siyān), Rathadā prince of Bithu, 563,  
 564  
 Sihras I, 3  
 Sihras II, 3  
 Sijstān, 13, 61, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69  
 Sikandar, father of Jām Fath Khān, 45  
 Sikandar, Jam, 40, 41, 46  
 Sikandar Khān Ghāzi, 267  
 Sikkam (also spelt Sikhim), 185  
 Silābhaṇja, father of Satrubhaṇja, 426, 429  
 436  
 Silābhaṇja, son of Digbhaṇja, 428, 436  
 Silsilat-ul-Tawārikh, 10 fn. 5, 11 fn. 2  
 Silābhaṇja-pāṭī, 403  
 Silābhūt (sculptor), 288  
 Sijah ibn Ashtam Abū's-Ṣabḥā, 67  
 Śīlāhāra, 172  
 Sūpti, 312, 325, 329, 351, 340

- Śilpi-goṣṭhi, 362  
 Simarāmapura (mod. Simroon), capital of Nānyadeva and his successors, 204 fn 4  
 Simhale, island of, 588  
 Simharāja, lord of Lohara and father of Didda, 130  
 Simhadeva 'chief of Labdar of Dakṣiṇapārā', declares himself king of Kashmir, 177  
 Simhanāda, 540  
 Simhapura (mod. Salt Range), 61, 112  
 Simhapura (or Sihapura; mod. Singapuram), in Kaluṅga, 332, 333, 334  
 Simharāja, lord of Lohara, 78  
 Simharāja, a Dard ruler (?), 122, 122 fn 3  
 Simraon (ancient Simarāmapur), 203, 216, 217, 221  
 Sinan ibn Salāmab, 2, 7  
 Sinau ud-Dīa Chatisar, Sūmra Malik, 36, 37  
 Sind, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 42, 46, 47, 63, 113, 298, 578, 579, 595, annual revenue of 21, Dynastic History, 1-51, Genealogical tables, 47-51, Bibliography 62-64  
 Sind Valley, 110  
 Sindān, 10, 13 fn. 1, 13  
 Sindi, 21  
 Sindhu, treasurer of Abhimanyu, 132  
 Sindhu (country), 9, 305  
 Sindhu (Indus), 2 fn. 3, 116, 119  
 Sindhu-Sauvira, 1  
 Sindurapora, place of residence of Codaganga, 464  
 Sinzadatta, *Sandhivigraha* of Mahābhavagupta II, 407  
 Singara family, feudatory of the Gāhādavālas, 524  
 Singhapura, 333  
 Singhar, 32  
 Singharā grant of Rānabhaṅga (I), 137  
*Sin-tu*, 1  
 Sirahšilā, castle of, 109, 172  
 Sirasi-Pattala, 516  
 Sirhind 57, 50  
 Sirur stone-inscription of Amoghavarṣa, 301  
 Siṣah (son of Dāhūr), 7 fn 5, 9 fn 2  
 Śisna-devah, xxx  
 Sitā, image of, 486  
 Śilādēvī, Paramāra queen of Narasiṃha I, 482  
 Sistān (also spelt Seistan, Sistan), 4, origin of the name and area indicated by it, 65 fn 1  
 ✓ Śivā (god), 57, 62, 115, 121, 130, 223, 232, 244, 245, 253, 300, 302, 328, 361, 362, 366, 420, 442, 475, 478, 495, 553, 562, 563, ten-armed figure of, 363  
 Śivadeva, Licchavi king of Nepal, 211  
 Śivadeva (II), Licchavi King of Nepal, father of Jayadeva Paracakrakama, 188, 192, 193  
 Śivadeva, Thākuri prince of Nepal (Nayakot Branch), 203, 206  
 Śivagupta, Somavamśi of Kosala, 394, 395, 396, 397  
 Śivakara I, Bhārsaha (Kara king), 415, 416, 420  
 Śivankara (= Śivakara II), Kara king 415, 416  
 Śivarāja, Mahārāja, 418  
 Śivarāja, nephew of Mahana (Mathana), 340, 565  
 Śivasimha, king of Mithilā of Sugaunā dynasty, patron of Vidyāpāti, 217 fn. 3  
 Śivasvāmin, poet, 115  
 Śiwi (Sihī, Siboi?), 37  
 Śiwistan (Sibisthāna or Sijistan?), 4, 41, 46  
 Śiyadon stone-inscription of Devapāla, 572, 587-88  
 Śiyāji (see Śihā), 564  
 Śiyaka, Paramāra prince, 589, 594  
 Skandakas, 121  
 Skandabhavanavahāra, 130  
 Slaves, 60  
 Smith, Vincent A., xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxviii, 5 fn 3, 606, 607  
 Smṛti, 365  
 Snowy Mountains (Hindukush), 60  
 Soda-mandala, 453  
 Sodhadeva Guṇāmbodhi, Kalacuri of U P., 594  
 Sodhas, 33  
 Sodra (Wazirabad), 89  
 Solanabhaṅga, Bhaṅga prince; retires to Benares, 433  
 Solanki, 37, 563  
 Solai Dynasty (Sūrya-vamśa of Orissa), 497-98  
 Solkī (= Śulki), 442  
 Soma, Ganga king, 452  
 Soma of Paduvānvā, 341  
 Somakula, 295, 307, 399, 409  
 Somapāla, chief of Rājapuri, 163, 165, 169, 170  
 Somasambhu, author of *Ḥarṇakriyā-kāṇḍa*, 212  
 Somavamśa, 315 fn 6, 317, 379  
 Somavamśi, 398  
 Somavamśis of Kosala (also sometimes called Somavamśis of Orissa and Somavamśis of Katak, i.e., Cuttack), 393ff., 424, 440-41, 535  
 Somavamśis (of Nepal), 187, 188  
 Somalamahādevī, queen of Codaganga, 471  
 Somavarman, king of Campā, 141  
 Somatā, daughter of a Gauḍa Brahman and wife of Virasena, 354  
 Someśvara I, Cālukya king of the Deccan (capital Kalyāna), 203, 251, 331, 356  
 Someśvara, Brahman minister of Devapāla, 291  
 Someśvaradeva, Nayakot Thākuri of Nepal, 204 fn 3, 209  
 Someśvara, Kumārādhirāja of Suvarṇapūra, 408, 409, 412  
 Someśvara III, Bhūlokaṃalla, son of Vikramāditya VI, 204  
 Someśvara, Cāhamāna king, 535  
 Somnāth, 27, 28 fn. 2, 66  
 Son, river, 304, 529

- Song-Yun, ambassador of the Wei dynasty, 59  
 Sonpur grant of Kumāra Someśvaradeva, 408-409, 410  
 Sonpur grant of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, 396-97  
 Sonpur grant (s) of Mahābhavagupta Yayāti, 401-02 405  
 Sonpur grant (u) of Mahābhavagupta Yayāti, 403-04  
 Sonpur grant of Satrubhaṅga (c), 425, 426  
 Sonpur, state of (in Orissa), 396, 401, 405, 408, 423, 426, 432, 437  
 Sonpur, town in Kashmir, 168  
 Sorath, 12 fn.2  
 Specht, 58  
 Sphoṭikāvidya, MS. of, 206  
 Sramapasa, 197  
 Śrāvastī, 255  
 Śrāvastī-Bhukti, 308  
 Śrāvastī-Mandala, 404, 406  
 Śrāvastī-Visaya, xxxvii  
 Sreṣṭhin, 408  
 Sri, goddess, 515  
 Śricandra, Candra king of E. Bengal, 321, 322, 334  
 Śrīdhara, a Brahman, 256  
 Śrīdharadāsa, compiler of Saduktikānāmā, 349, 375  
 Śrīdharasvāmin, 199  
 Śrīdhautamāna, merchant, 349  
 Śrīghana (Buddha), 540  
 Śrīhat (Śrīhatta = Sylhet), 267  
 Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, 172 fn 2  
 Śrīkurman, 2 stone-inscriptions of Bhānu-deva I, 482  
 Śrīkurman, 3 stone-inscriptions of Bhānu-deva III, 490  
 Śrīkurman, 3 stone-inscriptions of Kāmār-nava VII, 473  
 Śrīkurman, 1 stone inscription of Nara-simha I, 475  
 Śrīkurman, 12 stone inscriptions of Nara-simha II, 484-86  
 Śrīkurman, 13 stone-inscriptions of Nara-simha III, 488-89  
 Śrīkurman, 4 inscriptions of Nara-simha IV, 495-96  
 Śrīkurman, stone-inscription of Rājārāja III, 476  
 Śrīlekṣhā, licentious mother of Harināja, 138  
 Śrinagar, 133, 154  
 Śrinagara (mod. Srinagar), 101, 108, 109, 111, 123, 127, 131, 134, 135, 146, 154, 155, 164, 165, 167, 169, 175  
 Śrinivāsa, alias of Madhavavarman, 445  
 Śrī-Nagara-bhukti (same as Nagara-bhukti), 294  
 Śrīpura (mod. Sirpur, Raipur district, C P.), 393, 394  
 Śrīpura kings, 393, 409  
 Śrīvara, chronicle of, xlii  
 Śrīvardhana, Kashmiran general, 96  
 Śrīvardhana, Salla prince, 277  
 Śrīgaruṭa, 524  
 Srong-btsan Sgam-po Tibetan king, 190, 192  
 Śrotriya, 361; miserly like a, 146  
 Śrutipāṭhaka, 379  
 Stambheśvari (goddess), 426, 432, 436, 437, 439, 442, 443  
 Stein, M. A., 63, 75, 78, 118, 137, 193, 276  
 Sthalī, 583  
 Sthavira, 198, 299  
 Sthālikkata-Visaya, 289  
 Sthānavisvara, xxxiv  
 Sthirapāla, 314  
 Sthiravarman (see Sthitavarman), 237  
 Sthitavarman (also called Sthiravarman and Sthitivarman), king of Kāpyarūpa, 237  
 Sthitimalla (see Jaya-Sthitimalladeva), 221  
 Sthitavarman (see Sthitavarman), 237  
 St. Petersburg, 202  
 Sualkuti, in Gaubāti sub-division, Kāmrup, 252  
 Sualkuti grant of Ratnapura, 252, 253  
 Subhadeva pātaka, 413, 415  
 Subhādā, 484  
 Subhākara I, 414, 415, 416  
 Subhākara (II. Subhākara?), 417  
 Subhākara Kesarin or Simha (see Subhākara I), 415  
 Subhāstāvalī of Vallabhadeva, 116 fn 1  
 Subhātā (another name of Sūryamati), 139  
 Subhatunga, brāhṇa of Kṛṣṇa II  
 Subheśvara-pātaka, 413 fn 2, 421  
 Sudāsa, Vedic king, xiv fn 1  
 Sudeśā, queen of Bah, 271  
 Suddhodana, father of Buddha, 295  
 Sūdra, 3, 5, 6, 116  
 Sūdraka, ancestor of Yaśahpāla (of Gaya), 348  
 Sūdraka, line of, Genealogical Table, 386  
 Sūfi, 24  
 Sūfism, 24  
 Sugandhā, queen of Kashmir, 73, 122, 123, 128  
 Sugandheśa (Śiva), 121  
 Sugauna Dynasty of Mithilā, 217 fn 3  
 Sūhadeva, brother of Simhadeva; king of Kashmir, 177, 179  
 Suhala, ambassador of the Gāhadvāla Govindacandra, 172 fn 2  
 Suhma, 271, 272  
 Suhmadeśa, 362, 374  
 Sūrya, Rāṣṭhāna of Sūssala, 169, Commander-in-chief of Jayasimha, 170, 171  
 Sukhapāla, 89, 91  
 Sukharāja, 122  
 Sukhavarman, cousin of Śankaravarman, 117, 121  
 Suki coins, issued by Nayakoṭ Thākuri Śiva-deva, 207  
 Sukru, Pargana in Kashmir, 168  
 Sulaiman Hills, 4  
 Sulaymān, 8, 10 fn 5, 15, 69  
 Sulaymān Karrānī, Sulṭān of Bengal, 265  
 Sūlkas (= Śūlkas) 433  
 Śūlkis (= Śūlkas = Śaulikas) of Orissa, 438ff.  
 Śūlikakāśa-vaiśa, 438  
 Sulṭān Maḥmūd (of Ghazni), 14  
 Sumar (Sūmra?), 36



- Sumatra (Island), 293, 294  
 Sūmras, 28 fn. 3, 29, 30, 31, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42; Zamindars, 30, Rajput origin, 30, 31; Hindus, 32, subdivision of the Paramāras, 31; ate flesh of buffaloes and cows, 30 fn. 5, sprang from the Arabs of Sāmira(?), 31, date of accession of the first Sūmia prince, 31 fn. 2  
 Sunār-gāw (Sonargaon), 383  
 Sundarban grant of Lakṣmanasena, 378  
 Sunna, Prefect of police of Harsa, 151, 155  
 Supratisthitavarman (Susthitavarman), 237  
 Sūia, *mantri* of Avantivarman, 111, 115  
 Suramā, queen of Rājaiā II, 175  
 Sūra kings of W. Bengal, 213 fn. 1, 320, 321, 312, 358, 360, 363, Genealogical table, 385  
 Suranadi (Ganges), 227  
 Sūrapāla I (*alias* of Vigrahapāla I), 279, 297, 298  
 Sūrapāla II, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 281, 337, 338  
 Sūrapāla of Kuṣavati, 341, 313  
 Sūrapāla, Rāstrakūṭa of Kanauj, 553  
 Sūrapura (mod. Hūnapūr), 115, 154  
 Sūru, 110  
 Sūāstra, 18  
 Suat, 4  
 Surat giant of Tilocanapāla, 552  
 Suratrāna (= Sultān), 217  
 Sūrarvarman, 124, 125, 127  
 Surendravatī, queen of Śaṅkaravarman, 122  
 Suresvari Titha (mod. Isabai), 130  
 Surma Valley, 235, 266  
 Sūrya (*god*), 288, 318  
 Sūrya, *Pratimā* of Saṃgrāmadeva, 175  
 Sūryamatī (Subhātā), daughter of Inducandra and queen of Ananta, 138, 139, 140, 112, 143, 141  
 Sūrya-Siddhānta, xxi, 471  
 Sūryavamśa, 221  
 Sūryavamśi (Karnātaka) Dynasty of Bhatgaon, 218  
 Sūryavamsiś (Licchavi) of Nepāl, 187, 188, 207 fn. 3  
 Sussala, king of Kashmir, 151, 153, 151, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 173  
 Susthitavarman, king of Kāmarūpa (*alias* Śrī-Migāṅka), 237, 238  
 Susthitavarman (see Supratisthitavarman), 237  
 Sūtargao, a village in Nowgong district, 211  
 Sutlej, 57, 80, 94, 595  
 Sūtiadhāna, 459, 476, 300, 518, 560  
 Suvannakāra (Suvannakāra), 437  
 Suvannacandha, Candra king, 322  
 Suvannakāra, son of Mathana, 340, 565  
 Suvannadvīpa (Sumatra), 293, 294  
 Suvarṇapura (mod. Sonpur, Sonpur State, Orissa), 396, 401, 402, 408, 412  
 Suvannakāra, 390, 426  
 Suvarṇa Kesari, last prince of the Kesari dynasty, according to the Mādā-Pāṇḍya, 412  
 Suvannakēkha, river, 391  
 Suvannavamsi, 364  
 Suvatā, queen of the Kāmarūpa king Mahendavarman, 237  
 Su-Yeh river, town of, 60  
 Suyodhana, 100  
 Suyya, a foundling; became a great engineer; regulated the waters of the Vitastā, 116, 117  
 Suyyapura (mod. Sōpur), 117  
 Svapāka, a low caste, 119  
 Svapāki (Domba woman), 127  
 Svapneśvara, brother-in-law of Rājārāja II, 475  
 Svapneśvara-ghatta, on the Satī, 523  
 Svāmikarāja, Rāstrakūṭa, of Betul, 557  
 Svagadvāra-tirtha, in Ayodhyā, 510  
 Svainagāma, a capital of Ballālasena, 364  
 Svayambhu (Brahmā), 332  
 Svayambhu, Carya of, 200  
 Syālapatideva, coin of, 76  
 Syāmādevī, queen of Susthitavarman, 237  
 Syāmasīmha, Kānātaka ruler of Bhatgaon, 218, 222  
 Sylhet, 266  
 Sylhet stone-inscription of Sultān Firūz Shāh, 267 (A. H. 703)  
 Sylvain Lévi (see Lévi)  
 Szechwan, 309

## T

- Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 597  
 Tūbān, the chief city of the Kābul district in the time of Istakhri (10th century A D.), 66 fn. 3  
 Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri, 36, 353, 477, 479, 480, 514, 546  
 Tabari, 59  
 Ta-ch'a-shu-lo (Taksasilā), 61  
 Tādisama-Vijaya, 430  
 Taghi, 35 fn. 3  
 Ta-hia, 56  
 Tahirids, 13  
 Tai, 34  
 Tāikas (Tāpikas?), 249, 250, 251  
 Tailakampa, 341, 343  
 Tailapa III, Cālukya ruler of Kārṇāṭa : son of Someśvara III  
 Tāpika (Arab), 9, 178, 251  
 Tāj ul-Ma'āshir (see Tāj ul-Ma'āthir)  
 Tāj ul-Ma'āthir, of Hasan Niẓāmī, 542  
 Takht-i-Sulaimān, 167  
 Takka-deśa (land), 73, 119  
 Takkana-lādam, 318, 319, 341  
 Taksasilā (mod. Rawalpindi and Peshawar district), 61, 71, 112  
 Talang (or Tulingana = Talingana = Tehn-gana), 492 fn. 2  
 Talcher State, in Orissa, 419, 439  
 Talcher grant of Gayadatuṅga, 19, 20  
 Talcher grant of Ranastambha (I), 459  
 Tālukdār, Bengali title, 551

- Tamāschu (Tamāṣu) (Jām), 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45  
 Tamīm (Tamīm ibn Zaid al-'Utbi), 11  
 Tamiṇ tribe, 30  
 Tāmra-kāra, 418  
 Tāmralipta (portions of Midnapore and 21-Parganas), 274, 349  
 Tānaḥ (mod. Thana, near Bombay), 6  
 Tapda-butti, 318  
 Tāndava dance of Śiva, 252  
 Tandra (or Tādādevī), queen of Lakṣmaṇasena, 379  
 T'ang Annals, 193 fn 4, 196, 271  
 Tankā, 44  
 Tan-mo li-h-i (Tāmralipta), 274  
 Tantrins, military caste, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127  
 Tantrapāla, 586  
 Tapu Malla, Malla chief of Nepal, 212  
 Tārā, goddess, 302, 316, 540  
 Tārā, Agramahīṣī, mother of Bālaputradeva, 291  
 Tārā, Agramahīṣī Mahadevī, queen of Harjaṇa, 213, 215  
 Tārācapādi, rock-inscription of Vijayacandra, 369, 531, 511  
 Tāranāth, Tibetan Historian, 197, 278, 280, 281, 296, 315, 317  
 Taraori, battle of, 369, 371, 512  
 Ta'rikh-i-Furūṣṭā, 92, 597  
 Ta'rikh-i-Furūṣṭāhī, 383  
 Ta'rikh-i-Furūṣṭāhī of Shams-i-Sulaj ('Afīf), 43, 191  
 Ta'rikh-i-Hind-wa-Sind, 3  
 Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmī, 3, 29, 32, 35, 42, 44  
 Ta'rikh-i-Sind, 3 in 3  
 Ta'rikh-i-Tāhī, 30, 32, 31, 43  
 Ta'rikh ul-Kāmil of Ibn ul-Athīr, 601  
 Tarkānī, in Śrāvastī, 255  
 Tarkhāns, a branch of the Arghūns, 47 in 3  
 Tarkhān, Mūzā Jānī Beg, 47  
 Tarkhān, Mūzā Muhammad 'Isa, 47  
 Taro-Janpāl, 91 fn.1  
 Tarojanapāla (Tirolokanapāla), 72<sup>p</sup>  
 Tarpandighi grant of Lakṣmaṇasena, 376-77  
 Tarū-Jaypāl, 601, 603  
 Tāsapaikerā grant of Ranabhaṅga (L), 132  
 Tāstākāra, 416  
 Tatari coin, 19  
 Tatta (also spelt Thatta), 39, 7 in 1  
 Tattakāra, 415  
 Tattānadevī (or Tyastānadevī), queen of Lakṣmaṇasena, 380  
 Tausī river (mod. Tobi), 96, 97, 108, 135, 136  
 Taxes, Khairāj, Jizya, Bāj and 'Ushūī (or 'Ashūī), 21  
 Tch'e-K'in (Turkish Tegin), 59  
 Tégün (Turkish), 59  
 Tejakaṇṭha, Ambassador of the Konkanā-Silāhāra Aparāditya, 172 fn.2  
 Tejavārāha, Mayūra prince, 437 fn.4  
 Tejpur (also spelt Tezpur), 192  
 Tekkalī grant of Madhyamaṛāja III, 447  
 Telā-nadr (river), 402, 404, 433  
 Telai-mandala, 437 fn.1  
 Telātattā-visaya, 401  
 Telegu dynasty of Orissa, 198 fn 3  
 Telkup, a place in Manbhum, 313  
 Temisapacottara-Pattalā, 525  
 Terry & Co.'s grant of Madanapāla, 512  
 To-tsung, Chinese Emperor, 414, 415  
 Tezpur (sometimes spelt Tejpur), 238, 243, 260, 265  
 Tezpur (also spelt Tejpur) epigraph of Śrī-Harisa, 192  
 Tezpur plates of Vanamāla, 238, 241, 242, 245, 246  
 Tezpur rock inscription of the Kāmarūpa king Harjara, 243-44  
 Thakkana, Śāhi prince, 78, 132  
 Thakkiya, name of a family, 73  
 Thakkura, 101, 509, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 522, 523, 521, 525, 526, 527, 533, 536, 537, 538, 511, 515  
 Thākuri of Najakot (in Nepal): founded by Bhāskaradeva, 200, 202, 203, 206  
 Thākuri (or Patan in Nepal) founded by Amśuvārman, 187, 189, 202, 206  
 Thal, 31  
 Thana, 6  
 Thanasaṇ, 91  
 Thankot inscription (of the time of Jisnugupta and Mānadeva), 211  
 Thar (Indian Desert), 2  
 Thari, 30, 32, 33, 41, 43  
 Tharr, 32  
 Tharu (see Tihārū), 260  
 Thatta, 32, 33, 31, 35, 39, 10, 11, 17  
 Thomas, Edwina, 56, 76  
 Thorina-visaya, 115  
 Tibbat (Tibet), 260, 263  
 Tibet, 110, 185, 191, 193, 196, 227, 260, 261, 262, 263, 271, 327, 374, 477  
 Tibetan, 62, 63, 112, 178, 191, 192, 193, 196, 271  
 Tibetan invasion (of the Ganges Valley), 569  
 Tibetan legends, 191  
 Tibetan mission (c. 1010 A. D.), 197  
 Tibeto-Burman, 187  
 Tibeto-Chinese race, 210  
 T'ien-Ču, 56  
 Tiger crest of Cola kings, 450  
 Tihāra-visaya, 432  
 Tihārū (mod. Tharu), a race of people, 260  
 Tikka, Dāmara, 168  
 Tilaka, Commander-in-chief of Sussala, 161  
 Tilakacandra, king of Mehaikul, 321 fn.4  
 Tilang, 487  
 Tippera, 275  
 Timūr, 46  
 Tingyadeva, ruler of Kāmarūpa, 257, 258, 350  
 Tippera plates of Harikāladeva, 383  
 Tippera grant of Lakṣmaṇasena, 379  
 Tippera grant of Lokanātha, 275  
 Tira-bhukta (mod. Tirhut), 300, 305, 317  
 Tirhoot (usually spelt Tirhut), 217  
 Tirhut, 203, 215, 238, 263, 303, 317, 353, 359, 479, 547

- Tirthaṅkaras, 561  
 Tirthas, Kashmiran, 110  
 Tirthika king Karnya, 326  
 Trumalai inscription of Rājendra Coṣa, 279,  
 318, 319, 321, 323, 405  
 Tista (Trisrotā), 245, 261  
 Titarawa image-inscription of Mahipāla I,  
 314-15  
 Tivaraṛāja, see Mahāśiva Tivaraḍeva (Sri-  
 pura king), 393  
 Tod, Colonel, xxxix, xl, 31, 37  
 Tohi, river, 168  
 Tokhāri, 56 fn 4  
 Toramāna, 3, 77  
 Toramāna-Kamalū, 77  
 Toramāna Kamaluka (Kamalū), 123  
 Tomara, 91  
 Tosala, 421  
 Tosālā, 418  
 Tosala-visaya, 4 21  
 Tosali, 413, 415 416, 424, 449, 450, 455, 461  
 Tosamañḍan Pass, 97, 109, 137, 153, 158  
 Traillapanibha, Yuvarāja, Śailodbhava prince,  
 447, 447 fn 1  
 Trailokyacandra, Candra king, 322  
 Trailokyaśmha, *biruda* of Rājārīdeva, 259  
 Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Con-  
 gress, 9 fn 3  
 Transoxania (also spelt Transoxiana), 8, 25,  
 58, 60, 61, 79  
 Trayodaśa-grāma-visaya, 252  
 Tretā Age, xxxi  
 Tribhuvana (pāla?), Rāstrakūta of Kanauj,  
 553  
 Tribhuvana, Commander-in-chief, 139  
 Tribhuvana, grandson of Diddā, 133  
 Tribhuvanapāla, Yuvarāja of Dharmapāla,  
 289, 290, 296  
 Trigarta (mod. Kangra), 107, 118, 140, 141,  
 162, 169  
 Trigrāmī (mod. Tregaon), 116  
 Trikalunga, 251, 392, 393 fn 1, 397, 399, 400,  
 402, 405, 410, 457, 461  
 Trikalungādhipati, 252  
 Trilaka, a baron of Kashmir, 172  
 Trilocana (pāla), 96  
 Trilocanapāla, Śāhi king, 91, 95, 96, 97, 98,  
 135, 136, 137  
 Trilocanapāla, Gurjara Pratihāra king, 251,  
 504, 598, 602, 607, 610  
 Trilokasundarī, queen of Vijayabāhu of  
 Ceylon, 334  
 Triphali, tāmra śāsana, 400  
 Tripuresa (mod. Tirphar), 117  
 Tripurī, 327, 336, 393, 395, 396, 401, 406, 505,  
 530  
 Tripurī Kalacuri, 317  
 Triśankupati, title, 508  
 Trisrotā (Tista), 245, 245 fn.1, 261  
 Triśula (trident), 243, 456, 581  
 Trisul-Ganga, river, 228  
 Trivenī (Allahabad), 368  
 Trivenī (in Bengal), 362, 376  
 Trivenī-nadī (U. P.), 525  
 Tsao-kut-a (same as Tsu-ku-cha), 61 fn.1  
 Tsaukūta (Arachosia), 61  
 Tsu-ku-cha (Jāguda ?), 61  
 Tughluq (emperor Muhammad), 35, 43  
 Tughluq (Jām), 40 41  
 Tughluqs, xxxii  
 Tughluq Shāh (1388 A D ), 44  
 Tughril (Mughith ud-Din), 393  
 Tughril Tughān Khān (Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn, Yüz-  
 Bak), 480, 481  
 Tughril Tughān Khān ('Izzue-Dīn), 481  
 Tuhfat ul-Kirām, 3, 4 fn 4, 5, 31, 34, 35  
 Tukhārīstān, 13, 112  
 Tulumvā-Khanda, 400  
 Tulāpurusa gift, 255, 510  
 Tullāśidgā-Visaya, 436  
 Tumāna, 395, 470, 478  
 Tūng, place of residence of Rānā Sanū, 37  
 Tunga, a Khāsā from Purnotsa, becomes  
 lover of Diddā, becomes Sarvādhikārī, 95,  
 96, 97, 134, 136  
 Tunga of Samālā (a Dāmara), 175  
 Tungadeva, Rāstrakūta king, 304  
 Tunga-Dharmāvaloka, Rāstrakūta prince,  
 304  
 Tunga-vamśa (a branch of the Khāsas ?),  
 419ff.  
 Tunkerā-Visaya, 420  
 Tūrān, 20  
 Turfan, 60  
 Tumāna, 470, 478  
 Turk, xxxviii, xxxix, xl, 20, 21, 41, 60, 61,  
 62, 64, 83, 90, 178, 260, 261, 262, 369,  
 370, 371, 372, 373, 595, 596, Western, 59,  
 Northern, 64  
 Turki-Śāhis, 71, 72  
 Turkish, 60, 71, 79, 89, 511, 517  
 Turkish countenance, 260  
 Turkish dynasty of Ghazni, 25  
 Turkish invaders, 251  
 Turkish rulers, 55  
 Turkish tent, 69  
 Turkistan, 22, 64, 260  
 Turuska, 73, 74, 96, 105, 165, 173, 176, 178,  
 211  
 Turuska-danda, tax, 211, 509  
 Turuska girls, 116  
 Turvaśu, mythical king, 451  
 Tyāgasimha, king of Kāmarūpa, 239, 241,  
 242, 247, 248, 252

## U

- 'Ubayd Ullāh ibn Abi Bakrah, 67, 68  
 Ubhaya-Khūjāla, 435  
 Ubhaya-Khañjali, 426, 432-436  
 Ubhaya-Khañjali-mandala, 436  
 Ubhaya-Khūjāni (h ?), 437  
 Uccala, king of Kashmir, 151, 153, 154, 155,  
 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161  
 Uccava Nāga, Mahāśāpatalaka of Mahāśiva-  
 gupta, 401  
 Uccāla, 341, 343 fn.4  
 Uch, 29, 36

Udabhānda (mod. Und), 73, 113  
 Udabhāndapura, 73, 74, 78, 80, 123  
 Udayadeva, king of Nepal, 195, 196  
 Udayāditya, Paramāra king, 336  
 Udayakarna, *alias* Nihāṅkasimha, king of Kāmarūpa, 259, 260, 360  
 Udayamāna, 349  
 Udayana, 'Śrīpura king,' 393  
 Udayanadeva, relative of Rūcāna, king of Kashmir, marries Kotādevī, 179  
 Udayarāja, Piolet for the overthrow of divine images, appointed by Harsa, 150  
 Udayavarāha, Mayūra prince, 437 fn 4  
 Udayin, warrior, 336  
 Uddākā, queen of Nayapāla, 325  
 Uddandapura (mod. Bihar), 293, 301  
 Uddandapura image inscription of Nārāyaṇa-pāla, 301  
 Uditavarāha, Mayūra prince, 437 fn 4  
 Uddyota Kesarin, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412  
 Udra, 110, 113  
 Ughanaterahottara-pattalā, 517  
 Ugratārā, 540  
 Ujjain, 91, 597  
 Ujjayinī, 580, 586, 587, 590, 594  
 Ujhiyal, paigana, 343  
 Ukha Mandir stone-inscription of Mahīpāla II, 574  
 Ulo-Khanda, 411  
 Ulugh Khān (prince), 487  
 Umar ibn al-Humar, 66  
 Umayyads (see Umayyads), 69  
 Umāpati, poet, composed the Bhuvaneśvara inscription of Nisinha, 484  
 Umāpati (see Umāpatidhara), 375  
 Umāpatidhara, author of the Deopara prasasti of Vijayasena, 258, 260, 361, 362  
 'Umar, Sūmra prince, 33  
 'Umar (Caliph), 6  
 'Umar and al-Nasr, join of, 13, fn 5  
 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (Caliph), 6  
 'Umarkot, named after 'Umar Sūmra, 31  
 'Umais (subdivision of the Paramāras), 31  
 'Umar Sūmra, Sūmra prince, founded 'Umarkot, 31  
 Umara-Sūmra, 31  
 Umāvarman, Varman king of Simhapura, 334  
 'Umayya, Caliphs of the house of, 23  
 Umbarāla-Pattalā, 527  
 Ummayyads (see Umayyads), 18 fn 2  
 Umadian (or Amardan), capital of Jājnagar, 491 fn 4  
 Una grants of Balavarman and Avani-varman, xxvii  
 Uner, Samma, settled in Sind from Cutch hills Armil the last Sūmra, 34, 40  
 Und, 61, 71, 80  
 Unāvisa-Pattalā, 537  
 Undikavāṇikā grant of Abhimanyu, 555  
 'Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan,' 36  
 United Provinces (of Agra and Oudh), xxxv, xxxvii, xxxviii, 506, 185  
 Unmattāvantī, king of Kashmir, 127, 129

Unmatta-Simha or Kesarin), Oṛissa king, 417, 418, 420, 421  
 U. P. (of Agra and Oudh), 275  
 Upendra (Viṣṇu), 246  
 Uraśā (mod. Hazara), district, 75, 109, 112, 119, 122, 141, 144, 145  
 Urvasī, wife of the Pururavas, 332  
 Usamah, children of, 28  
 Usamah ibn Lawī ibn Ghālīb, 14  
 'Ushari (also spelt 'Ashari), 21  
 Uskur (ancient Huskapura), 124  
 Utakhānda (mod. Und), 61  
 'Utbi, author of Kitāb-i-Yamīnī, 25, 26, 27 fn. 2 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 901, 92, 93, 97, 98, 137, 597, 599, 600, 601, 602, 607, 608  
 'Uthmān (Caliph), 6  
 Utkarsa, son of Kalāśa: becomes king of Lohara, 143, 144, king of Kashmir, 146, 147, 152  
 Utkala, 291, 341, 345, 392 fn.1, 405, 422, 460, 464, 478, 479  
 Utkala-deśa, 522, 531  
 Utkala-Viśaya, 483, 484  
 Utkoca (bribe), 534  
 U-to-kia-han-ch'a (Utakhānda), 61  
 Utpalas, 74, 75, 76, 77, 113, 114, 117  
 Utpala, companion of Dāmara Ṭikka, 168  
 Uthmān (Caliph), 66  
 Uttamarājā, ruler of Kāśṭhavāta, 144  
 Uttara (mod. Uttar), 109  
 Uttara-Khanda, 427, 428, 431  
 Uttara-Khanda Kalabho, 495  
 Uttara-Kośala, 508, 510  
 Uttara-Lāta, 319  
 Uttarāpatha, xxxv, 295  
 Uttara-Rādhā, 333  
 Uttara-Rādhā-mandala, 320 fn.1, 367  
 Uttara-Tosali, 413, 415  
 Uttaravallī-Viśaya, 400  
 Uttara-ladam, 318  
 Uzain, 9

V

Vāgadi, 342, 364  
 Vāgīśvara Kīrti, contemporary of Atīśa, 197  
 Vāgīśvari (goddess), 305  
 Vaidumba family, 454, 457 fn 1  
 Vaidya, 325, 328  
 Vaidyadeva, minister of Kumārāpāla, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar and king of Kāmarūpa, 256, 257, 258, 347, 350  
 Vaikuntha, 513, 515  
 Vairagarh (C P), 531  
 Vaisālī (mod. Basarh), 210  
 Vaisnava, 117, 484  
 Vaisya, caste, 550, 551  
 Vājasaneyaka Brahman, 252, 253  
 Vajrabhāṇṇāśaṭhi-Pattalā, 537  
 Vāpi-vaidya, 325  
 Vajradāman, Kacchapoghāta prince, 594  
 Vapradatta, king of Kāmarūpa, 237, 239, 244, 246, 252, 254

- Vajradeva, Indian savant, 197  
 Vajrabhastā I, Ganga prince of Kaliṅga, 452, 453  
 Vajrabhastā II, Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga, 453  
 Vajrabhastā III (sometimes designated Vajrabhastā I), 451, 455, 456  
 Vajrabhastā IV, Gaṅga king of Kalinga, 453  
 Vajrabhastā (V), Ganga king of Kalinga, 419, 453, 454, 455, 456, 157, 158, 159, 161  
 Vajrāsana (Buddha), 295  
 Vajrayāman, Varman chief, 332, 335  
 Vākālakas, xxxiv  
 Vākṣpā, younger brother of Dharmapāla, 288, 291, 297, 299  
 Vākpatirāja, poet, 276  
 Vākpatirāja, Paramāra king, 591  
 Vakiāṅghri (Sāṅgrāma deva), 129  
 Valaura-Pattalā, 526  
 Valabhi, xxx, 10, its destruction, 10 fn 2  
 V(B)alavarmā, chief of Vyāghratatī-maṇḍala, 291  
 Vallabhadeva, author of *Subhāsitāvalī*, 116 fn 1  
 Vallabhadeva (also called Śrī-Vallabha), king of Kāmarūpa, 259, 260, 353, 368  
 Vallabharāja, Chhikora king of Pithi, 339, 528  
 Vallabharāja, *biruda* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan (Māyakheta), 577  
 Vallamandala, 9 fn 2  
 Vallāpura (mod Ballāva); situated in the lower hills to the east of Jammu, 107, 111, 111, 162, 167, 172  
 Vālmiki, 319  
 Vāmadeva, king of Nepal (Yākurī of Patan), 202  
 Vāmālāsī, 314  
 Vāmkāna-Pattalā, 511  
 Vāmakesvarīmatā-ippana, MS of, 219  
 Vāmāna, officer of Kalaśa, 111  
 Vāmāna, roguish son of Jīrṇa, 130  
 Vāmandāpātī (Bamra?), 407, 407 fn 1  
 Vamsadhārā, river, 157, 157 fn 2  
 Vamsapota-kā-bhoga, 592  
 Vamsāvalis (of Nepal), 186, 187, 188, 189, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 222  
 Vamsāvalis (of Assam), 265  
 Vāpadeva (= Vāmadeva?) son of bhūnātha Śrī-Yasodeva, 202  
 Vanamālā, king of Kāmarūpa, 238, 239, 241, 212, 213, 244, 215, 216, 247, 248  
 Vanapati, commander-in-chief of Rājārāja I, 159, 160  
 Vanga, 227, 271, 272, 277, 286, 301, 326, 333, 335, 350, 361, 379, 381, 102, 405  
 Vangaja-Brahman, 382  
 Vangūla-deśa, 318, 319, 321, 321  
 Vangapatī (Pālas), 272, 286  
 Vātṛgavan grant of Govindacandra, 527  
 Vapik, 346, 426, 437, 443  
 Vapika-kula, 304  
 Vindhya, 291  
 Vanjulvaka, 120, 430, 436  
 Vantideva, son of Parāśmāpuka, king of Kashmir, 174  
 Vāntipor, 115  
 Vappaghosavāṭa inscription of Jayanāga, 273  
 Vappata (Bappata?), father of Gopāla I, 282, 283  
 Varocana Pandita, teacher at Vikramasīlā vihāra, 197  
 Varadā-khanda-viśaya, 416  
 Varāha, a title of the Kāmarūpa ruler Ratnapāla, 253  
 Varāhakṣetra, in Kashmir, 131  
 Varāhamūla (mod Bārāmūla), 109, 118  
 Varāha-vaṭṭanī, 458, 458 fn 1, 462, 465  
 Varamtol (near Katmandu) inscription of, 207  
 Varana (banks of river Gomāl and Banu district), 61  
 Varanā, river, 509 fn 5, 511  
 Vārānasi, 314, 516, 517, 518, 519, 521, 532, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 529, 533, 536, 537, 538, 540  
 Vārānasi-Kataka (also spelt Vārānāsi-Kataka), 491 fn 4, 496  
 Vārānasi-viśaya, 579, 581, 581  
 Vaidhānāna (Wadhwan in Kathiawar), 285, 583  
 Vardhamāna-bhuktī, 320 fn 1, 367, 379  
 Vardhana, imprisoned by Vijayasena, 359, 361  
 Varedya (Varendia?), 377  
 Varendia, 291 fn 1, 362, 364  
 Varendra-maṇḍala, 120  
 Varendri, 255, 257, 289, 305, 337, 340, 347, 358, 365, 378, 136, 480  
 Vārgulika, 131  
 Varmans, of East Bengal, their inscriptions, 256, 320, 331ff, 311, 315, Genealogical tables, 385  
 Varmānāna, ruler of Magadha, 340  
 Varmaśiva, Śaiva ascetic of Anahilapātaka, 553  
 Varnāśramī 288, 415  
 Varnata, 120  
 Vartula (see Bhartula), 141, 162  
 Varuṇa, 291  
 Vāsanta-devī, queen of Govindacandra, 532  
 Vasantalekhā, queen of Harṣa, 100, 155  
 Vasantapāla, younger brother of Śthirapāla, 314  
 Vasistha, Sage; protects Virabhadra, ancestor of the Bhāṅgas, 427  
 Vāsistha(?)ghaṭṭa on the Juma, 594  
 Vāstavya (Kāyastha) family, 516, 518, 541  
 Vāsudeva, Kusāna king, 56, 62  
 Vāsudeva (god), 325, 509, 521  
 Vāsudeva-Khanda-Viśaya, 430  
 Vasudhārā, 528  
 Vāsuki, Nāga, 196  
 Vasumatī (Earth), 246  
 Vasumatī (?), queen of Rāyārīdeva, 259  
 Vasu, N N, 382  
 Vātāpi, xxxiv  
 Vata-Yaksini, goddess, 586  
 Vātike, of land, 485

- Vitastā, 176  
 Vāṭesa (Śiva), 328  
 Vatsa I, Gurjara-Pratihāra prince, 577, 591  
 Vatsa II, Gurjara-Pratihāra prince (?), 591, 592  
 Vatsa, kingdom, \\\n\\n  
 Vatsarāja, Gurjara-Pratihāra, king of Avanti, 285, 286, 287  
 Vatudāsa, father of Śrīdharadāsa, 375  
 Vāvana *pattalā*, 309  
 Vayiragah (Wairagarh), 170 fn 3  
*Vaṭir*, 62, 63, 72  
 Vedas, 271, 295, 356, 357  
 Vedeśvara-ghaṭṭa (Benares), 521  
*Velāṇṭita* (?), named Jayasimha, 122  
 Velāvitta, *Maṅgaleśa* of Yasaskara, 128  
 Veṅgi, 460, 487  
 Veṅgi-nādu, 450  
 Veraval inscription (V S 1112), 565  
 Venus, 88  
 Vepuā-Viśaya, 157  
 Vibhramūṭika, 96  
 Vicitravīrya, prince, 110, 111  
 Vidadgharāja, Rāstrakūṭa of Hastikundī, 560  
 Vidadbha (in Assam), 261  
 Viddasahi, *de facto* ruler of Daraddeśa, 172  
 Videha, 272  
 Videhas, 271  
 Vidyādharma, author of *Ekāvālī*, 1st fn 1  
 Vidyādharma, sāhi, David ruler, 101 fn 1  
 Vidyādharma, Candella king, 603, 604, 607, 608  
 Vidyādharma, Candella king, 501  
 Vidyāgharabhaṇḍadeva, Amoghakalasa (Bhaṇḍa king), 425, 428  
 Vidyāgharabhaṇḍa, son of Śilābhāṇa, 136  
 Vidyāpati, poet, lived in the court of Śivasimha, 217 fn 3  
 Vidyāpati (see Bilhana), 7, 11, 117  
 Vidyāvālī of Aghora, MS of, 212  
 Vigo-gad, 32  
 Vighrahapāla, Rāstrakūṭa of Kanauj, 291  
 Vighrahapāla (I), *alias* Śūrapāla (I), 279, 297, 298, 299, 300, 303, 330  
 Vighrahapāla II, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 279, 280, 307, 308, 309, 310, 312, 315, 320  
 Vighrahapāla III, Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, 257, 281, 327, 328, 329, 330, 335, 337, 317, 318, 565  
 Vighraharāja, Cāhamāna of Śākambhari, 595  
 Vighraharāja, half-brother of Jayasimha, 172  
 Vighraharāja, Lohara prince, nephew of Didda, 131, 135, 138  
 Vighrahastambha, king of Kāmarūpa, 239, 241, 252  
*Vihāra*, 62, 63, 133, 198, 199, 201, 207, 236, 295, 303, 325, 528  
 Vijabror, 143, 177  
 Vijaya (= Ārjuna), 580  
 Vijaya, king of Kāmarūpa, 239, 247  
 Vijayabāhu, king of Ceylon, 534  
 Vijayacandra, Gāhadavāla king (also called Vijayapāla), 214, 269, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536  
 Vijayāditya, Eastern Cālukya king, 669  
 Vijayakamadeva, Nayaka Thākura, 239  
 Vijayakarna, Rāpaka, 545, 546  
 Vijayaksetra, 167, 179  
 Vijayamalla, step-brother of Lakṣmaṇa, 116, 117, 148, 149  
 Vijayamalla, Kumāra, son of Harjamalla, 228  
 Vijayanagara, 491  
 Vijayapāladeva, Gurjara-Pratihāra prince, 83 fn 2, 592, 593, 595, 599  
 Vijayapura, capital of Lakṣmaṇasena, 361, 374, 375  
 Vijayarāja of Nidrabala, 311, 311, 358  
 Vijaya Rāya (same as Beej Rāy and Bijay Rāy), 87 fn 3  
 Vijayasena, Sena king of Bengal, 205, 256, 258, 259, 260, 320, 321, 341, 345, 346, 353, 354, 358, 359, 360, 362, 363, 364, 375, 379, 511, 630  
 Vijayēśvara (mod Vijabror) titha, 113, 166, 176  
 Vijeh-kot, 32  
 Vijñānin, 403, 404, 407  
 Vikramadeva, king of Nepal, 195  
 Vikramāditya (*birda* of Gāṅgeyadeva), 504  
 Vikramāditya, *birda* of Mahānpati Kalahastambha, 133, 140, 413  
 Vikramāditya VI, Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa, 203, 204, 250, 251, 331, 356  
 Vikramānukadevacarita of Bilhana, 139, 141, 251  
 Vikramapūta, 322, 333, 334, 337, 358, 363, 351, 366, 375, 377, 378  
 Vikramapura-bhāga (of Vanga), 379, 390, 381  
 Vikramārjuna-vijaya (or Pampa-Bhārata), of Pampa, 580  
 Vikramarāja, ruler of Bāla-Valabhī, 341, 342  
 Vikramāditya, Cāpa prince, 583  
 Vikramasena, Rāputra of Nepal, 188 fn 3  
 Vikramaśīlā, monastery of; built by Dharmapāla, 197, 198, 288, 306, 326  
 Vikramasīla-deva-vihāra, 306  
 Vikramasimha, Kachchapaghāta prince, 603  
 Vijñānavatī, queen of Mahā-Bhūtavarmāna, 237  
 Vilāśadevī, Śūra princess and queen of Vijayasena, mother of Ballalasena, 321, 358, 363, 367  
 Vilā(?)apura, on the Bhāgirathī, 312  
 Vinayāditya, Eastern Cālukya, 450  
 Vinayāditya, Ganga king of Kalunga, 453  
 Vinayakapāla I (*alias* Mahipāla I), Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 581, 582, 584, 585, 590  
 Vinayakapāla (II, Gurjara-Pratihāra prince?), xxxvii, 578, 574, 590, 592, 598  
 Vinayamahādevī, Vaidumba queen of Kāmarūpa V, 454

- Vindhya, 10, 73, 276, 277, 287, 290  
 Vindhyaśvara, title of the Śaīla Śrīvardhana, 277  
 Vinīṭapūra (mod Binka in Sonpur State, Orissa), 401, 402, 403  
 Vīra, enemy of Vijayasena (Virguna), 258, 359, 361  
 Virabāhu, king of Kāmarūpa, 246  
 Virabhaṅja I, 431, 435  
 Virabhaṅja II, *Yuvārāja* of Jayabhaṅja, 435  
 Virabhadra, ancestor of the Bhaṅjas, 427, 434  
 Vīra-Bhānudeva (see Bhanudeva I), 182  
 Virādatta, Vīṣaṇeyaka Brahman, 252  
 Viraguna, ruler of Kotāṭavi, 341  
 Vīra-Rājendra, Cola king, 160  
 Vīṭanaka, 119  
 Virasena, ancestor of the Senas, 354, 355, 362, 376  
 Virasimha, Ganga king, 452  
 Virasri, queen of Jātavarman and probably daughter of Lakṣmi-Karna, 256, 332, 334, 345  
 Virāta (Berar), 319  
 Virācana, Ganga king, 151, 452  
 Viśāla, house for the habitation of Brahmins and cows, 176  
 Viśaladeva, Cāhamāna of Śākambhari, 535  
 Viśokā, river, 167  
 Viśaya, xxxvii, 247, 252, 256, 289, 294, 299, 300, 312, 318, 319, 316, 351, 363, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 439, 441, 442, 444, 445, 446, 449, 453, 456, 457, 458, 459, 461, 463, 466, 483, 484, 490, 496, 524, 579, 581, 581, 609  
 Viśākhadatta, xxxv  
 Viśvāmītra, *gotra* of, 257  
 ✓ Viśnu (god), 6 fn, 78, 115, 133, 151, 166, 285, 288, 302, 325, 387, 485, 495, 538, 591  
 ✓ Viśnu, a Śaiva teacher, 476  
 ✓ Viśnu-cakra, 331  
 ✓ Viśnudharma, MS of, 200  
 ✓ Viśnupāda temple, Gaya, 290  
 ✓ Viśnu Purāṇa, 235  
 Viṣṭi, 193  
 Viśvarūpa, *nṛpa* of Gayā (?), 348  
 Viśvarūpasena, Sena prince of Bengal, 354, 365, 367, 368, 370, 379, 380, 381, 382  
 Viśveśvara-kṣetra (Kāśī), 368  
 Viṭastī (Jhelum), 97, 107, 108, 109, 111, 113, 116, 117, 118, 125, 133, 167, 177  
 Vitolā river, near Parāṭsa, 165  
 Viśagapatam, 3 grants of Anantavarmā Cōḍaganga, 449, 451, 454, 459, 460, 461-62, 463, 466-67  
 Vōḍā-Viśaya, 431  
 Vōḍamayūtī (mod. Budaun), town, 552, 552 fn.5, 553  
 Vogel, Dr., 111  
 Vṛhadvatī, ancestral home of Sandhyākara Māndī, 349  
 Vṛsabhaśankara-nṛpa, 367, 377  
 Vṛsadhyaja, Gaṅga king, 452  
 Vubhyudaya Viśaya, 415  
 Vuppadeva, king of Kashmir, 174  
 Vyaghra-nadī (mod. Bagh river), 437, 137 fn.  
 Vyāghratatī (-mandala P), 377  
 Vyaghratatī-mandala (Vāgadi?), 289, 291
- W**
- Wadhwan, in Kathiawar, 285  
 Wageh-Kot, 32 fn 3  
 Waihand, town of, 80  
 Wāhind (Und) river, (Indus), 92  
 Wairagarh (in C P), 470  
 Waki, 66  
 Wakiā, chief of Siwī, 37  
 Wālī, 37 fn 2, 67, 68, 68 fn 1, 79  
 Walid (Caliph), 69  
 Walth (compact), 66  
 Wāmund (= Wāhind), river, 92 fn 1  
 Wang Hinen-t'se, Chinese envoy, 238  
 Wani grant of Govinda III, 286  
 Wariāb, 37  
 Wazirabad, 89  
 Wei Dynasty, 58  
 Weil Gustav, 13 fn 2  
 Wei-lo, 56  
 Wright, D., 186, 206, 208, 212, 216, 218, 222  
 Winceler, W., 259  
 Wu-Cha (Udra), 411, 415  
 Wular Lake, 110, 116  
 Wu-t'u (= Udra), 413
- Y**
- Yādava Jaitugi, 201  
 Yādavas of Singhapura, 333  
 Yadu, mythical king, 332  
 Yaśśaka, poet, 176  
 Yājñopavitās, 120  
 Yājñasena, 196  
 Yājñavati, queen of Ganapati, 237  
 Yajurvedī Brahman, 247, 251  
 Yaksadhara (mod Dyāragul), 117  
 Yakṣamalla, king, of Nepal, 225, 226, 227, 228  
 Yaksapāla, according to Tīrānātha, a son of Rāmāpāla, 347  
 Yaksapāla, of a Gaya inscription, 348  
 Yamagartā-mandala, 419, 420  
 Yamini Dynasty of Ghazni and Lahore, 35, 26, 29, 33 fn 2, 72, 78, 84, 90, 98, 135, 324, 542, 554, 596, 536, 542, 596, 597, 607, Yamun ud-Daulah (Mahmūd of Ghazni), 604, 605, 607  
 Yamunā (in U P.), xxxvi, 112, 276, 287, 306, 513, 580, 581  
 Yamunā (in Bengal), 362, 375  
 Ya'qūbī, 66 fn.3  
 Yub ibn Layth al-Saffār, 14, 61, 70, 79  
 Yub Shāh (Chakk Dynasty), 180  
 Yarkhun, river, 107  
 • Yāsabhaṅja Jagadekamalla (son of Rāya-bhaṅja), 431

- Yasāh-Karna, Kalacuri king of Tripuri, 508, 519, 530, 535  
 Yaśahpāla, Gurjara-Pratihāra, prince, 504, 609, 610  
 Yasin, 73  
 Yaśaakara, king of Kashmir, 128  
 Yaśobhīta, Sailodbhava king, 444, 445, 446  
 Yaśodeva (= *Grags-pa-mtha-yas* ?), 200 fn 1  
 Yaśodeva, *Bhūnātha*, father, of Vāṇadeva (= Vāmadeva ?), 202  
 Yaśodevi, queen of Hemantasena, 358  
 Yaśodhara, Brahman Commander-in-Chief of Abhimanyu, 78, 132  
 Yaśodharmān (*Janendra* of Mandasor, 532-33 A D), 59  
 Yaśovarman, Candella King, 307, 502 573, 582  
 Yaśovarman, ruler of Kanauj, 276, 277, 287, 569  
 Yaśovigraha, ancestor of the Gāhadavālas, 506, 530, 531, 536  
 Yatra, 196, 202  
 Yaunasaśī, daughter of Laksmī-Karna, queen of Vīrabhapāla III, 330, 335  
 Yava-bhūmi (Java), 293  
 Yavana (Greeks), xxviii; (Muslims) 173, 285; 382, 478, 479, 480, 481 fn 3  
 Yayāti, mythical king, 382, 451  
 Yayāti, see Mahāśivagupta (Somavamsī of Kosala), 394, 410  
 Yayātinagara, 404, 464 fn 2, 406, 407  
 Yazīd ibn Ziyād, 67  
 Ye-tha (Bphtalites), 59  
 Yogadeva, *Saciva* of Vīrabhapāla III, 287, 347  
 Yogasvāmin, god, 583  
 Yōgini Tantra, 236  
 Yojana, 116, 235  
 Yuan Chwang, Chinese pilgrim, xxxviii, 1, 3, 5 fn 5, 60, 61, 71, 112, 119 fn 2, 187, 190, 236, 240, 274, 338, 413  
 Yuddhāsura (see Nandarāja), 557  
 Yueh-Chi (also spelt Yue-ci) 58, 59, 61, 63; Great, 56, 58; Little, 58, 62  
 Yuddhanīra, a tale in Purusaparīkṣā, 205 fn.1  
 Yudhisthira, Pāndava king, 298  
 Yung-lo, Chinese emperor, 219  
 Yunnan, 309  
 Yupa inscription of king Mūlavarmān, from Koete (Borneo), 293 fn 3  
 Yuvarāja, 117, 117 fn 4, 207, 214, 225, 244, 289, 290, 291, 296, 475, 417, 523, 532, 533, 534  
 Yuvarājadeva II, Kalacuri of C P (Tripuri), 595
- Z
- Zābul (also called Zābulistān), 66  
 Zābulistān (also called Zābul), 59, 66, 66, 67, 69, 79; the area indicated, 66 fn  
 Zambaur, 8 fn 6  
 Zara Lake, 65  
 Zaranj, 65 66, 67, 70  
 Zayd ibn 'Abd Ullāh, 67  
 Zirat, 78  
 Ziyād, Governor of 'Irāq, 7, 67  
 Ziyā ud-Dīn Baranī (Historian), 487  
 Zōji-La, pass, 110, 178  
 Zubair, 67  
 Zunbil (see Ratbil), 65  
 Zūr (also written az-Zūr) mountain of 66; image of, 71  
 Zutts, 12





## CORRIGENDA

P 1, l 7	from foot : for Mukaddasī	read Muqaddasī
P 3, fn. 4	for Postans	Postans.
P 7, l 9	„ Ziyād	„ Ziyād.
P 8, l 17	„ Sulāymān	„ Sulaymān
P 9, l 16	„ Avani Janāsraya	„ Avanijanāsraya
P 9, fn 2	„ can Bailamān be .	„ that Bailamān may be .
P 13, „ 5	„ Nasar	„ Nasr
P 14, l 15	„ a Quraisite, and the	„ a Quraisite, and of the .
P 14, fn 2	„ Dhahab	„ Dhahab.
P 14, „ 3	„ Akālīm	„ Aqālīm.
P 25, l 14	„ appears	„ appear
P 26, l 6	from foot for Malāhida	„ Mulāhida.
P 26, fn. 4	„	„
P 30, l 3	(and pages following) for Mīr Ma'sūmī	„ Mīr Ma'sum.
P 43, l 5	for Mahmūd	„ Muhammad
P 47, l 10	„ 1581 A D.	„ 1511 A D.
P 49, l 8-10	after (15), read (15a) Mūsā 1 Yahya 217 A H (832), for 'Amran 1. Mūsā 217 A H (832 A D) read 'Amran 1 Mūsā 231 A H (846 A D)	
P 49, l 6	from foot for 332 to 366 A H = 942-976	read c 332 to 349 A.H = c. 943 to 960 A D
P 55, l 4	for Behistun	read Behistun (Bahistān).
P 57, l 10	„ the Śiva	„ god Śiva
P 58, l 1	„ Sāhanusāhis	„ Sāhanusāhis.
P 61, l 19	„ Ephthalites	„ Ephthalites.
P 62, l 1	„ the Śiva	„ god Śiva
P 62, l 11	„ Turks were	„ Turks who were.
P 64, l 14	„ they succeeded	„ it succeeded.
P 65, l 4	„ ibn	„ ibn
P 66, l 5	„ numbers	„ number
P 87, l 19	„ west bank	„ left bank
P 111, l 6	„ Parbal	„ Marbal.
P 113, l 21	„ A D 855-56 to 853	„ A D 855-56—883
P 118, l 18	„ Dārvābhīsāra	„ Dārvābhīsāra.
P 121, l 2	„ serious taxation	„ serious form of taxation.
P 127, l 3	„ Svapāki	„ Svapāki.
P 127, l 25	„ of his cruel	„ at his cruel
P 130, ll 3-4	„ Parvateśvara	„ Parvagupteśvara
P 135, l 8	from foot for Tosī	„ Tausī
P 154, l 17	for Advantipura	„ Avantipura
P 180, l 1	place 'and' before 'Alleśvara'	
P 188, l 5	for marks	„ mark
P 13, l 11	„ Ral-pa éan	„ Ral-pa can.
P 208, l 4	„ year 261 (1141 A D)	„ year 254 (1134 A D)
P 216, l 5	from foot for on the part	„ on the part of
P 231, ll 9-11	omit vertical line which connects Jagatsimha with Rājalladevi with a vertical line	Rājalladevi and Jaya Rājadeva : join
P 251, l 23	for Prāgyotisādhīpas	read Prāgyotisādhīpatis . .
P 257, l 17	„ bhūvi	„ bhūvi
P 261, l 1	„ Bakht yār	„ Bakht yār
P 265, l 16	„ Karnāni	„ Karrāni
P 268, fn 1	„ established	„ established.
P 272, l 6	„ Sumha	„ Suhma
P 276, l 12	„ Jivitagupta	„ Jivitagupta II.
P 284, l 20	„ jaladhe	„ jaladher
P 285, l 7	from foot for Vordhamāna	„ Vardhamāna

P. 596, l. 2 from foot	for 29th	read 39th
P. 307, ll. 19-20	read inscription of Dhanga informs us the king of Gauda	the Candella Yaśovarman defeated
P. 321, fn 4	for Gobindacandra	read Govindacandra
P. 338, l. 8	„ <i>Sahodara</i>	„ <i>anuṣa</i>
P. 341, l. 2 from foot	: for Kośala-nādu	„ Kośala; nādu
P. 351, l. 7	„ „ „ Bhāttaputra	„ Bhāttaputra
P. 368, l. 10	for Varunā and	„ Varanā and
P. 384, „	„ Vākpāla	„ Vākpāla
P. 387, „	„ Akga	„ Anga
P. 418, l. 7 from foot	: for 18th	„ 187th
P. 421, <	after Parama-vaiṣṇavī omit hyphen.	
P. 423, l. 1	for The Bhañjas	„ (3) The Bhañjas
P. 423, l. 3 from foot	: for fact that none	„ fact that almost none
P. 432, l. 2	„ „ „ (B) N	„ (B) M.
P. 451, l. 5	for Avanti	„ Ananta
P. 455, l. 20	for $(x + 44 + 3 + 35 + 3 + \frac{1}{2} + 3 +$	„ $(x + 44 + 3 + 35 + 3 + 35 + \frac{1}{2} + 3 +$
P. 460, l. 13	„ Kimūdi Kosala	„ Kimūdi, Kosala.
P. 472, l. 3	„ Chandralekhā	„ Candralekhā.
P. 475, l. 7	„ Bhīma II	„ Bhīma I.
P. 477, l. 14	„ Anangabhīma III	„ Anangabhīma II
P. 478, l. 5 from foot	for sister	„ daughter
P. 483, fn 3, l. 2	omit Anantavarman	
P. 501, for Kāmārnava VI		„ Kāmārnava V
„ Mādhu-Kāmārnava V		„ Mādhu-Kāmārnava VI
„ Aniyankabhīma II		„ Aniyankabhīma I
„ Anangabhīma III		„ Anangabhīma II
P. 565, omit the vertical line above 'Chikkora'	and add one above 'Sankaradevi'	
P. 567, for Bālaprasāda (c. 880-1000 A.D.)	read Bālaprasādi (c. 980-1000 A.D.)	
P. 578, fn 1, l. 1	for 3rd Century A.D.	read 3rd Century A.H.
P. 593, ll. 2 and 4	„ Karna	„ Lakṣmi Karna
P. 597, l. 6	„ <i>Tabqūt</i>	„ <i>Tabaqūt</i>
P. 602, fn	„ <i>Ḥabīb us ṣiṣar</i>	„ <i>Ḥabīb us ṣiṣar</i>
P. 604, l. 2	„ on doubt	„ no doubt
P. 633, „	„ Jivitagupta III	„ Jivitagupta II
P. 612, l. 7	„ Mansūrah	„ Mansūrah

